Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL.



BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. MSS, 18,851
CIRCA, 1500 A.D.

EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., P.A.G.D.C.

VOLUME XX. PART 1.

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H. KEBLE, PRINTER, MARGATE.
1907.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.

2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.

3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means of papers read in Lodge.

4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising thereon to the general body of the Craft by publishing, at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.

5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.

6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (in whole or part) of foreign works.

7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.

8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.

9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guineas respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The members usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy the option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and the 8th November, (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and December in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together with the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrated and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

The St. John's Card is a symbolic plate, conveying a greeting to the members, and is issued on or about the 27th December of each year. It forms the frontispiece to a list of the members of the Lodge and of the Correspondence Circle, with their Masonic rank and addresses, and is of uniform size with the *Transactions* with which it is usually bound up as an appendix.

The Library has now been arranged in the new offices at No. 61, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of both Circles may consult the books on application to the Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers over 2900 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and more than 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meetings are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not *visitors* at our Lodge meetings, but rather *associates* of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—The St. John's Card is sent to them annually.

4.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as those mentioned under No. 7 above.

5.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactions*.

6.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no qualification, literary, artistic, or scientific. His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

He is subject to no joining fee at present, but it is proposed to institute such a fee after the end of the current (1907) financial year.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the year next following. Brethren joining us late in the year will suffer no disadvantage, as they will receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

It will thus be seen that, without the payment of any joining fee and for only half the annual subscription, the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in lodge matters and holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications. Communications may be addressed to the Secretary in English, German or French.

Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishing matter of interest to them. Those therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged to advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—By the payment in one sum of *Twelve* years Subscription in advance, *i.e.*, six guineas, individual Brethren may qualify as *Life Members* of the Correspondence Circle. Corporate Bodies may qualify as Life Members by a similar payment of *Twenty-five* years Subscription. Expulsion from the Craft will naturally entail a forfeiture of Membership in the Correspondence Circle, and the Lodge also reserves to itself the full power of excluding any Correspondence Member whom it may deem to be Masonically (or otherwise) unworthy of continued membership.

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,

No. 2076.

VOLUME XX.

FRIDAY, 11th JANUARY, 1907,

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Hamon le Strange, Prov.G.M., Norfolk, W.M.; W. M. Bywater, P.G.S.B., D.C., as I.P.M.; E. Armitage, P.D.G.D.C., S.W.; J. P. Simpson, as J.W.; W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C., Treasurer; W. John Songhurst, Secretary; Canon J. W. Horsley, Grand Chaplain; G. Greiner, P.A.G.D.C., as I.G.; W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, P.M.; E. H. Dring and E. L. Hawkins.[1]

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. W. Howard Flanders, Thomas Cohu, P.G.St.B., W. H. S. Humphries, Walter Lawrance, Asst.G.Sup.W., A. J. Solomon, H. C. Price, Cecil Powell, W. H. Harris, M. P. Percival, Arthur W. Chapman, Harry Guy, C. W. Holingbery, F. Inskipp, H. H. Montague Smith, W. B. Hextall, Rev. W. E. Scott-Hall, W. E. Soltau, F. J. Burgoyne, C. Letch Mason, F. W. Levander, E. J. W. Hider, C. T. Morgan, Will Burton, P. J. Dudgeon, George Robson, W. Wonnacott, G. H. Luetchford, Sir John E. Bingham, Chas. H. Bestow, H. Hyde, W. C. P. Tapper, Robert A. Gowan, M. Thomson, J. Johnson, Percy T. Goodman, F. Mella, W. R. A. Smith, Frank E. Lemon, S. Walshe Owen, Major John Rose, Leonard Danielsson, W. E. Phelps, D. Bock, H. P. White, Chas. F. Sach, G. Vogeler, W. H. Fox, H. A. James, R. J. Harrison, Hugh James, W. S. Lincoln, and Herbert Burrows.

Also the following visitors:—Bros. Charles A. Kennett, Hiram Lodge No. 2416; Edward Phillips, P.M., Amity Lodge No. 161; J. C. Kersey, J.W., Citadel Lodge No. 1897; J. H. Guyton, P.M., Great City Lodge No. 1426; Roland Y. Mayell, All Soul's Lodge No. 170; and John M. Lanacher, Sir James Ferguson Lodge No. 566.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were received from Bros. Sir Charles Warren, P.Dist.G.M., E.Arch.; R. F. Gould, P.G.D.; J. P. Rylands; Col. S. C. Pratt; W. J. Hughan, P.G.D.; T. B. Whytehead, P.G.S.B.; Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, G.Treas., Ireland; F. H. Goldney, P.G.D.; Sir A. H. Markham, P.Dist.G.M., Malta; L. A. de Malczovich; E. Conder, jun.; G. L. Shackles; F. J. W. Crowe, P.G.O.; J. T. Thorp, P.A.G.D.C.; H. Sadler, Grand Tyler; R. Hovenden, P.G.Steward; W. Watson; and E. J. Castle, P.Dep.G.Reg.

Four Lodges and sixty-nine Brethren were admitted to the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

[1] By an unfortunate accident no reference to Bro. E. L. Hawkins was made in the Report of the Meeting held 8th November, 1906, when he was unanimously re-elected a joining member of the Lodge. Our apologies are due to Bro. Hawkins for this omission.

The W.M. then alluded to the fact that Bro. W. M. Bywater had recently completed his sixtieth year of Masonic life, and that it had been the intention of Bro. G. L. Shackles to move a resolution expressing the congratulations and good wishes of the members of the Lodge. In the unavoidable absence of Bro. Shackles he had the greatest possible pleasure in moving the following resolution :—

> "That the Members of this Lodge having heard that Worshipful Brother Witham Matthew Bywater, P.M., Past Grand Standard Bearer, has recently attained the 60th anniversary of his Masonic life, desire to offer him their most sincere congratulations on his attaining such an exceptional event, and trust that he may be spared many years to attend the Meetings of the Lodge of which he was one of the earliest joining members."

The proposition was seconded by the S.W., and carried with acclamation, and it was further resolved :—

> "That this resolution be suitably illuminated and duly presented to Bro. Bywater."

The document having been signed by the W.M. and officers, was then presented to Bro. Bywater, who thanked the Brethren for their kind wishes.

The Report of the Audit Committee as follows was approved and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes.

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Holborn Restaurant, on Monday, the 7th day of January, 1907, at 5.30 p.m.

Present :—Bros. W. H. Rylands, in the Chair, G. Greiner, P.M., J. P. Simpson, W. J. Songhurst, Secretary, and A. S. Gedge, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his books and the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor, and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1906.

Brethren,

In presenting our Annual Report, we must again congratulate you upon the work done during the past year.

We have had to deplore the loss by death of Brother E. A. T. Breed, a member of the Lodge : on the other hand, four members have been admitted, bringing the total number to 35. In the Correspondence Circle, death has also removed a number of valued members, prominent among whom may be mentioned Bro. Dr. Robert Smailes, of Leeds, Bro. G. P. Rupp, of Philadelphia, and Bro. W. H. Upton, of Walla Walla, who had done most excellent work as Local Secretaries of their respective districts. No new appointments have yet been made in the districts of Pennsylvania and Washington, but in the large province of West Yorkshire, Bro. J. Banks Fearnley will have the co-operation of Bro. John Pyrah, of Huddersfield, and Bro. R. H. Lindsay, of Bradford, in addition to Bros. J. Binney, at Sheffield, and C. Greenwood, at Halifax.

Four hundred and thirty-seven new names have been added to the Correspondence Circle, making the total at the end of the year 3116, the largest number ever on the Roll.

As foreshadowed in our last report the office at Bromley has now been entirely closed, and additional accommodation secured at 61, Lincoln's Inn Fields, for the increased clerical staff. This important change has necessarily caused a considerable expenditure, and, added to the fact that there are now over £700 arrears of subscriptions still owing, renders the accounts not so satisfactory as they should be.

We must, therefore, again urge upon all members the desirability of paying their subscriptions promptly. It will be noticed that £378 9s. 9d. is still outstanding on last year's account alone, and in order to continue the work of the Lodge, it is absolutely essential that the brethren should bear in

mind their obligation in this respect. A number of members have kindly facilitated the task of collection by giving instructions to their bankers to pay their subscriptions annually as they become due, others have commuted their payments and appear in the list as life members, while others again remit for two years in advance at one time, and so obviate the necessity of making small payments.

It has been suggested that the subscription of 10s. 6d. might with advantage be increased, but we are of opinion that such a course is not at present advisable. We would, however, recommend the Permanent Committee to take into their consideration the desirability of instituting a joining fee of, say £1 1s., for all members admitted to the Correspondence Circle after the end of 1907.

The Assets comprised in the Accounts given below, as in former years, do not include the stock of Transactions, of Antiquarian Reprints, of facsimiles of various copies of the Old Constitutions, nor the Library and Museum, upon which alone nearly a thousand pounds has been expended.

We desire to call the special attention of members to the large stock of the publications of the Lodge, of which full particulars are given on the covers of the *Transactions*. The sale of these books would thus establish a fund which would enable the Lodge to greatly extend its operations.

For the Committee, W. H. RYLANDS, in the Chair.

BALANCE SHEET.—30th November, 1906.

Liabilities.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Life Members' Fund						
(143 Members) ...	936	6	0			
,, Whymper Fund ...	105	15	1			
				1042	1	1
,, Payments received in advance ...				100	11	9
,, Correspondence Circle for 1906.						
Balance in hand				307	16	3
,, Outstanding Subscriptions as per						
contra				711	15	2
,, Summer Outing—Balance ...				18	16	0
,, Sundry Creditors				11	5	8
,, Sundry Publications				18	0	3
,, Lodge Account—						
Receipts	50	8	0			
Payments ...	28	6	0			
	22	2	0			
Add Credit Balance, 1905	10	17	1			
				32	19	1
				£2243	5	3

Assets.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Cash at London and						
County Banking Co.,						
Oxford Street				58	16	3
,, £1300 Consols at 89 per cent. ...				1157	0	0
,, Sundry Debtors for Subscriptions						
in arrear—						
1906 ...	378	9	9			
1905 ...	162	6	11			
1904 ...	105	14	6			
1903 ...	51	9	0			
1902 ...	10	12	0			
1901 ...	3	3	0			
				711	15	2
,, Sundry Debtors for Publications				26	17	9
,, Sundry Publications				124	17	5
,, Profit and Loss, Deficiency ...				163	18	8
				£2243	5	3

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library and Museum, Stock of Transactions and Office Furniture, and is subject to the realization of Assets.

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss with the Books and Vouchers of the Lodge, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith.

ALFRED S. GEDGE,
Chartered Accountant,
3, Great James Street,
Bedford Row, W.C.

3rd January, 1907.

PROFIT AND LOSS.—For the year ending 30th November, 1906.

Dr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Salaries	307 0 0	
„ Rent...	174 6 6	
„ Gas and Firing ...	16 19 7	
„ Stationery	77 13 3	
„ Postages	262 15 10	
„ Office Cleaning and Sundries	45 16 2	
„ Insurance	9 10 6	
„ Furniture	27 8 9	
„ Moving and Repairs	10 7 8	
„ Library	42 17 2	
		974 15 5
		£974 15 5

Cr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Balance brought forward from last year		33 18 4
„ 1906 Correspondence Circle	500 0 0	
„ 1905 ditto	98 9 0	
„ 1904 ditto	38 6 6	
„ 1903 ditto	18 18 0	
„ 1902 ditto	5 14 6	
„ 1901 ditto	4 14 6	
„ 1900 ditto	1 11 6	
Back Subscriptions ...	1 11 6	
Sundry Publications ...	26 12 10	
Life Members	36 15 0	
Interest on Consols ...	30 17 8	
Discounts	13 7 5	
		776 18 5
Balance carried to Balance Sheet ...		163 18 8
		£974 15 5

The W.M. referred to the recommendation of the Committee that a joining fee should be instituted for all members elected to the Correspondence Circle after the end of the current financial year, and several Brethren having spoken on the subject, it was decided that an announcement of the proposal should be made to all Members of both Circles with the view of obtaining their opinion thereon.

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. T. A. Withey, Leeds.

Silver Collar Jewel, in the form of two interlaced triangles, made by E. Loewenstark, 37, Leicester Square, London, in 1863-4. The centre emblems are unfortunately missing, but it is probable that this was a jewel of the Ancient and Primitive Rite. *Presented to the Lodge.*

Collar Jewel, square and compasses, set in paste, evidently French manufacture and probably made for an Irish Lodge. The centre emblem is missing.

R.A. Breast Jewel, (obsolete pattern) set in paste.

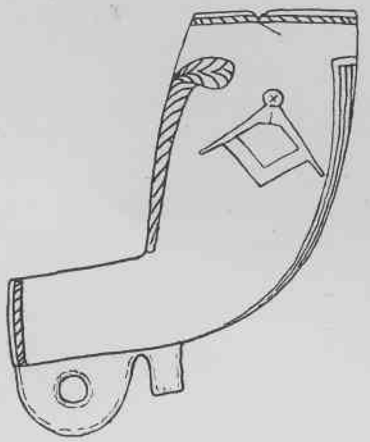
By Bro. A. S. Gedge, London.

Wine-Glass, engraved with Masonic emblems.

Certificate, issued to Bro. John Denny, on 19th June, 1802, by the Grand Lodge of England. W. White, Grand Secretary.

Certificate, issued to John Denny, on the 15th June, 1802, by Lodge of Harmony No. 384 (now No. 255), held at the Toy Inn, Hampton Court, signed by Thos. Haverfield, R.W.M., Wm. Walton, Act.M., G. Peach, S.W., pro. tem., Thos. Chammey, J.W., pro. tem , Richard Benham, Secretary.

Certificate, issued to Bro. Johnson Gedge, on 6th January, 1823, by the Grand Lodge of England.



Tobacco - Pipe,
Exhibited by Bro. J. H. Williams.



Tobacco - Box, exhibited by Bro. W. H. Toye.

By Bro. J. C. Brookhouse, London.

Carved Bone Snuff-box. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By the Lodge.

China Tray (Sunderland ware).

Jewel, worn by members of the Lodge working in "King Solomon's quarries."

By Bro. Frank Latham, Penzance.

Ashlar, made from a piece of stone from the walls of Canterbury Cathedral while fixing scaffolding preparatory to restoring the great Tower. On one side is a small piece of stone from the quarries at Jerusalem set in a Keystone-shape frame. *Presented to the Lodge.*

Three Sheets of Masons' Marks at Canterbury Cathedral. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. B. Loewy, New York.

Set of Four Medals (silver, bronze, copper, aluminium) commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Adelphic Council No. 7 Royal and Select Masters, New York. Only twenty-five copies were struck in silver, and twenty in copper. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. J. H. Williams, Ludlow.

Soapstone Tobacco-pipe, found in 1847 in an ancient Indian Camp in Northern Canada by the father of the present owner. It was stated that the Camp had been used for summer hunting by a tribe then long extinct, but it seems probable that the Sioux Indians who accompanied the finder "planted" the pipe where it was found, as there is no doubt that it is of fairly modern make. It is not possible to determine exactly the nature of the stone from which it is cut, as it is much stained by tobacco.

By Bro. W. H. Toye, London.

Tobacco Box, cast lead, dating probably from 1790. It must have been very handsome when first made, as there are still traces of colouring and gilding.

R.A. Breast Jewel, made 1791, for John Burges, by Holder, Bartholomew Close.

By Bro. Sydney R. Clarke, London.

Portrait of the Earl of Zetland ("Vanity Fair" cartoon, December 4th, 1869).

Portrait of the Duke of Sussex, published June 24th, 1813, for C. Rosenberg and Son, by Colnaghi and Co., London.

Portrait (unidentified) of a Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of England, "painted and drawn on stone by R. R. Scanlan."

The Secretary read the following paper :—

JOHN COLE.

BY BRO. W. JOHN SONGHURST, Secretary.

THE little engraving which I now exhibit seems to call for some explanation, not because it has reference to a disturbance among the dignitaries of the City of London, for that, although of general interest by reason of its happily infrequent occurrence, would hardly form a subject for enquiry from a Masonic standpoint. But the "Citizen and Liveryman" is represented as wearing a Masonic collar and jewels, and it is therefore reasonable that we should seek to know something more about the Brother, and the indignities to which he was subjected at the hands of a "person without legal authority."

The print brings to mind another portrait forming the frontispiece of a little book published in 1801, and a comparison of this with the engraving now before us makes it quite clear that here we have once more our old friend, "A Past Master."

But what a change in the face! No doubt, many will be inclined to suggest that this is attributable to his connection with his Company of the Leathersellers, and to the many good dinners of which he must have partaken at their Hall, but in justice to the man, as well as to the Guild, it must be stated that he was a Liveryman in 1788, thirteen years before the *first* portrait was published, and we must therefore conclude that his apoplectic appearance is due to the disturbance in the Common Hall, which is commemorated by the later print.

As Leathersellers' Hall was used on several occasions as a meeting place for Grand Lodge, I may perhaps mention that it is situated on the east side of Bishopsgate Street Within, on land originally belonging to a Priory which existed as early as 1180, and was dedicated to the mother of the Emperor Constantine. About 1210 this was transformed into a Priory of Benedictine nuns, whose Hall formed the Common Hall of the Leathersellers' Company from the time they purchased the property, shortly after the dissolution, down to 1799. In that year the buildings were demolished in order to form St. Helen's Place, the present Hall being erected on the old crypts.

The first meeting of Grand Lodge in Leathersellers' Hall appears to have been the "Assembly and Feast," on 3rd April, 1753, under the presidency of Lord Carysfort, Grand Master; others were held on 10th May, 1756, and 18th May, 1757, with the Marquis of Carnarvon in the Chair; the last meeting being on 1st May, 1775, when, after laying the foundation stone of Freemasons' Hall, the Brethren, with Lord Petre at their head, repaired to the City in order to partake of dinner and transact other business usual on the occasion of the Annual Festival.

The book to which I have referred is entitled:—

> "Illustrations of Masonry selected by Brother John Cole, Past Master "of Lodges No. 466, 249, 113, and 195, to which is prefixed, The Funeral "Service and a variety of other Masonic information. London: published "at the Masonic Printing Office, No. 18, Fore Street, Cripplegate; sold "also by H. D. Symonds, Paternoster Row; Crosby and Letterman, "Stationers' Court; Barry, 106, Minories; And by all Booksellers in the "United Kingdom of England and Ireland. 1801."

PORTRAIT OF A CITIZEN & LIVERYMAN, OF THE COMPANY OF LEATHERSELLERS.

Who was Seiz'd by the Collar at the Common Hall April 1st 1809 by a person without legal Authority, in consequence of H.C. express.g his Disapprobation to A Dignified Character who was Censur'd in the Common Hall by Upwards of 1000 Persons.



J. G. Walker, Sculpt.

Part of the Profits arising from the Sale of this Portrait will be given to the Honest & Upright Officer who refus'd to take Mr. C. into Custody.

Pub.d Ap.l 7 1809 at No. 37 Old Bethlem.

It runs to 131 pages, and is dedicated to H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales, *Right* Worshipful Grand Master. The first twelve pages are devoted to the "Funeral Service," and then follow some "Monitorial" Notes, selected for the most part from Preston and Hutchinson. On page 57 we have an "Account of the Freemasons' Charity School" for Girls, which six years previously had been transferred from Somers Town to St. George's Fields.[1] Pages 69 to 78 give us an address presented to the King on his escape from death at the hands of James Hadfield. Then we have a list of Grand Officers, etc., for 1801, and on page 80 commences an account of the "Masonic Benefit Society" for indigent Masons, followed by the inevitable collection of songs,[2] the remainder of the book being taken up with particulars of the Boys' Charity. In the list of subscribers to this Charity of £5 5s., and upwards, we find the name of John Cole, and additional evidence of the fact that he was a charitably disposed man is afforded by the inscription under the frontispiece, which states that part of the profits arising from the publication of the book were "to go towards the fund of the Masonic Charity, for sons of Indigent Free Masons." In the list of subscribers of one Guinea we find the names of James Cole, of Tench Street, St. George's; and Thomas and David Cole, whose addresses are not given.

The book appears to have been issued in several forms. One has the portrait printed in colours, and also contains engravings of three tracing boards, as well as of the well-known "Freemason formed out of the materials of his Lodge," while another has only the portrait (printed in black) with the additional information engraved at the foot, "Sold at No. 18, Fore Street. Price 3s. 6d. neatly bound." It also appeared with twelve double pages of engraved songs and music bound up at the end, and with these and the other four plates was sold for five shillings.

We can get some information about John Cole from the book itself and the advertisements it contains. We find that he was the son of William Cole, Printer and Engraver, of Newgate Street, who in 1766 was appointed by Grand Lodge to print the "Lists of Lodges." We find also that for some time in addition to his "Pencil Warehouse" in Fore Street, he had a place at 12, Plumber's Street, City Road, and that eventually he moved to St. Agnes Circus, Old Street Road.[3] From this last address "A new selection" of his Illustrations was advertised, but I have not found that it was actually issued. It was to have been pnblished on "Saturday May 1," a combination which fixes the year as 1802. This is surprisingly close to the date of the first edition but the next possible year, 1813, is quite out of the question. He appears to have remained in St. Agnes Circus until 1807 when he returned to 18, Fore Street.

William Cole continued to publish the Engraved Lists of Lodges until 1778 when they were superseded by the printed Calendars. From 1745 to 1766 the work had been entrusted to Benjamin Cole and although in the latter year his work as Official Engraver came to an end, he issued several unofficial lists in 1766 and 1767. Benjamin had been engaged on Masonic work as early as 1728 when he engraved and dedicated to the Earl of Kingston a copy of one of the "Old Charges." He put out a second issue in 1731 erasing Lord Kingston's name from the plate and substituting that of Lord Lovel, the

[1] It will interest some Brethren to know that twenty-five Chairs presented by the Caledonian Lodge on the removal of the School to St. George's Fields, in 1795, are still in use at the present Institution at Battersea.

[2] "It has been the practice of almost every Author or Compiler of Publications on Masonry to affix to their books a larger or smaller collection of Masonic Poetry." (Stephen Jones. Preface to *Masonic Miscellanies.* 1797.)

[3] This address is variously given in the records of the Leathersellers' Company as "No. 9, Circus, Old Street Road," and "No. 9, Agnes Circus, Old Street Green."

then Grand Master. Two other editions appeared in 1751 and 1762 but they were printed from type. He was also the engraver of the frontispiece of the 1756 edition of the Book of Constitutions.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. W. Arnold Hepburn, Clerk to the Leathersellers' Company, for information in regard to the members of the Cole family whose names are recorded in his books. I have already mentioned that John's name first appears in 1788. He was made free by patrimony on the 19th February of that year, and admitted to the Livery three months later, being described as of Pye Corner, West Smithfield, the Fore Street address appearing for the first time in 1792 when he succeeded his father as Printer to the Company. During the year 1807 he served as Livery Warden, but in 1808 financial difficulties overtook him and he obtained a return of his Livery fine. He was however employed as the Company's printer for one more year, having then an office in Newgate Street. The London Directory makes no mention of this further change of address but keeps him at 18, Fore Street until 1810, and after this his name disappears altogether.

It is probable that his failure as a Copper-plate Printer was due to the introduction of Lithography, although there seems some ground for supposing that for a time he retired altogether from the business and was forced to return in consequence of the incompetency or bad luck of those whom he left in charge. He tried to retrieve his fortune by taking up an entirely new line, that of "Dealer in Piano-Fortes and Music in General," but was not able to avert bankruptcy.

A very fine engraved bill-head is preserved in the Grand Lodge Library. It is particularly interesting as giving an indication that John Cole numbered members of the Order of Bucks among his customers. It does not bear the name of the designer or engraver, but the style and arrangement of the Masonic portion shew that it was copied or adapted from some of his father's work.

I have not found anything actually engraved by John, but the business card he used at St. Agnes Circus is stated to have been designed by him. It was engraved by *Harper*. On the early stipple portrait we find the name of *Adolphe* as engraver,[1] the "Common Hall" portrait being the work of *J. G. Walker*, while the Tracing boards are by *F. Curtis.*

Benjamin was not at any time connected with the Leathersellers' Company, and I am still in the dark as to his relationship with William and John. William however was made free of the Company in 1754 as an apprentice of James Cole (1744) and admitted to the Livery three years later, serving as Master in 1786-7. He seems to have remained in Newgate Street down to about 1792, when he is described as of "Printing Office, Bank." In 1802 he was living at No. 15 Brayne's Row, Spa Fields, and he died before 6th April 1803,[2] when another son was admitted as a Freeman and Liveryman. This son, also named William, was described as a "Copper-Plate printer, Little Saffron Hill," but his connection with the Company was of short duration as four years later (2nd September 1807) his Livery fine was returned to him, he having "been very unfortunate in the choice of his residence." This period indeed seems to have been a disastrous one for the Cole family, as a few months later assistance was granted to a

[1] A proof before letters of the stipple engraving was recently brought to me as a portrait of the Duke of Kent!

[2] His Will was proved 4th February, 1803. John Cole benefited to the extent of £3,000, other legatees being his son William, a daughter Sarah, and a nephew William. I have not found any record of John's Will, but curiously enough there is one of another John proved 27th February, 1809. He had resided in Baker's Buildings, Old Bethlem, and he left all he possessed (household furniture) to his wife Susannah.



Bill-Head of John Cole.

From the Original in the Library of Grand Lodge.



Business Card of John Cole.

From the Original in the Library of Grand Lodge.

Mrs. Holt,[1] daughter of Thomas Cole, formerly a member of the Court. There had been two members bearing the name Thomas, one made free in 1732 by patrimony as the son of Robert (free 6th June, 1710) and the other made free by apprenticeship in 1733. There was also a Joseph Cole in 1750, another James in 1717; and in 1718 we even find a *Susanna.*

It would be well-nigh impossible to trace the relationship which probably existed between these individuals. Bro. Rylands has kindly given me some notes on other members of the family, who seem to have settled in London at an early date, many of them taking up engraving as a profession. Thus we have:—

HUMPHREY COLE, Goldsmith, 1592. Perhaps a brother of Peter Cole, Painter. Engraved Maps, etc.

PETER COLE, 1663, etc. Engraved Portraits. (On 4th December, 1665, Peter Cole, bookseller and printer in Cornhill, hanged himself in his warehouse in Leadenhall).

JOHN COLE, of Holborn. Flourished about 1720. Engraver of Portraits and Book-plates: among them is a head of Thomas Puckle, prefixed to his dialogue called "The Club." Died 15th June, 1783, aged 86.

JOHN COLE, engraver. He was much employed by Booksellers on works of a low class, which he produced entirely with the graver. He etched 136 plates for a "History of Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey," published in 1727. (Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*).

BENJAMIN COLE, engraver. First part of eighteenth century. Chiefly portraits, *e.g.* Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmarino, and Frazer of Lovat.

JAMES COLE, of Titchfield Street, died 1773.

GEORGE COLE, engraver, of Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden. Died January 1795, aged 72.

We can get a few more names from the Grand Lodge lists, but no information which helps in any way in the task of identification. The 1725 list gives us MR. COLE, Member of the Red Lion at Richmond; while in the 1730 list we find—MR. COLE, Master of the Vine Tavern, Holborn; MR. BENJAMIN COLE, Member of the Lodge at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Church Yard (evidently the Lodge of Antiquity); MR. BENJAMIN COLE, member of the Queen's Arms in Newgate Street; and MR. CHARLES COLE, S.W. of the Castle and Legg in Holborn. A LAWFORD COLE and a THEOPHILUS COLE are also mentioned, but it seems probable that they did not belong to the same family.

In fact, James Cole of Tench Street, St. George's, is the only one of whom anything can be said. I have no doubt that he was the Brother James Cole who acted as Secretary of the Girls' School from 1806 to 1812. He was a candidate for the post in 1804, on the death of Bro. Christopher Cuppage, but declined to submit to a ballot. Four years later, however, on the resignation of Bro. W. Dignam[2] he had a walk-over. He was the last to hold the combined offices of Secretary and Writing Master. He suddenly threw up the position in 1812, and the members of the House Committee were naturally much annoyed that he thus left them in the lurch. He had been admitted a member of the Chapter of St. James on 10th January, 1811, coming apparently from the Shakespear Lodge, and, although his name does not appear in the

[1] A Mr. Andrew Holt was living at No. 8, Plumber's Row, City Road in 1805-06.

[2] This brother was not a Mason at the time he applied for the post, but signified his intention, if elected, of being initiated "forthwith,"

list of members as given by Bro. Ebblewhite in his History of that Lodge, the Minutes of 28th June, 1804, which he quotes, shew that on that day James Cole was appointed *Assistant* Secretary, at a salary of Twenty Guineas per annum. He is described as "M.M. and Master of the Saint Peter's Lodge No. 249," and as "a very deserving and industrious man with a wife and small family," but as he also was unfortunately in low water at this time we must suppose that he had resigned from the St. Peter's Lodge before he applied for admission to the Chapter of St. James, and considered the Assistant Secretaryship of the Shakespear was a sufficient qualification. A link with John Cole is found in the fact that he also was a Past Master of the St. Peter's Lodge.[1]

The Lodges of which John Cole was a member are stated to be Nos. 466, 249, 113 and 195. The first of these was the "Friendly Lodge," warranted as No. 557 in 1790, which met at the Queen's Arms Tavern, Newgate Street, 1798-1810, and lapsed about 1815, the number having been altered to 521 at the Union. No. 249 was the "St. Peter's Lodge" already referred to, meeting 1793-1805 at the King's Head, Walworth Road. At a later date it seems to have been in the hands of the notorious Finch, and met at his rooms in the New Cut. It made no returns after 1814, and was erased in 1838. It is probable that James Asperne was a member of this Lodge at the same time as Cole. In 1795 Asperne was in business as a bookseller in Walworth, while from 1803, to his death in 1820, he published the *European Magazine* at the Bible, Crown and Constitution, in Cornhill. One of the songs in Cole's little work is stated to have been "sung by Brother J.A., P.M. of St. Peter's Lodge," and his name appears in full as the writer of an introduction to the address presented to the King. No. 113 (the "Gloucester Lodge") dated back to 1755, and met at various places in London until 1800, when it removed to the Ship, High Road, Tottenham, returning, however, to London in 1805, where it languished for a few years, finally lapsing in 1808. It was while acting as Master of this Lodge that John Cole wrote two of the Masonic songs which appear in his book.

All the above Lodges were warranted under the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" but the last one on the list, No. 195, was an "Atholl" creation, meeting from 1800 at the "Hole in the Wall," Fleet Street. Although it lapsed in 1805 its warrant was revived by endorsement in the following year in favour of what is now the "Lodge of Prudent Brethren."

A later impression of the portrait given in the "Illustrations" has had the lettering entirely altered. At the top now appears "Brother John Cole," and at the foot "Past Master, of the St. Peter's Lodge No. 249, the Friendly Lodge No. 466, the British Social Lodge No. 183, and the Gloucester Lodge No. 113. Seventh Time elected." He was evidently a favourite in the "Gloucester." The "British Social" was warranted in 1775. It became No. 222 at the Union and in 1821 united with the "Castle" Lodge, erased in 1854.

The "Common Hall" portrait was re-engraved (or perhaps was itself a re-engraving), but strange to say without the collar and jewels. It gives us, however, the name of one more Lodge of which John Cole was not only a member but Master, namely "The Old Tuscan" No. 184, a "Modern" creation of 1765. It was erased in 1775 and reinstated in 1777; erased again in February, 1800, and again reinstated two months

[1] Bro. Ebblewhite also mentions a Thomas Cole who was a member of the Shakespear Lodge from 1774 to 1776.

later. It made no returns after 1814, and its third erasure in 1830 was final. It had been re-named the "Lusitanian" in 1811, and was one of the Lodges owning a Freemasons' Hall Medal.[1]

It may be noted that John Cole advertises for sale engraved Summonses and Certificates, "an apron prepared of fine leather, or satin, printed from an excellent Masonic design, of Faith, Hope and Charity" (an example was exhibited at this Lodge on 12th January, 1906), and portraits of William Preston and F. C. Daniel. This last was probably an earlier portrait than that facing page 66 of *A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii. He was also a joint publisher in 1797 of the first edition of Stephen Jones's *Masonic Miscellanies*, as well as in 1799 of the *Masonic Museum*, which is stated to be "A select Collection of the Most Celebrated Songs, sung in all the Respectable Lodges." To this collection is added a list of Lodges of Instruction meeting under the "Regular" and "Atholl" Constitutions. A portrait of the Prince of Wales (to whom the book is dedicated forms the frontispiece, while the engraved title-page gives a view of the "Royal Cumberland Freemasons' School for Female Orphans."

I first met with the statement that John Cole was connected with the publication of the 1797 edition of *Masonic Miscellanies*, in Bro. Lane's *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges* (p. 107), but I had some difficulty in verifying it. The book is not particularly rare, but the copies which I was able to inspect bore only the names of Vernon and Hood. After considerable search I discovered in the Grand Lodge Library with Bro. Sadler's kind help a copy from which in all probability Bro. Lane got his information. It was formerly in the Irwin library and it gives John Cole's name on the title-page in addition to Vernon and Hood. It is evidently an *early* issue of the book (not a different edition), as there is no doubt that if Cole had been publishing it in 1801 he would have advertised the fact in his "Illustrations." I have since ascertained that a copy is also in the possession of Bro. P. R. Finnis, of Dover, and I have no doubt that others will be brought to light now that attention has been directed to the point.

And now with regard to our print. The "row" which took place on All Fool's Day, 1809, was in connection with an incident, not Masonic and not particularly savoury, one moreover on which much has already been written. Perhaps the most concise account of the circumstances which led up to it is to be found in Dr. Reginald Sharpe's "London and the Kingdom,"[2] and from vol. iii., p. 270 of that work, I extract the following:—

> "Early in the spring of 1809 the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief, was charged by a militia colonel named Wardle, member for Okehampton, with having allowed his mistress, Mrs. Clarke, to dispose of commissions, and having himself participated in the proceeds of this nefarious traffic. The scandal was aggravated by a public investigation before the entire House of Commons, and, although the Duke was eventually acquitted of personal corruption, he felt compelled to resign his post. His acquittal disgusted the Common Council, who desired to place on record their belief that it was greatly due to that 'preponderating influence,' of which they had formerly complained. On the other hand they voted Wardle the freedom of the City in a gold box (6 April). In the course of

[1] John was proposed as a joining member of the Chapter of St. James on 14th September, 1797.

[2] "London and the Kingdom." A History derived mainly from the Archives at Guildhall in the custody of the Corporation of the City of London, by Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L., Records Clerk in the Office of the Town Clerk of the City of London; Editor of "Calendar of Wills enrolled in the Court of Husting," etc. In three volumes. Printed by order of the Corporation under the direction of the Library Committee. London: Longmans, Green and Co.; and New York, 15 East Sixteenth Street, 1895.

> a few months Wardle was himself sued by a tradesman for the price of goods with which he had furnished a house for Mrs. Clarke. This put a new aspect on the charges Wardle had brought, and greatly diminished the feeling against the Duke, who was soon afterwards restored to office. The City, however, still upheld Wardle, and not only refused to rescind their vote of the 6 April, but placed on record an elaborate statement showing how by his means, and in the face of unexampled threats and difficulties, a system of 'scandalous abuse and corruption not only in the Army, but in the various departments of the State' had been brought to light. This statement they ordered to be published in the morning and evening papers."

The more one tries to get at the real meaning of the inscription on the engraving by the aid of this and other printed accounts of the proceedings, the greater are the difficulties which arise.

There seems no doubt that it was purposely made obscure, and perhaps some allowance must also be made for the evident hurry to get the print published, the date at foot showing that this was effected in six days.

I have not found any reference whatever to John Cole in the records, but perhaps this is not surprising, as the occurrence must have been to the reporter merely an incident at a meeting in which general uproar seems to have been the prominent feature.

The "dignified character" is, no doubt, intended for the Lord Mayor (Sir Charles Flower), who was at first howled down and then compelled to put to the meeting a vote of censure upon himself "for disregarding the wishes of the Livery and for being unworthy of his fellow-citizens' confidence." This vote was carried by an enormous majority, only four hands being held up against it. The Lord Mayor was certainly much averse to the proposed resolutions against the Duke, and appears to have declined at first to act upon a requisition from the Liverymen for convening a meeting. It is possible that it was on this question that he fell foul of John Cole, though how the "person without legal authority" could have had the temerity to seize our friend by the collar in the presence of so many who were of his way of thinking is far from clear. But we must also bear in mind that Cole was scarcely correct in describing himself as a "Citizen and Liveryman" in 1809, as his name had been removed from the list in February of the previous year, and it may have been a refusal to admit him to the Guildhall which led to the assault. The point, however, is not of importance, although one would like to know something more about the "honest and upright officer," who, it may be hoped, received a good round sum as his share of the profits arising from the sale of the Portrait.

With regard to the Collar jewel worn by John Cole, this was apparently the proper jewel of the period for a Past Master under the "Ancients." I say *apparently*, because, as I have already mentioned, John Cole was a Past Master of Lodges under both Constitutions. The Master's jewel of the "Ancients" was similar to that which he wears, but had the sun between the legs of the compasses. It may be, therefore, that the alteration marks a difference between the practice of the two Grand Lodges, or that the sun was raised above the compasses for a Brother who had passed the Chair. At an earlier date the jewel of the Past Master under the "Moderns" was of an entirely different form and pattern, as will be seen from the illustration given by Bro. Sadler in his recently published *History of the Emulation Lodge*, but as time went on there seems to have been a mutual appropriation of jewels by members of the rival bodies.

Thus the "Emulation," when it followed the example of the "Ancients" and appointed Deacons, took also their "Mercury" collar jewels, while on the other hand the St. Thomas' Lodge, originally warranted by the "Ancients," still invests its Past Master with a jewel similar to that referred to above as belonging to the "Moderns."

In this connection it is interesting to compare the portrait of William Preston, engraved by Thomson in 1794. He is there described as a Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, and he wears a Collar jewel similar in design to that of John Cole. But when we examine other engravings of about the same period we find a singular lack of uniformity. In the well-known print, by Bartolozzi, shewing the procession of Girls in Freemasons' Hall, the Prince of Wales and Ruspini both have compasses hanging from their collars, while William Forssteen has a square. In the portrait of the Prince of Wales as Grand Master, engraved in the same year (1802), by Edmund Scott, he is shewn with the Compasses and segment of a circle, and in the portrait of Ruspini, "Painted and engraved by I. Jenner, M.M.," we see a square with a sword on one limb. The sword probably indicates his rank as Grand Sword Bearer, an office which he held from 1791 to his death in 1813. It is impossible to say definitely what is on the other limb, as it is almost covered by his Star of the Order of the Golden Spur. We may also note that the portrait of James Asperne represents him as wearing a square suspended from a chain. This Brother was a Past Master of two Lodges under the "Moderns," but had probably resigned from both before the portrait was painted, as the numbers given are those of pre-Union times, while he wears his Apron of Grand Steward, an office which he held in 1814.

One other portrait I should like to mention is that of the Earl of Moira as Acting Grand Master, engraved by C. Turner, after James Ramsey, in 1811. In this we have the Compasses again, but, instead of the segment, a *crescent*. It is so clearly drawn that I do not think it can be a mistake on the part of the painter or engraver, especially as the earlier portrait (1804), by Bartolozzi, engraved by H. Landseer, shews the compasses and segment most distinctly. Is it possible that the jewel may be intended to indicate some position in the Royal Arch? At first sight the suggestion does not seem reasonable, but it will be remembered that the seal of the "Grand Royal Arch Chapter, York," of 1780, had a crescent in combination with a rainbow and a triangle. It is evident, therefore, that the emblem had some significance in connection with the degree at York, and I would like to make a further suggestion, *viz.*, that the crescent was not intended to represent a half-moon, but an *Ark*, of the same shape as that depicted on the counter-seal of the Grand *Lodge* at York (*circa.* 1776-1779). In the latter there is no doubt whatever that it is a representation of the Ark of the Covenant. The addition of staves and Cherubim makes this quite clear, and I cannot help thinking that in the Grand Chapter seal the device is meant to indicate Noah's Ark, an emblem much more appropriate than a half-moon when taken in conjunction with the rainbow.

I must add a few words in regard to the place of publication of the print. "Old Bethlem" immediately suggests the Bethlehem Hospital for the Insane in St. George's Fields, Lambeth, commonly known as Bedlam, and although the suggestion is to a certain extent correct, we must look to the North of the City and not to the South for the place of abode of our publisher. In the year 1246 a Priory of the Star of Bethlehem was founded on the east side of Moor Fields, in the parish of St. Botolph Without. In 1330 the religious house became known as a general hospital, and the City authorities took it under their protection, subsequently purchasing the whole of the property belonging to the establishment. Henry VIII. transferred to the care of the citizens of

London the inmates of an asylum for lunatics which had been established almost under his nose at Charing Cross, and in a fit of extreme generosity *gave* to the City the entire property it had already purchased. By 1675 the buildings had become so dilapidated that it was found necessary to erect a new hospital a little to the west but on the south side of Moor Fields, just without the City Wall. This became known as "New Bedlam," and is so marked on "a new map of London, revised by John Senex"[1] in 1720. At the beginning of the nineteenth century these buildings also were found to be in a state of decay, and in 1812-15 the institution was transferred to the new site at the junction of Lambeth Road and St. George's Road. It would seem that at the demolition of the original building a range of old tenements was allowed to remain with the name of "Old Bethlem" and it was here undoubtedly that the print was published. For the most part the houses were inhabited by vendors of "decayed upholstery," and enjoyed as evil a reputation as in our day was held by another street in the same neighbourhood. Shakespeare may be correct in his oft-quoted opinion about the unalterable qualities of the rose, but his remark would appear to lose its force when applied to the nomenclature of London Streets. Petticoat Lane is certainly much sweeter under its new name of Middlesex Street, and the present dwellers in Liverpool Street must surely be conscious of an air of dignity and respectability which was evidently lacking when, less than a hundred years ago, the locality was known as "Old Bethlem."

Bro. Wm. Watson *writes*:—

I have perused an advance copy of Bro. Songhurst's Paper with great interest. Although the name of *Cole* is a household word with every Masonic student and bibliographer, yet no serious attempt has hitherto been made, that I am aware of, to bring together the materials for, and compile a comprehensive account of this remarkable family.

There is very little on which to hang criticism, the Paper being mainly the relation of ascertained facts—(and we may take it that anything Bro. Songhurst gives as fact has been well authenticated by him as such)—but there is much to admire in the great perseverance and assiduity of the author in running to earth and recording everything of utility within practicable reach. The subject of the Cole family, until now, almost *terra incognita* to most of us, has been explored, and the result is not only a valuable and reliable work of reference but adds a greatly enhanced interest to the many artistic achievements of the Coles, still extant.

I much regret that I cannot be present to join in that warm and hearty vote of thanks to our talented Secretary, which all present will agree to be so well merited by him. Indeed, his present paper is one illustration out of a great many of how he throws himself with dead earnest and determination into everything he undertakes.

On the proposition of Bro. Canon Horsley, seconded by Bro. W. H. Rylands, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Songhurst. Bro. Horsley referred to the coincidence of a Lodge named "St. Peter" existing at Walworth at so early a date, as his church dedicated to St. Peter was not erected until much later. The explanation was probably to be found in the fact that the Lodge had previously (1791) met at a tavern known as the "Cross Keys," Shad Thames, and had retained the name of "St. Peter" on its removal to Walworth two years later.

[1] John Senex will be remembered as the joint publisher of the first "Book of Constitutions" in 1723. He also published scientific works for Dr. Desaguliers, and held the office of J.G. Warden in the year 1723-4.

ON MASONIC HISTORY.—LET US SEEK TRUTH.

BY BRO. JOHN YARKER.

DURING some little time a series of articles has appeared in the French journal, *L'Initiation*, under the cabalistically devised pseudonym of "Teder." These articles are well worthy of consideration by all who desire the truth in history.

The view which "Teder" takes in these papers, and he is no contemptible authority on the matter, is that "Ancient" Masonry is the Masonry of the Romanists and the Stuarts, which entered France with the Irish and Scottish followers of James II. in 1688. Faithful to the old Constitutional Charges they held the necessity of being faithful to the King (that is "the King over the water") and Holy Church (*i.e.* the Roman Catholic Church).

On the other hand "Modern" Masonry was the system of the new Grand Lodge of 1717, Protestant and Hanoverian, in which all the binding articles in their original import, as to the King and Holy Church, were abrogated by the new Constitutions of Dr. James Anderson, on behalf of the new dynasty. I have myself put the question in your pages, to this effect. If Scottish Masonry was the rubbish that some able Masons both in England and America suppose that it was, what induced so many men of position, and so many military men, say between 1660 and 1700, to join the Scottish Lodges? What was their aim and object? Of many of these we can trace their after career, and they were loyal followers of the exiled Stuarts in France. "Teder" opens his first paper in the following words:—

"In 1675 King Charles of England, a Catholic and Freemason, influenced by able men, had obliged the Duke of York, also a Freemason and Catholic, to give his daughter, Mary, in marriage to the Protestant William, Prince of Orange. Already, at this period, a political division existed, the visible manifestation of a secret discord reigning in the Lodges from the first disputes of the Reformation, and we see an *English party* and a *Scottish party*. But the first of these was so powerful that they sought to reject the Duke of York from the succession, and, in March, 1679, Charles II. went so far as to exile his brother.

"Notwithstanding this, in 1681, he was re-called and received the Governorship of the Scotch, in succession to his pseudo-nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, with whom the English party had plotted. In the hope of being one day King, the Duke of York naturally took great care to create secret friends in the Scotch Army, by drawing to himself the greater and the lesser nobility, the merchants and the workmen, whether Protestant or Catholic, by means of a crowd of societies allied to the Masonry to which he belonged, and to the Order of Knights of St. Andrew, which became a sort of fourth degree of the Masonic Order with its own particular usages." (The authority for this statement is the "MS. of Bro. The Prince of Hesse.")

"We may object perhaps that the composition of the Masonic organization, which admits indifferently men of all religious beliefs and of all political parties, is little suited to aid the enterprises of a *Party*. But this objection is of little value, in face of the certain fact that Masonry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was not at

all what we understand as Masonry of the present day, and was also practically divided upon religious and dynastic questions; and, moreover, what human society can be said to be exempt from intestine disputes, and fratricidal quarrels? Is it not now, at this moment even, upon a question of religious principle, that the *Grand Orient of France* finds itself separated from the Grand Lodge of England, which, hardly six months ago renewed, in an official circular, the order for non-admission of such French Masons to English Lodges?

"It is credible that, even in London, the partisans of Bro. the Duke of York enjoyed a certain influence, for on the 11th May, 1682, a grand Masonic banquet, in which he took part, was given in his honour in *Masons Hall*, at which Bro. Elias Ashmole assisted, who, with other things, makes allusion to this in his Diary, and observes that he had been a Mason for thirty-five years.

"Charles II. having died in 1685, was succeeded by Bro. the Duke of York, without apparent opposition, under the title of James II., but the *English Party* continued its subterranean work, and the new monarch, whose catholicity bore a tinge of the world, was dethroned in 1688, to the profit of his kinsman, the usurping protestant foreigner. We now see a more open agitation, two factions opposing each other in the Lodges, to wit; says Bro. the Prince of Hesse, the *Scotch Party*, who were for the restoration of James II., and the *English Party*, who laboured for the advantage of William, Prince of Orange, who was initiated the year following into the Masonry of the *English Party*, forgetful of the obligations of the old Masonic Constitutions, which exacted the oath of fidelity to the King and Holy Church, or the established religion.

"During this time, James II. demanded the assistance of his ally Louis XIV., entered Ireland against his kinsman, and penetrated into Scotland, but in spite of the support of the French arms, he was vanquished; then returned to France, preceded and followed by a crowd of greater and lesser nobility, English, Irish and Scottish, all magnificently received at the Court of Louis XIV., and who set themselves to 'labour under the veil of Scottish Masonry, not only for the restoration of the deposed King, but also to re-establish the Catholic heirarchy in England.' (MS. of the Prince of Hesse.) Some 'scrupulous brethren' had a fire in London in 1720, and gave to the flames a quantity of Masonic documents which revealed too much; the Royal Family has had possession of 500,000 documents, comprising the papers of James II., of his son, and of his grandson, which they have kept in vain under lock at Edinburgh, precious documents in print and in manuscript. This has not hindered the truth from being pointed out by Henri Martin, who possessed solid material with which to compile his celebrated *Histoire de France*, enabling him to say that these 'were the vanquished adherents of the ultramontane catholicism, and of absolute Monarchy which propagated Masonry' (evidently that of the Stuarts) 'in France.' (Vol. xv., p. 399.)

"Immediately on his arrival in Paris, James II. installed himself in the Jesuit College of Clermont, at St. Germain-en-Laye, where he established a sort of Government with Ministers and Ambassadors, and where, if we rely upon Bro. Ragon, in alluding to the labours of P. Bonani, were issued 'the first Masonic Templar Statutes.'

"In these times, that is to say a little after 1690, there were already some Grades at the Court of Louis XIV. filled with noble partisans of the Stuarts. Bro. Robison, Secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, expresses himself thus upon the subject, of the period of 1696: 'It was in a Lodge held at St. Germain-en-Laye that the Grade of *Chevalier Maçon Ecossaise* was added to the three symbolic degrees of English Masonry. The rank of *Chevalier Ecossaise* was called the first degree of *Parfait Maçon*' (1798 ed., p. 28). The Bro. Clavel adds: 'The initiation was given to some highly

placed persons whom they had gained over to the cause' (that of the Stuarts and ultramontane Catholics) 'and of whom they wished to utilise the credit to induce the Government of Louis XIV. to intervene, arms in hand, in favor of the decayed dynasty. These refugees included members of several grades, such as *Maitre Irlandais*; *le Parfait Maitre Irlandais*, and others that were intended to serve to stimulate the zeal of the adepts, to prove them, and to separate them from the crowd.' (*Hist. Pitt. de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, p. 164-5.)

"On the death of James II., his son, who had been reared with James of Derwentwater, and had the Duke of Perth as governor, was recognised King of England under the title of James III., and by the mistaken treaty of Ryswick, by Louis XIV., also dear to Madame de Maintenon. The same recognition was made by Spain, by the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy, but the death of William III. supervened the next year, when the Princess Anne Stuart, wife of George of Denmark, and second child of James II., took possession of the British throne.

"In 1708, a first tentative descent upon England took place in favour of the young Pretender, surnamed the Chevalier St. George, upon a plan conceived by the Scottish Simon Frazer, a revoked English Officer and the future Lord Lovat. (See Howell's State trials.) After the death of Queen Anne, and following a conspiracy of 1713, woven by the Duke d'Aumont, French Ambassador in London and friend of Mme. de Maintenon, a new attempt was made in 1715, but in consequencee of the death of Louis XIV. and the inaction of the Regent, which had been purchased by the English government, this attempt foundered, occasioning the death, on the field of battle and on the scaffolds erected by the usurping dynasty, of a crowd of *Chevaliers of St. Andrew*, or *Chevaliers Ecossaises*, amongst the number of which, it is convenient to cite a great friend of James III., the Bro. James Ratcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater (born 28th June, 1689), who was beheaded in London in 1716. His brother Charles escaped from the prison of Newgate and became afterwards the first Grand Master of Masonry in France.

"The London conspiracy had its impulse from Louis XIV. at Commercy from September 1712, that is to say, a little before the Treaty of Utrecht concluded in April, 1713. The Duke of Ormond took part in this conspiracy, as well as the famous Bolingbroke, a man who was much the friend of Voltaire. The correspondence between England, Scotland, the Court of France and the Pretender was carried on by the intermediary of the Abbé Butler, a Scot established at Cambrai, and a friend of Ramsay, of Fenelon, etc. (See Howell's State Trials). Observe that the Duke of Ormond had been a friend of James II., and that his name was given later to a lodge founded at the Rue de Bussy at Paris.

"Following the want of success of James III. in Scotland, which obliged him, owing to the trafficking of the Regent and the Abbé Dubois, his Minister and former tutor, the Pretender had to quit France definitely; in 1718 he was at Rome, hoping for the support of Charles XII. and the Czar of Russia, thence he departed for Spain, where Cardinal Alberoni prepared for him an expedition in which Charles Ratcliffe, who had assumed the forfeited title of Earl of Derwentwater took part. The grade of *Chevalier de St. Andrew* was now reorganized; 'it is certain,' says Bro. Robison, 'that the degree of *Chevalier Ecossaise*, and yet other higher degrees were much in vogue in 1716 at the Court of France.' That is to say, at the period when they prepared the Treaty of the Triple Alliance, which was concluded 4th January, 1717, and in which we can see the price which King George I. paid for the purchase of the Duke

of Orleans; the date also when four old Lodges of Masonry, under the conduct of the followers (or successors) of Ashmole, withdrew from the old tutelage and formed a Grand Lodge called 'of London' (a continuation of the amateur *English Party* of a foreign Protestant dynasty), creating, in February 1717, that which Bro. Ragon calls, with much reason, 'another Masonry.' This other Masonry is comprehended the better when we remember that its principal founder was the Rev. Dr. J. T. Desaguliers, a Protestant, born in France, at la Rochelle 12th March, 1683 (died 29th February, 1744). He was a member of the Royal Society, Chaplain to the Duke of Chandos, afterwards to the Prince of Wales, and the future George II., and was moreover a personal friend of George I. of Hanover, who, although he knew neither the language nor the customs of England, had been called in 1714 to replace Queen Anne on the throne of the Stuarts."

All the foregoing matter is of so much interest, even to the ordinary English reader, that I have not had the heart to abridge the translation. But "Teder" now goes into particulars of A. M. Ramsay, Chevalier of St. Andrew, with whose general career Bro. R. F. Gould has made Freemasons well acquainted. There is this exception, that "Teder" makes no hesitation in expressing his view that Ramsay was not a faithful friend of the Stuarts. A friend of Fenelon, a Member of the French *Ordre du Temple*, he is inclined to think that the Chapter of Clermont, existing before 1741, owed its Templar proclivities to that source; and there is no doubt that the views, heretofore expressed as those of the Prince of Hesse, were those of the *well* informed Ramsay, and deserve a respectful hearing.

"Initiated by Archbishop Fenelon himself into the Secret of a 'Templar revenge,' well suited to the fallen Stuarts, to the Jesuits banished from the British realm, and to the Roman Catholics persecuted by the State, Bro. Ramsay—who before 1715 had been in contact with Derwentwater, the Duke of Perth, with Hamilton, the Duke de Bouillon, James III., and other great Jacobite personages, more or less allied with Fenelon, founded the *Mont d'Heredom of St. Germain-en-Laye* in 1721, and which is the date of the Dunkerque Lodge *Amitié et Fraternité*, for before this there was no other English Lodge in France. It yet exists and flatters itself that Ramsay was its founder. . . . . Wherefore it is necessary to conclude that Bro. Ramsay, friend of the Regent, and Tutor of the son of the Duke de Bouillon, was the basis of the power of the Grand Lodge of London, and this is very singular when we consider the Catholicism of Ramsay and the anti-Roman Masonry of Desaguliers. However this be, the choice of Dunkerque for the 'Premier Lodge' in France is all the more worthy of note, as Bro. Ramsay was certainly not ignorant that in the Treaty of 24th January, 1717, preceding by some weeks the foundation of the 'New Masonry' of Desaguliers, the Regent had accepted the demolition of the military fort of that place. After this, the Regent and the Cardinal Dubois being dead, a new French policy under Louis XV. had birth. Ramsay repaired to Rome in 1724, ostensibly as tutor of the son of James III., but in reality (for Charles Edward, born 31st December, 1720, was but 3½ years old) to receive there a complete initiation by means of the particular instruction of the pretender and his Council, of which the principal members were Colonel John Hay, Earl of Inverness; his brother Lord Kinnoul, and his brother-in-law James Murray, surnamed Earl of Dunbar. It is very singular that, in 1724, the Earl and Countess of Inverness were chosen by James III. to be the tutors of his son. This choice, with other things, caused an embroilment between James III. and his wife. Another plot on behalf of the Pretender, who had dwelt at Rome since 1718, took place in England in 1722, in which Bro. the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Orrery, the Duke of

Ormond, General Dillon, etc., were concerned; and the Anglican Bishop Atterbury, from his arrival at Rome, was a member of the Council of the Pretender.

"Viscount Bolingbroke, who had espoused Md^{e}. de Vilette, niece of Mme. de Maintenon and parent of Voltaire, returned to London, and with the money which he had collected from the entourage of the Regent, of the Duke d'Antin, sought to secure, by a monthly payment, the services of Mme. Von Schulenberg, Duchess of Kendal and mistress of George I., the friend and protector of Bro. Desaguliers.

"At this period, the son of the Marquis of Wharton, the young Philip, was in Paris at the end of 1716 and was created Duke of Northumberland by the Pretender, and by George I. in January, 1718, Duke of Wharton, and had recently [in 1722] been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of London. He suddenly recalled to mind that his grandparents, fifty years before, had been friendly to the better Masonry of Ashmole, left his country definitely, became Catholic, and went to Rome to be near James III. When in Paris, in 1716, he had been very assiduous with Lord Stair, the British Ambassador, had access to the widow of James II., who lent him 50,000 francs, and on his return to London soon became Grand Master of the Grand Lodge."

Now follows a long dissertation on the Gormogons, which "Teder" considers had degrees above those of the Craft (probably the Harodim), but as Bro. Gould has already given your readers the result of his examination, it need not be repeated here.

"An *Ancient Mason* was something like the Duke of Wharton; a *Modern Mason* was something like his successor, the Earl of Dalkeith. The first went to Rome; the second remained in London, because he was grandson of the Duke of Monmouth who was beheaded by order of his uncle James II., father of the Pretender. After a year had passed at the Court of James III., who was, I do not say, Grand Chief of the *Illustrious Order of Gormogons*, but a Templar as was the Jesuit father Bonani who knew him well, and Hereditary Grand Master of Harodim Rosy Cross, termed the Royal Order of Scotland. Bro. Ramsay, in 1725, with Colonel Hay, Earl of Inverness, and several other personages of importance, quitted Rome, and repaired to Paris, where, immediately, some Lodges were founded by Bro. Charles, Earl of Derwentwater, who ten years previously had been condemned to death in England, and by certain other persons, attached like himself to Catholicism and the fortunes of the Pretender, under favour of a new Pope—Benoit XII.—elected 29th May, 1724. Bro. Gould asks who was a certain Heguetty, who was at this time the founder of a Lodge? We scarcely comprehend why he failed to discover in the name a Hay of Dalgetty, near Aberdeen. At this period there were not many Irishmen in Paris; the greater part of those who fought in 1708 and 1715, in Ireland, had emigrated to America, where, later, their grandchildren united themselves with the *Chevaliers Ecossaises*, and failed not to discuss the affairs of the Colony in rebellion against the Metropolis, with many brothers living in France.

"We now come to the year 1727. Bro. Ramsay published his *Travels of Cyrus*, a work full of transparent allusions, which he dedicated to the Duc de Sully, to whom, some years before, the famous Law had offered 1,700,000 francs for the Marquisate of Rosay; then, in England, George I. died, and was succeeded by his son George II., the old pupil of Bro. Desaguliers."

Some amount of matter is added here in regard to the grades attributed, erroneously, to Ramsay, and to those of the Chapter of Clermont (in existence before 1741), but "Teder" is of opinion that these became in the later Rite of Perfection of 25°; Ecossaise 13°; Novice 14°; Chevalier of the Temple 24°. I have expressed my views before on this, and see no reason to alter them. "Teder" denies the assertion that Charles Earl

of Derwentwater was ever a member of London Masonry; or that d' Harnouester ever existed, but that all the writers who allude to him have been mystified by Lalande's article on Masonry. In my opinion d' Harnouester is a misreading for Derwentwater, and I expressed this opinion some years ago in the *Transactions* of the Newcastle College of Rosicrucians. He denies, on apparently good grounds, the authenticity of the Stuart Charter to Arras in 1747, but it must be observed that we have no authentic copy of it. Equally he demands proof that the Grand Lodge of France, under, it may be observed, Sir Hector McLean, the Earl of Derwentwater, etc., was known as the Grand Lodge *Anglaise* before 1743. The Chevalier Bonneville, who gave prominence to the Chapter of Clermont, in 1754, is equally unknown in France, and is taken from Lalande's article. He expresses an opinion, respecting which I have written recently in our pages, that the ancient Chevalier Templar, of the Clermont Chapter, became "a part of Kadosh"; whilst the later fourth degree, of Illustrious Knight, afterwards became the Prince of the Royal Secret. If such a person as Bonneville ever existed, it seems to me that he it was who extended the Clermont System, by taking in the six additional degrees of Knights of the East, which were but a renaming of those of the Toulouse System of the *Vieille Bru*, established about 1747. With regard to the 1745, or 1747, Charter of Arras, I defer, with regret, to the opinion of so able a critic as "Teder," for the text of that document contains an historical statement which agrees with the Oration of 1737 attributed to Ramsay, and with other facts in England which we know, namely, that the Rites of the so-called Harodim, or Rulers, were those of the Masters' Fraternity of true and ancient Masonry, out of which sprang, by 1741, the three degrees of the Chapter of Clermont. That Arras document distinctly states that the Rites of Christian Mastership were originally known as Harodim, that the name of Chevalier of the Eagle and Pelican succeeded (*i.e.*, after King James invaded England in 1715, with the standard of a Pelican feeding its young with its blood), and "since our misfortunes" (of 1745) as Rose Croix.

"It is very certain that at this epoch, and for a long time previously, two Masonic systems, absolutely distinct from each other, existed in Europe; the one '*Scotch*,' which assumed superiority, and which was favourable to the ancient Stuart dynasty, in which 'Roman Architecture' was preferred, the other '*English*,' rifling the ancient Rituals, which Bro. Findel has termed 'the old remains of Romanism,' and rejecting all hierarchy above the symbolic degrees; precisely as they rejected all connected with the Papal hierarchy, and favourable only, under cover of fidelity to the King, and neutrality in religious matters—a fidelity and neutrality very misty—to the protestant King brought from abroad into England. This religious neutrality was tardily an effect beginning in 1672, under Bro. Charles II.; and in 1687-8, under Bro. James II.; edicts of toleration assured entire liberty for all creeds, having no worse adversaries than those who, after showing their lack of fidelity to the Stuart dynasty, brought in a foreign one—aimed thus at imposing on all, fidelity to the protestant usurpation, and neutrality in religious matters. There is no doubt that Masonry—as says Henri Martin—built exclusively the Churches of the middle ages and that down to 1717 it had not ceased for a moment, in spite of the troubles of the Reformation, to be Christian. The Christian character of all the old Masonic MSS.—following Bro. Gould himself—indicates in all ways an undeniable fact."

"Teder" now devotes several pages, taken from a variety of our ancient MSS., proving that the Initiate was sworn to fidelity to the King and to the doctrines of the Holy Catholic Church. As we already have these Charges, in print by Bro. W. J. Hughan and others, and in facsimile by the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, we already know

these things by heart and need not repeat them here. One suggestive remark on the Melrose MS. I give: "In 1533-4 Henry VIII., who was an able politician, detached himself from Roman architecture, and, to blind small people, drew to Lutheran architecture, from which he had chased others; decreeing an English Architecture in his realm, this was the cause of the divisions which surged in English Masonry." Again, we read after numerous quotations from the Old Charges:—

"The nature of the service exacted from Masons of this period differed little from those exacted in Romanist times from the Archbishops, Bishops, and Members of the lesser Anglican Clergy; in effect the ancient formula of the oath which these last were held to take, was similar to the ancient formula of the oath of the high and the lesser Gallican Clergy, thus: 'I . . . swear by the very high and Sacred Name of God; and promise to your Majesty that, so long as I live, I will be your faithful servant; that I will not assist at any Council, or Assembly, which is founded against your service; and that if anything to your prejudice comes to my knowledge I will advertise your Majesty.' By article 6 of the *Concordat* a similar Oath is still exacted in France:—'If in my diocese, or elsewhere, it appears that something is framed to the prejudice of the State, I will make it known to the government.' Masons and Priests were then in accord, to swear fidelity to *Holy Church*; to *defend the King*; and to use the same hidden means in *order to prevent all treason and all plots.*"

"Teder" observes that there is but one Church which claims to be the Holy Church; and then goes on to examine the changes which arose in 'Modern' Masonry by the manipulations of the Constitutions of 1723. But he admits, after all, that in order to secure the safety of the new dynasty, the engineers of *Modern* Masonry organised "a sort of universal Theosophy," and were the true innovators. The following will be new to our readers:—

"I see that in 1558, an Archbishop of Dublin—George Bronswell—wrote:—'There is a fraternity, founded for a short time . . . which is seducing many into it. The members, for the most part, live after the manner of the Scribes and Pharisees, and seek to abolish virtue. They have had some success, because this sort of persons turn themselves into divers forms; with pagans they will be pagans; with atheists they will be atheists; with the Jews they will be Jews; *with the Reformers they will be Reformers*':—and I observe that this fraternity—notwithstanding that they are true disciples of St. Paul,—have then a policy different to that of Masons, because we see by the ancient Masonic Charges these last swore faith to the King and the Holy Church, notwithstanding that the members of the Fraternity, of which Archbishop Bronswell speaks, all belong to the 'Holy Church,' spreading themselves to accommodate religion, as says the P. de Rhodes, to the taste of the nations which they visited, and, as history proves, always remaining faithful to the King."

So "Teder" goes on to argue that "Ancient" Masonry was the application of the ancient rule of our Charges to the Stuart dynasty and the Romish faith, whilst "Modern" Masonry, following the Constitutions of Bro. Anderson, was the emasculation of these to support the foreign dynasty; it seems true enough, unpalatable though it be. He then continues as follows, and there is possibility in it:

"In 1690 and 1721 the 'Ancient' Masonry continued by the Stuart faction had assuredly established Lodges in France. The *dossiers* of the Grand Orient, relative to Military Lodges, say that a Lodge *Parfaite Egalité*, existed in 1690 in the Irish Regiment of Walshe, in the service of Louis XIV. Afterwards other Lodges were founded, although according to Bro. Robison (ed. 1798, p. 28) there were Masonic

graduates at the Court of France in 1716, and when, further, the Irish and Scotch continued to serve the French governments. From 1725, when Bro. Ch. Derwentwater appears, we see the birth of other Lodges, 'of which we know no more than the names to-day,' and which certain English historians term irregular; as it was very necessary to support the innovations of Bro. Desaguliers to imply that he was a *regular* Mason; as if a *regular* Masonry had not existed before the colossal *irregularity* committed in 1716 by the partisans of the Royal Art in the service of George I. On the 7th May, 1729, a Lodge *Louis d'Argent*, of which a Bro. le Breton (no doubt of Great Britain) was *Vénérable* was founded; in 1732 a Lodge at the house of the traitor Landelle was established in the Rue de Bussy, which could be called together at any moment. The Duke d'Aumont was initiated herein, and hence it assumed his name. All this is deceptive. It is manifest that it was sought to spread confusion around the first half of the eighteenth century in order to deceive the curious, and it may be said of Masonic history what Bro. Frederick II., in his *Memoirs*, says of other histories: that they are compilations of deceit mixed with some truths. Who knows whether it is not for this reason that Bro. Gould, citing a profane author, adds: 'He was not a Freemason, and this augments the value of his testimony. (vol. iii., p. 80.) For the rest we seize, with advantage, the intention of such forged imbroglios; after what we have said we read: 'In 1735 a deputation of the Lodges of Paris, of which Derwentwater formed part, demanded from the *Grand Lodge of England* authority to form a Provincial Grand Lodge.' Clavel says that this authority was refused, because the Parisian Lodges had a very marked political tendency. If this political tendency had been in accord with the Treaty of the Triple Alliance of Brother George II., and if the Rituals of *Ancient* Masonry continued by the partisans of the Stuarts had not been those of the Parisian Lodges, we can easily comprehend that the Masonic deputation of Paris would have been received with enthusiasm in London; but Bro. the Earl of Derwentwater, as well as Bro. Ramsay, held that Roman Architecture was defined in the Ancient Masonic Constitutions of England, and consequently the Lodges founded by these two Catholics were of the kind which, in spite of the pretended tolerance displayed in the Constitutions of Anderson, could not be tolerated by the Modern Masonry of Anderson and Desaguliers"

Here "Teder" quotes the *St. James' Evening Post*, of 7th September, 1734, stating that a Lodge had been held at the home of the Duke of Richmond, assisted by another noble Englishman of distinction, the President Montesquieu, Brigadier Churchill, Ed. Young and Walter Strickland. Also in the same journal of 20th September, 1735, it is said that Desaguliers was present with the Duke of Richmond at the Hotel du Bussy under authority of the Grand Master of England. All this "Teder" disputes by innuendo.

"Ah! well, history, which is not grounded on fiction, tells us that Louise Penhoët, termed of *Kerouaille*, and Duchess of Portsmouth, had been a good woman of police (*i.e.*, a spy) in the service of Louis XIV., and that she became the mistress of Bro. Charles II. of England. From this free union in 1672 was born a boy, who was baptized under the name of Charles, and who was, in 1675, created Duke of Lennox in Scotland, and Duke of Richmond in England, and Duc d'Aubigny in France. This triple Duke was a Roman Catholic, was Master of a Lodge in 1697 under the Anglican Bro. William III., and by his oath to the ancient Constitutions was perforce obedient and faithful to the legitimate King and to *Holy Church*. He died 1723, and it is his son, a Romanist like his father, born in 1701, died 1750, who in April, 1732, and in September, 1734, finds himself in the Lodge held at the house of his grandmother, the Duchess of Portsmouth, in the Hôtel de Bussy. The Duchess died the 14th November

following. Certain French historians place this death in 1725, but it is an error or a deception. She died in 1734 at the Hotel de Bussy in her 82nd year. She entered France in 1685, and had at once conferred upon her a pension of 12,000 livres for services rendered to Charles II.; this pension was increased to 20,000 livres, then to 24,000 livres; and 28th October, 1721, she had a grant of 600,000 livres in various properties. Thus Bro. Charles Earl of Derwentwater, Bro. Charles Duke of Richmond, were grandsons of Charles II. and cousins, after the British mode, of James III, son of James II. We also see figuring in this same Lodge, No. 90, James first Earl of Waldegrave, an old Roman Catholic, easily there as an English Catholic; his father Henry had espoused a natural daughter of Bro. James II. by Arabella Churchill, and he died in France faithful to his Masonic oath, and to his duties of *Chevalier Ecossaise* in the entourage of his prescribed sovereign. . . . From this it follows that Bro. the Earl of Waldegrave was grandson by his mother, of James II. and nephew of Bro. the Duke of Berwick, who also was born of the clandestine amours of James II. and Arabella Churchill: equally cousin of Bro. the Earl of Derwentwater, of Bro. the Duke of Richmond and the Bro. James III. We see him entered under the name of Lord Waldegrave (*à Compiègne*) in a "List of Agents of the Pretender," given in the *Free Britain*, No. 131, of the 1st June, 1732: as well as the Irish Abbé Dun; General Dillon; Arbuthnot, the Scotch Banker in London; Dr. Wogan, an Irishman in Paris; Lord Dunbar (Murray), etc. See also a Bro. Lord Chewton; this Mason is simply the eldest son of the Earl of Waldegrave.

"In truth the members of the Lodge, No. 90, of the Rue de Bussy, though visited by the Rev. Bro. Desaguliers, the friend of George II., were no strangers to the family of the Pretender, and the choice of the Hotel of the Duchess of Portsmouth, ex-*policier* of the French government, attracted the attention of the Count de St. Florentin, Member of that Lodge and Secretary of State, who had special charge of the clergy from 1726, and was a cruel enemy of the Protestants, Lutherans and Calvinists, tracking them out in France where they had not the same freedom as in England, or as enjoyed by Bro. Desaguliers. History says of this Count—otherwise well spoken of in the *Mémoires sécréts de la Cour de Perse*: 'No minister has signed so many letters *de cachet*, no one having, at this period, displayed so much intolerance against the Protestants, upon whom he calls incessantly for a more rigorous prosecution.' There is a higher question in regard to Bro. Lord Dursley. This peer sojourned often at the Chateau d'Aubigny, where Bro. the Duke of Richmond established, with other persons, in 1735, a Lodge No. 133; he was no other than Bro. James Berkeley, officer of the English Marine, and grandson of George Berkeley, who was created an Earl in 1679 by Bro. Charles II., and had, at the commencement of 1695, been entrusted with the assassination of William III., son-in-law of the Catholic Bro. James II., whose throne he occupied. This project was conceived in the French Court, and being prevented in time, William III. himself denounced the affair in Parliament, and Berkeley was arrested. The grandson, Lord Dursley, died 17th August, 1736. We see also a Duke of Kingston, honouring with his presence the Lodge No. 90, and we know that Ramsay was connected with the family of Kingston.

"I say nothing of Bro. Baron Montesquieu, whose works are well known, and I will only add that Bro. Walter Strickland, of whom mention has been made, was of the family of the Strickland who in 1745, under the baptismal name of Francis, accompanied Bro. Prince Charles Edward into Scotland. Walter Strickland was a son of Thomas who was of the Privy Council of Charles II. and James II. and whose death is recorded on the 8th January, 1694, in the entourage of the last dethroned King; his widow

was *femme de chambre* to the ex-Queen of England at St. Germain, and abstracted from the pocket of her mistress the letters that her husband had written to Louis XIV. and Mme. de Maintenon. Copies of these letters were made by that good lady, and sent by her to the English Government. A certain Abbé Strickland followed the same principles, but in an inverse sense, and by that he failed to become a Cardinal, but became Bishop of Namur and died in 1740 ; he was brother to the beforementioned Walter and Francis Strickland, and a descendant of Walter became the Comte della Catena (in 1745) at Malta, the home of the Chevaliers of the Order.

"Before these facts, against the exactitude of which no serious objection is possible, are we not justified in the belief that there was much Romanism, and Romish Architecture, among the Jacobite Brothers visited, in 1735, by the Bro. Desaguliers, Catholic English Priest, in the Lodge held at the house of His Grace the Duke of Richmond, grandson of the august Bro. Charles II., and heir of Louise Penhöet ? Even Bro. Gould (vol. iii., p. 138) is obliged to avow that the Lodge, No. 90, of the Rue de Bussy and that of Derwentwater, were but one and the same Lodge.

"In his *Essay upon the letters of Horace Walpole and Sir Horace Mann*, Lord Macaulay shows us that the greater part of the adversaries of the Anglican Bro. Walpole, first Minister of Bro. George II., were in direct relations with the Pretender, and when we search the Masonic records of these persons, we inevitably find them always in the presence of *Scottish* Masonry.

"On the subject of York Masonry three examples will suffice : Bathurst who had been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of All England at York in 1726 ; Edward Thompson who had the office in 1729 ; and Dr. John Johnston who had it in 1733, were three men who remained attached to the *Ancient* Constitutions and were also the inveterate adversaries of Bro. Walpole, a Mason of the *English Party*, dependent upon the *Modern* System of Bros. Desaguliers and Anderson.

"Amongst the *Scotch Party* we may mention Bro. the Earl of Marchmont (Patrick Hume) a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh. He became a traitor to the cause of the Stuarts, and Lockhart accused him of betraying his friends for money. There was also Bro. Wm. Gower (Earl of Sutherland) who had married the eldest daughter of Bro. David Wemyss, called Lord Elcho, who was in the affair of 1745, and whose father James Earl of Wemyss, was G.M. of Scotland in 1743 ; Bro. the Duke of Montrose ; Bro. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, of the Horn Lodge, London, a friend of Pope, of Ramsay, and of Montesquieu ; being Ambassador at La Haye in 1731 he had induced Francis Duke of Lorraine, and afterwards Duke of Tuscany and father of Marie Antoinette, to accept Initiation. An occasional Lodge was called at La Haye for the purpose, and the Anglican Catholic Priest, Bro. Desaguliers went there to preside, accompanied by several delegates from London. The year following, the Duke François, Roman Catholic, received complete initiation with Bro. Walpole in presence of Major-General Churchill, and of the Rev. Thomas Johnson. (Gould ii. p. 282-3 and 388). We may add to these Bro. Alexander Pope, and Bro. Jonathan Swift, both of them friends of Ramsay, and the latter of Bolingbroke, etc. We saw that since 1734 a new conspiracy had begun in favour of James III., corresponding with the new disputes which were raised up in the Grand Lodge of London termed of England. But George II. followed a good occult policy in ignoring all the acts of the adversaries of his private architecture, and he was too crafty to show the arts of triumph. Means, so often put in practice by able politicians, were simple. The King raised a quarrel with his son Frederick Prince of Wales, and all the enemies of George II.—Scotch brethren, of York ; Jacobites ; soldiers of the Stuarts ; and Roman

Catholic conspirators followed the Prince. It naturally ensued that the Hanoverian dynasty found itself,—as says Macaulay,—strengthened by the *apparent disunion* of these two men. These species of blustering disunions, which permit the two sides at the time to gently work the opposing camps, are well known even in the politics of the present-day Masonry, but I may dispense with any insistence on this delicate subject.

"The notable part of this dispute of the Prince of Wales with his father is this, that the Prince had sworn upon the Bible absolute fidelity to the King (his father), had promised to conform to the laws, and never to participate in plots or conspiracies against the government, and even, in need,—following the letter of the instructions of the order,—he would denounce to the King or to his Council, all traitors, who might be so foolish as to make him their confidant."

In conclusion I may point out that I commenced by saying: "Let us seek Truth," and I repeat it, even if the Truth should be unpalatable. "Teder's" enquiry is a new style of argument, as to the origin of Ancient and Modern Masonry, and in my view, after fifty years of reading, is, in a general way, reliable. On the one hand there is nothing offensive to the *Modern* Mason of the Grand Lodge of England, who has numerous specious arguments to plume his feathers with; on the other hand, those who accept the views of the *Ancients* can see no offence in a steady adherence to the ancient charges, and members of the higher grades of the Ancients have no reason to feel ashamed of their noble progenitors. "Teder" has much more to say, but I tire of the translation. He gives the whole speech of Ramsay, with comments thereon; and he considers that the French objections, publicly made, to the existence of Masonry in France, were a farce. That he is a man of much penetration I have some reason to know. I have had in my possession for a generation, a decent sized volume, dated at Buenos Ayres in 1776-83. It is in "the Cypher of the Grand Maître Inconnu"; as closely written as a printed book. I have spent hours over it during the last twenty years, I have tried everyone I knew with it, who professed a skill in cypher, but all to no purpose. "Teder" solved the difficulty, and could read the book in half-an-hour. It proves to be a mixture of Cabalism, and Astrology, with religious Maxims in question and answer, between a disciple in Buenos Ayres, and his Master in Paris. It appears to me to belong to the non-Masonic *Philosophes Inconnus*, of which Ragon gives the ritual of two degrees. The Disciple must have been a man of some position, as there is a prediction as to the result of an amour with the Queen of France,—it may have relations with the Jesuits who were suppressed at the same period. I have said that this MS. is in the characters of the *Grand Maître Inconnu*, but this is only partially so, as the character is complicated by other variations.

I may mention a somewhat curious thing which occurred about a week after I had written the above paragraph. The *Memoirs of Sir Barrington Beaumont* fell into my hands. In this book the lover of the Queen of France is described as the Swedish Count, Axil Ferson. To save the reputation of Marie Antoinette the Count went, in 1781, to America, to aid them in their rebellion against this country. He was back in Paris in 1788, kept up a correspondence with the Queen by means of complicated cyphers, and did his utmost to aid her in the troubles which cost her her life in 1793.

FRIDAY, 1st MARCH, 1907.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, London, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Hamon le Strange, Pr.G.M., Norfolk, W.M.; F. H. Goldney, P.G.D., J.W.; J. T. Thorp, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; H. Sadler, G.Ty., I.G.; J. P. Simpson, S.Stew.; W. M. Bywater, P.G.S.B., P.M., D.C.; Admiral Sir A. H. Markham, P.Dis.G.M., Malta, P.M.; Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.; Sydney T. Klein, P.M.; E. J. Castle, K.C., P.Dep.G.Reg., P.M.; E. L. Hawkins; E. H. Dring; G. Greiner, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and W. John Songhurst, Secretary.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. S. R. Baxter, G. R. D. Rust, R. P. Emmant, H. H. Montague Smith, G. Vogeler, J. A. Taylor, Alan P. Watkins, T. Cohn, J. J. Hall, W. H. S. Humphries, E. A. Mansell, B. Pflug, A. Oliver, A. G. Boswell, W. Howard Flanders, J. I. Moar, W. H. Richardson, R. Colsell, W. M. Wilson, W. Swales, J. A. Innes, W. L. Smith, F. W. Levander, J. T. Johnstone, J. H. S. Craigie, J. Sulley, J. R. Phelp, C. Gough, H. B. Watson, G. Elkington, J. Johnson, D. Bock, W. S. Coles, H. Hyde, H. Chown, C. Watkins, W. N. Pegge, J. C. Nicol, W. R. A. Smith, W. Busbridge, R. J. Harrison, C. E. L. Wright, W. A. Tharp, J. Pullen, J. A. Tharp, C. Butcher, C. H. Denny, C. Wilkinson-Pimbury, H. H. Hann, W. Wonnacott, F. A. Hazzeldine, S. Meymott, A. H. Laird, J. Hands, W. S. Lincoln, A. A. Millward, J. Anstey, J. W. Dickson, J. F. H. Gilbard, S. Walshe Owen, E. J. Day, P. J. Edwards, Herbert Burrows, F. Inskipp, Sir F. S. Graham Moon, J. Watkinson, O. L. Thomson and Sydney R. Clarke.

Also the following visitors:—Bros. Percy E. Metzner, King Solomon Lodge, No. 2029; R. Starling, Cabbell Lodge No. 807; T. Inglis, Enfield Lodge No. 1237; A. Matthews, Victoria Lodge No. 1056; Horace Nelson, Oxford and Cambridge Lodge No. 1118; A. N. May, P.M., Green Room Lodge No. 2957; D. Freeman, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661; J. W. Eisenman, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661; A. Bianchi, P.M., Gihon Lodge No. 49; G. P. Nash, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661; C. J. Rawlinson, P.M., Beacontree Lodge No. 1228; and G. Sutton, Borough of Greenwich Lodge No. 2332.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were received from Bros. R. F. Gould, P.G.D.; J. Paul Rylands; W. J. Hughan, P.G.D.; T. B. Whytehead, P.G.S.B.; L. A. Malczovitch; E. Conder, jun.; G. L. Shackles, P.M.; E. Armitage, P.D.G.D.C.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.G.O.; W. Watson; E. Macbean; Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, G.Treas., Ireland; and W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C.

One Grand Lodge and seventy-four Brethren were admitted to the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Henry Fitzpatrick Berry, I.S.O., Asst. Keeper Public Records, Ireland, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Member of Royal Irish Academy, Fellow and Member of Council of Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, etc. P.M. Trinity College Lodge No. 357 (I.C.), P.K. University Chapter, R.A. Residing at 51, Waterloo Road, Dublin. Author of "Sir Peter Lewys, Ecclesiastic, Cathedral and Bridge Builder, and his Company of Masons, 1564-7," "The Marencourt Cup and Ancient Square, preserved in the Union Lodge No. 13, Limerick," etc., etc., was proposed as a joining member of the Lodge.

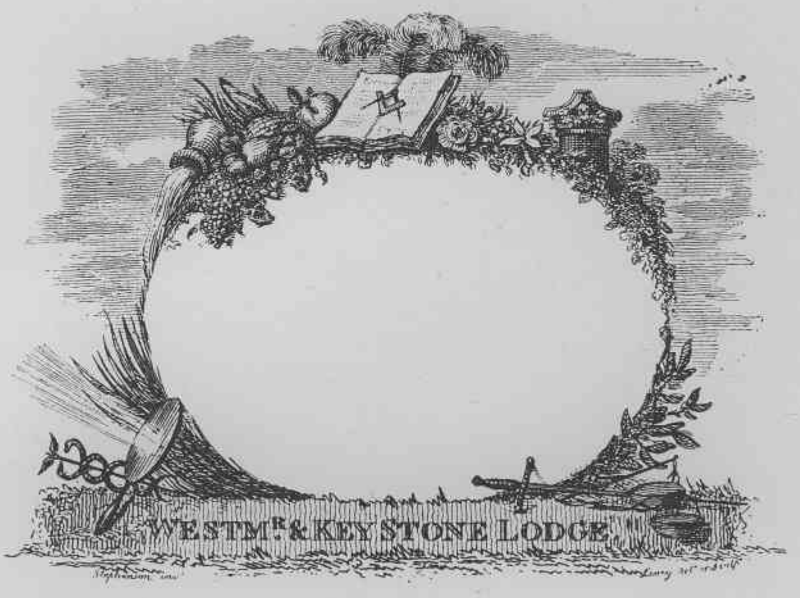
EXHIBITS.

By Bro. T. A. Withey, Leeds.

Large Leather Apron, edged with red ribbon. On the flap is a representation of an open book, square and compasses, etc., in gold thread and spangles, but the decoration on the body of the Apron is painted. It is probable that the Apron is of Irish origin, and that it was worn by a member of the R.A. degree. Two conical pillars surmounted by globes are peculiar.



Engraving by I. Dodd in the possession of Bro. F. W. Levander.



Engraving by Leney in the possession of Bro. F. W. Levander.



Brass Seal in the possession of
Bro. Sydney R. Clarke.



Gold Jewel of Royal York Lodge of Perseverance.
In the possession of Bro. A. S. Stubington.



Isaac Chilcott.

From the original in the possession of Bro. F. A. Powell.

Leather Apron, edged with blue ribbon. The painted design is copied from the frontispiece to the "Sentimental and Masonic Magazine," June, 1794. (See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xvii., page 151.)

By Bro. H. Chown, London.

Old English Rose-Croix Apron.

Old English K.T. Apron.

Apron and Collar, probably worn by a brother who was Senior Grand Warden in Grand Lodge, as well as a Grand Principal in the R.A. Although it has hitherto been assumed that clothing of this type did not come into use until after the Union in 1813, it is certain that these were manufactured before 1800.

By Bro. F. W. Levander, London.

Irish P.M. Jewel, probably of French make.

Small Engraving by I. Dood.

Four Prints from Cole's "Illustrations of Masonry," having at the back engravings by Leney for the Westminster and Keystone Lodge.

By Bro. Sydney R. Clarke, London.

Masonic Book-Plate, "J.M. Attorney at Law, Ashton Underline."

Print of an engraved jewel of "Lodge No. 398, A.M. 5770," originally owned by George Hillier. No. 398 was the Lodge of True Friendship, constituted at Devizes in 1770, and erased in 1778.

Brass Seal. "If this you can read you are a Brother indeed."

By Bro. E. P. Ainsley Dry, Bedford.

Photographs of a stone in a wall at Pompei. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. G. W. Cobham, Gravesend.

Jewel, dated 5818, not yet identified, but believed to have been worn in the Lodge of the "White Eagle" at St. Petersburg.

By Bro. A. S. Stubington, London.

Gold Jewel, presented "To Br. Alexr. Patterson as a Token of respect in grateful testimonial to Services rendered by him. The Royal York Lodge of Perseverance Coldstrm. Guards. March 7th, 1800." The face of the jewel (under glass) gives a representation of King Solomon and the two Hirams.

By the Lodge.

Silver Collar Jewel, in the form of a five-pointed star with superimposed triangle, altar, etc. This is probably an "Oddfellows'" officer's jewel.

By Bro. F. A. Powell, London.

Portrait of Isaac Chilcott, who was for many years head waiter at the Beaufort Arms, Monmouth. He was a member of the Loyal Monmouth Lodge, and probably also of the "Royal Augustus" which preceded it.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the exhibitors and to those who had kindly made presentations to the Lodge Museum.

Bro. J. Percy Simpson read the following paper:—

SOME OLD LONDON TAVERNS AND MASONRY.

BY BRO. J. PERCY SIMPSON.

THE Brethren will remember that in my former Paper on "Old City Taverns and Masonry" we travelled through the City in search of the old Masonic Homes within its present boundaries, and tried to revive something of their past. I would now extend our researches into what may be called the "Greater London" of the Eighteenth Century. "I have often," says Boswell, "amused myself with thinking how different a place London is to different people. They whose narrow minds are contracted to one particular pursuit view it only through that medium . . . but the intellectual man is struck with it as comprehending the whole of human life in all its variety, the contemplation of which is inexhaustible." Leigh Hunt, commenting on this passage points out, that even with the assistance of Dr. Johnson, and his varied Tavern experiences, Boswell realised little of London in times gone by, and all that aggregate of the past which is one of the greatest treasures of knowledge. "It may be," he adds, "that the past is not in our possession, that we are sure only of what we can realise, and that the present and future afford enough contemplation for any man. But those who argue thus argue against their better instinct." The past is the heirloom of the world, and we may exclaim with Charles Lamb: "Antiquity! thou wondrous charm, what art thou? that being nothing art everything!" Let us endeavour, then, to revive once more some of these happy and interesting memories of the Old Taverns of London.

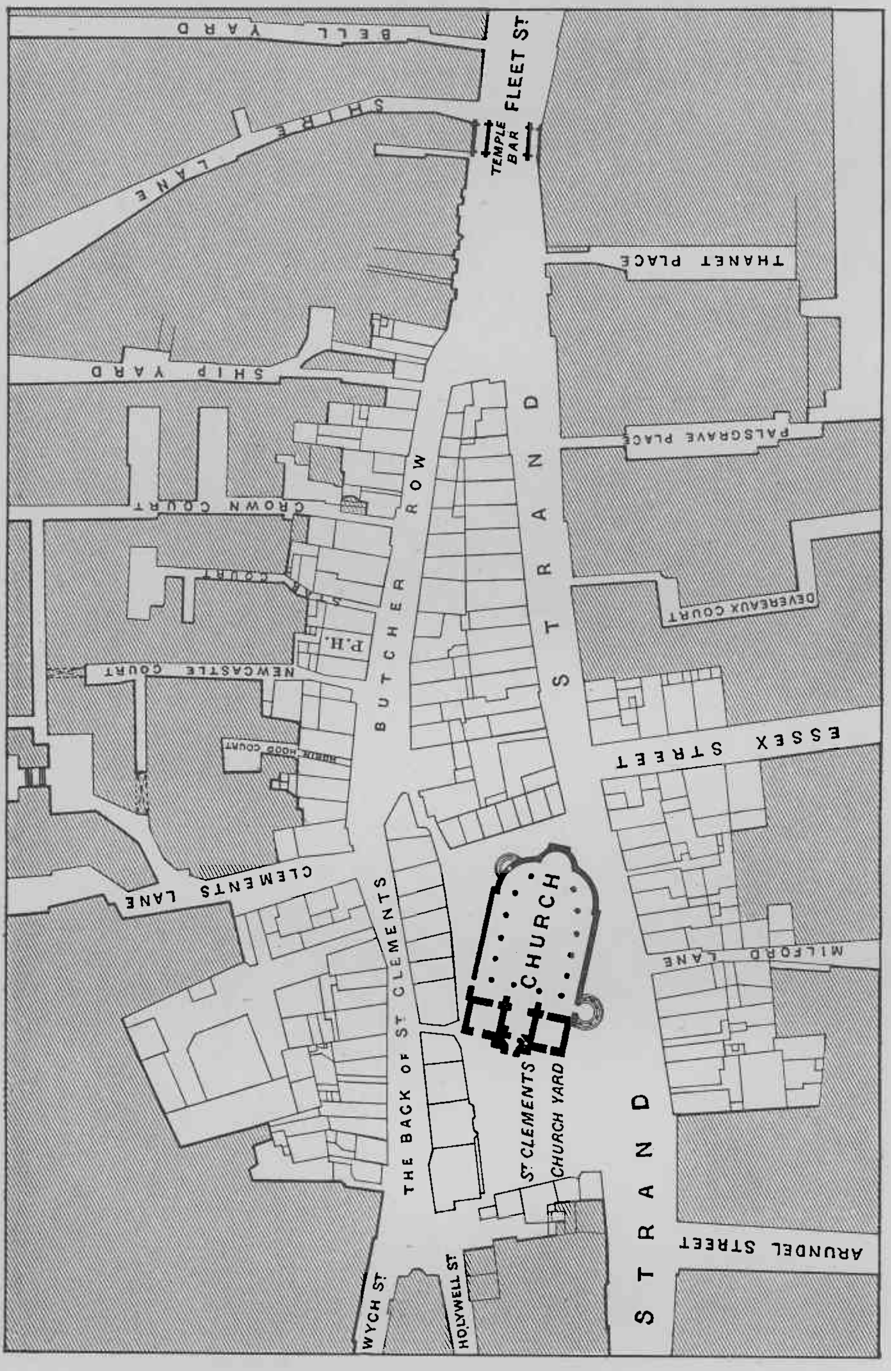
At the end of our last journey we found a resting place at the Old Devil Tavern within Temple Bar. Having supped and slept at this old Inn we may rise refreshed, and start again on our journey. We glance once more at the heads over Temple Bar. Diprose, in his "Parish of St. Clement Danes," gives us two accounts of the last head that ornamented the Bar, and was blown down in a storm. One is that an Attorney named Pearce picked it up, and, after showing it in a Tavern, buried it under the floor of a room in the Inn. The other asserts that it was bought by an antiquary, named Rawlinson, "praised by Johnson for his learning, and bantered by Addison for his pedantry," who ordered it to be buried with him in his right hand in St. Giles' Church, Oxford. This alludes to Dr. Rawlinson, the Masonic historian.

And now let us pass under the old Gate.

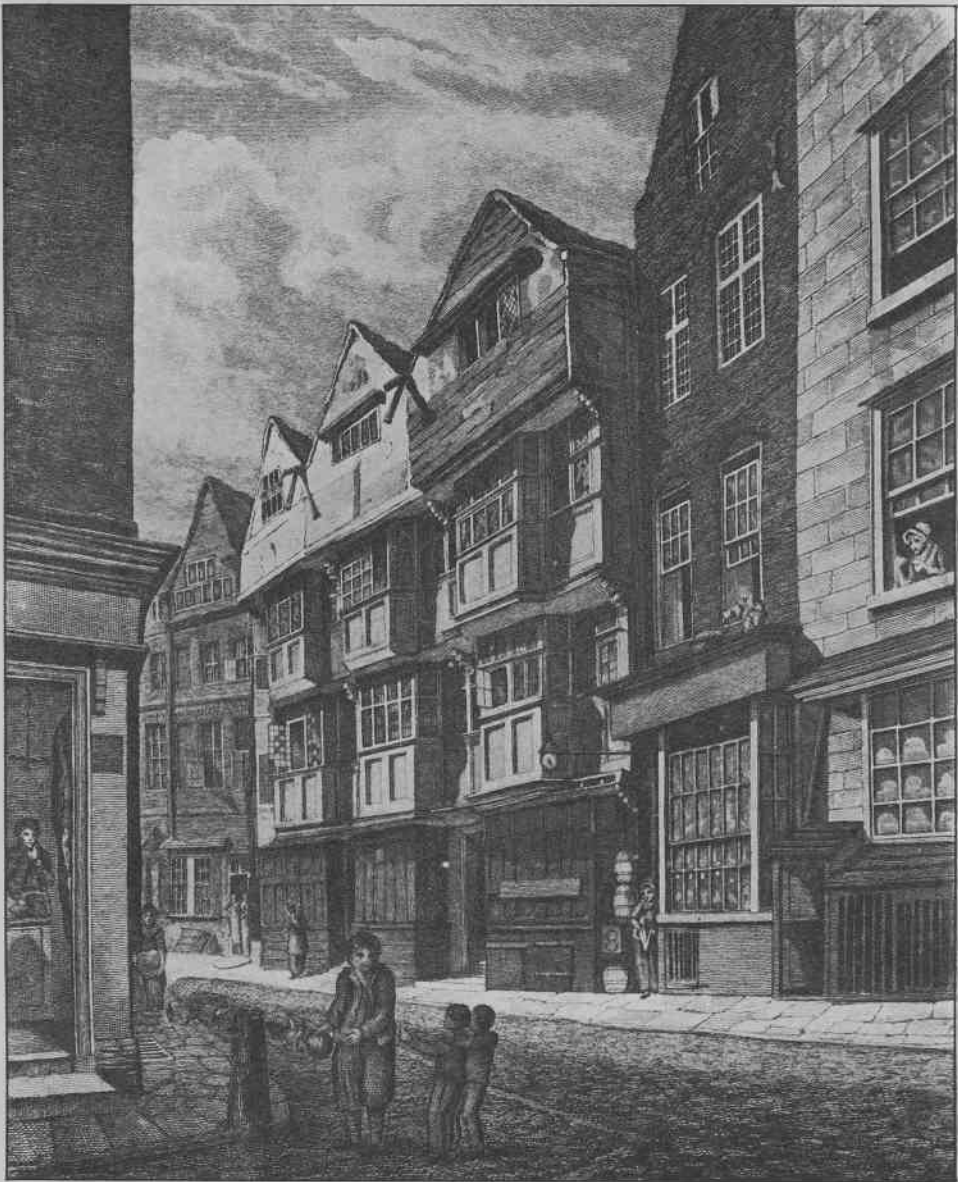
"Come, Fortescue, sincere experienced friend,
Thy brief, thy deeds, and e'en thy fees suspend;
Come, let us leave the Temple's silent walls;
For business to my distant lodging calls,
Through the long Strand together let us stray:
With thee conversing I forget the way."

(*Gay's Trivia.*)

The prospect, however, beyond Temple Bar was very different from that we see to-day, and it requires careful inspection of a Plan (*Plate No. I.*) to realise the changes that have taken place. Butcher Row, which directly confronts us after passing the Gate, was pulled down about the end of the eighteenth century, and other improvements carried



I.—Plan of the Strand, from Temple Bar to St. Clement Danes, *circa* 1750.

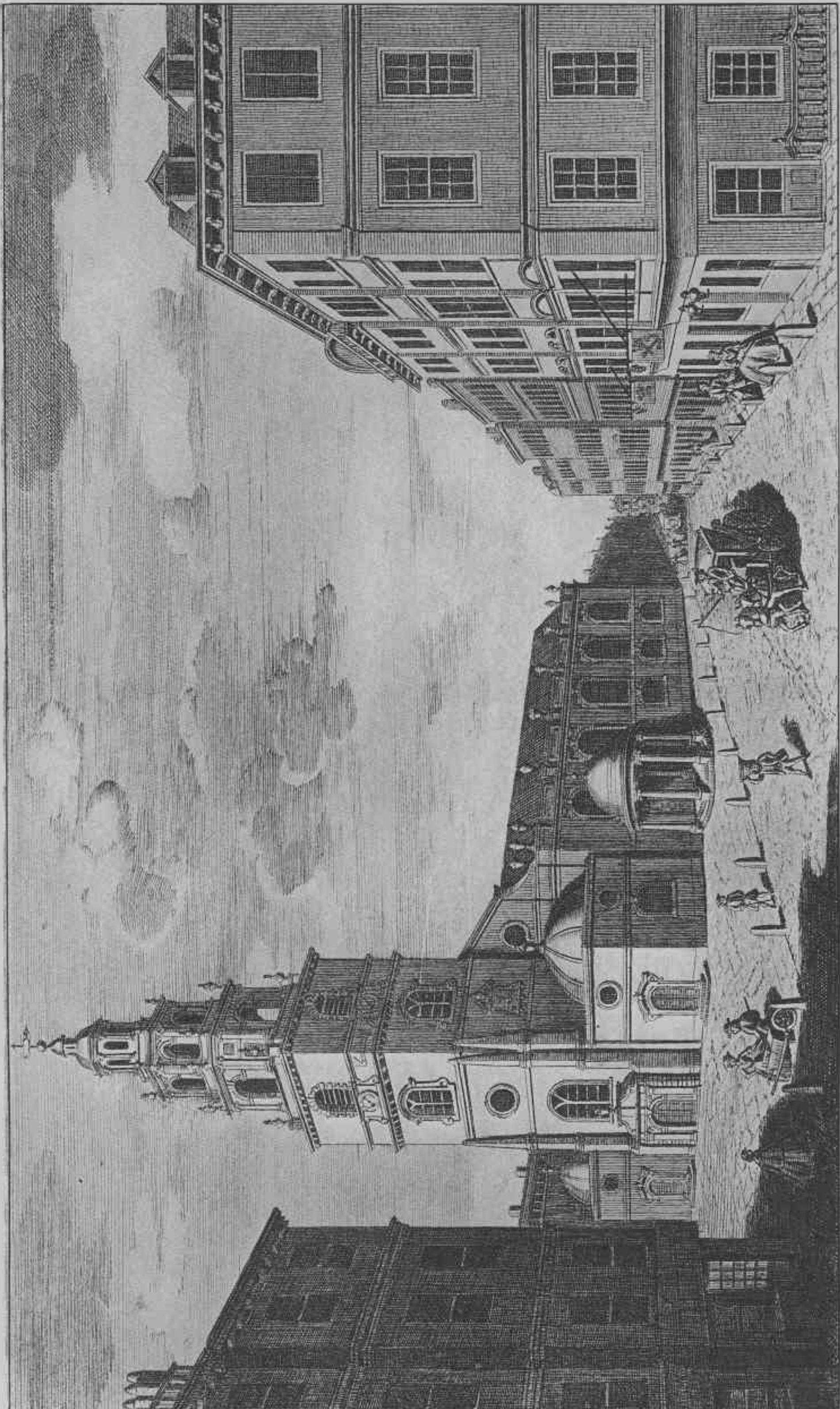


II.—Elias Ashmole's House in Shire Lane.
From an Engraving in the Gardner Collection.



III.—The Robin Hood Society, held at the "Bear and Harrow," Butcher Row, and "Essex Head."

From an Engraving in the Gardner Collection.



IV.—The "Crown and Anchor," and The "Feathers," Strand.

out as advocated by an Alderman named Pickett. At the middle of the eighteenth century Butcher Row and the whole of the streets and courts lying to the north formed a squalid, noisome neighbourhood, full of rickety old wooden houses, and curious narrow blind alleys. Still here and there remained some houses of the nobility, such as Craven House, and some Taverns of good repute, such as "The Trumpet" (afterwards the "Duke of York") in Shire Lane, the home of the famous and aristocratic Kit Katt Club. Shire Lane was just north of Temple Bar, and had also a Masonic Tavern, "The Temple and Sun," where the Grand Committee of the Antients met in 1752. Here too lived Elias Ashmole, the Antiquarian (*Plate No. II.*), and here Anthony à Wood records his having dined with him. (*Lives of Leland, Hearne and Wood*, vol. ii., pp. 234). And to this house came Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, in February, 1677, to apprise Ashmole that the Garter King at Arms was dead.

Butcher Row was probably in the fifteenth century merely a number of booths for the meat brought from the country, and sold to the citizens of London. Later it became built upon, and Count Beaumont, the Ambassador of France, had a house here in the beginning of the seventeenth century, where the Duke de Sully slept for a night in 1603 before going to the Palace of Arundel. (*Bradley's Londiniana*). In Butcher Row were four Masonic Taverns, "The Bear and Harrow," "The George and Dragon," "The Swan" and "King's Head." The first was the most interesting, for here the Corner Stone Lodge (now the St. George and Corner Stone No. 5) held their first meeting in 1730. It was a distinguished Lodge even at that time, and numbered amongst its members the Earl of Strathmore, Lord Montague and Dr. Desaguliers. In the same year "The University Lodge" met here. It was the first Lodge to adopt a distinctive title, and, though seemingly very prosperous both as to the numbers and the quality of its Members, it ceased to exist in 1736. "The Bear and Harrow" seems to have been the union of two signs. At this house, in 1692, the mad Poet, Nat Lee, drank deep, and, going home to Clare Market, fell down in the snow, and was found dead in the morning.

It is curious to note that a Lodge met at "The King's Head," Butcher Row, in 1730, close to the old house of the French Ambassador. It was removed to Paris in 1732 and joined the Grand Orient in 1738.

North of Butcher Row, about where the main Strand entrance to the Law Courts now is, stood Ship Yard, so called from the famous old Tavern "The Ship," a house established in honour of Sir Francis Drake. This Yard and Tavern were granted to Sir Christopher Hatton, in 1571, together with certain lands in Yorkshire (*Life and Times of Sir C. Hatton*, p. 87). It is related that Sir John Denham when a Student at Lincoln's Inn, in 1635, after dining with legal friends at "The Ship," sallied forth and blacked out all the Signs in the Strand. Walpole describes the Yard as opposite the Palsgrave Head on the North side of the Strand. On the 23rd of June, 1740, a fire broke out at Mr. Tibbs, a grocer in the Yard, and burnt most of the old houses, damaging the Tavern. The Royal Athelstan Lodge No. 19, held its meetings here in 1769, and it was not pulled down till 1790.

Passing along the north side towards St. Clement Danes we come across "The King's Arms," which was the home of the King's Arms Lodge in 1733, and from this old house the Lodge took its name in 1742.

On the south side of the Strand from Temple Bar to the Church are three famous houses of refreshment, "Tom's Coffee House" in Devereux Court, "The Rose Tavern" now Thanet Place, and "The George" at the corner of Essex Street, but they did not boast a Masonic connection. Turning down Essex Street, however, we come upon "The Essex Head," built about 1700, on the gardens of Essex House. The curious and ancient

Association known as the "Robin Hood Society" met here (*Plate No. III.*). As far as one can glean this Society was established in 1613 at the house of Sir Hugh Middleton, an original Proprietor of the New River Company. This house in Clerkenwell is still standing, and forms the offices, I believe, of the Water Board. It is enriched by priceless oak carvings by Grinling Gibbons and ceilings by Wren. The Society subsequently removed to "The Bear and Harrow," Butcher Row, and finally to the Essex Head. The President was known as "the Baker," and the discussions comprised "Religion, Politics, and the Moral Fitness of things," each Member being allowed ten minutes to speak. The proceedings and details of this Society was published in 1764. The engraving here shown is dated 1752. At this house also Dr. Johnson in 1784, a year before his death, established a Club of twenty-four Members. Samuel Greaves, an old servant of Mrs. Thrale, was then the Landlord. The Lodge of Unity, No. 69, met here as late as 1839.

Still continuing along the South side of St. Clement Danes we come to "The Feathers Inn," where *The Graphic* Office and a shop for fishing tackle, etc., now stand. Here is an old advertisement in 1752. "At the Feathers Tavern opposite to St. Clement's Dane Church is taught Music, Dancing, and Fencing by Mr. Hart every Tuesday, and Friday from 10 to 10. The manner of learning here is quite private, no strangers being admitted." The Union Lodge migrated here in 1769. Next door (*Plate No. IV.*), where Messrs. Fisher's shop is now situated, was the famous "Crown & Anchor" a celebrated meeting place for many years. It was originally known as "The Crown," the Anchor, the emblem of the Parish of St. Clement Danes, being afterwards added. Strype describes it in 1729 as "a large & curious house with good Rooms, and other conveniences fit for entertainment." Here Dr. Johnson used to "make a night of it," Boswell writing in 1768 says the Doctor "supped at the Crown & Anchor with a company whom I collected to meet him." The great "Crown & Anchor Association" for the supervision of all Republicans and Levellers was initiated here in 1792. An ingenious Barrister, John Reeves, conceived the idea, and at first acted as Chairman, Secretary, and audience, passing Resolutions in favour of the Government, and advertising them. Here also met the Royal Society Club, and the Society with the boastful title of "The King of Clubs." Indeed, early in the last Century it is described as "a nest of Boxes each containing a Club." It was burnt down in 1854, and rebuilt as the Whittington Club, afterwards the Temple Club. The Grand Master's Lodge held their meetings here in 1789 and the Old Union Lodge in 1800. In 1625 (the first year of Charles I.) one Bailey, an old sea captain, who had fought under Drake and Raleigh, started four Hackney Coaches, the first seen in London. These stood opposite "The Crown and Anchor" and were slow rumbling affairs which almost jerked their passengers to death on the uneven pavements.

Almost opposite "The Crown & Anchor" stood "The Old Angel Inn" to which I referred to in some notes to Bro. Hughan's "List of Lodges of Antient Masons," (*Plate No. V.*) It was a rare old coaching Inn, and was pulled down when the Danes Inn was built. It is referred to by Diprose, "Here stood 'The Old Angel Inn,' and excavating after its demolition several small vaults of Roman construction were discovered, likewise a Well fed by springs the waters of which are said to have had a great reputation for their wholesome & curative properties." This may have been the Holy Well of St. Clement after which Holywell Street was named. This well is mentioned by FitzStephen (1178), "Sweete, wholesome and cleere, and much frequented by scholars and youths of the City when they walk forth to take the aire." Another tradition says it was under "The Dog Tavern" at the end of Holywell Street. This Drawing from the Gardner

Collection is, like many others, unique, and the only vestige now remaining of this ancient hostelry.

And now we pass from the rather confined and gloomy streets east of St. Clement Danes, into what may be termed the Strand proper, where at one time on the Southern side a long line of palatial houses and gardens sloped down to the River. "I often" says Charles Lamb "shed tears in motley Strand for fulness of joy at so much life."

A few steps bring us to "the stately cedar, a maypole erected in May 1661, 134 feet high, by the sailors of the Duke of York, as an emblem of the glorious era about to return with the Stuarts." It disappeared when St. Mary le Strand was built about 1710, and Pope makes this the locality where the heroes of the Dunciad assemble:—

"Where the tall Maypole o'erlooked the Strand.
But now (so Anne, and piety ordain)
A Church collects the Saints of Drury Lane."

Close by on the north side stood "The Five Bells" referred to also in my notes on Brother Hughan's Paper, and the home of the Grand Committee of the Antients in 1752. I have since found out that the old house must have been burnt down on 1st October, 1781, as on that date a fire commenced at the shop of a hatter, named Ballard, east of St. Mary le Strand, and next door to "The Spotted Dog," and burnt thirty houses "passing through the Five Bells Tavern."

The old Church of St. Mary le Strand stood on the site of the present Somerset House, and in the year 1650 an Act of Parliament was passed for selling the Honours, Manors and Lands belonging "to the late King, Queen, and Princes" in the Strand. These included Somerset House, and no less than twelve Taverns, including "The Feathers," "The Mitre" and "The Chequers," the ground rents ranging from 13s. 4d. to £2.

Somewhat west of Somerset House, where No 142 now stands, was "The Turk's Head," a House afterwards re-built, and known as "Wright's Hotel." At "The Turk's Head" Dr. Johnson often dined, "I encourage this House for the Mistress of it is a good, civil woman, and has not much business." Here, as late as 1840, the Lodge of Union No. 156 held their meetings.

Crossing the road once more, where the Gaiety Theatre has been rebuilt, once stood "The Fountain Tavern." There were two Inns of this name, the other being a little further west on the south side, and both Masonic resorts. This site and further west must have at one time been an important part of the Strand, as Stow relates, "In the Strand, beginning at Wimbleton House, a very handsome large house, and so also the houses with Exeter Exchange and Court, and the houses adjoining the east side of Burleigh Street, together with all the back buildings to the Fountain Tavern in Katherine Street." Adjoining Katherine Street is White Hart Street or Yard, so named after "The Old White Hart Tavern," where several Lodges met about 1760, amongst them being the Corinthian and Caledonian Lodges. The Sign of the White Hart is of remote antiquity, as Pliny states that Alexander the Great caught a white hart and placed a golden collar round its neck. This was a notable Inn as early as the reign of Elizabeth, and is mentioned in the lease of a pasture in Covent Garden from the Earl of Bedford to Sir Wm. Cecil, 7th September, 1570, "being thereby divided from certayne gardens belonging to the Inn called the White Hart and other tenements situate in the High Street of Westminster called the Strand." There was a humorous epitaph in the Savoy Church to Humphrey Gosling, the landlord of "The White Hart," who died in 1586.

On the south side, the predecessor of "Simpson's Tavern," 101 & 102, Strand, stood the other and more famous "Fountain Tavern." Strype describes it as "a fine Tavern with excellent vaults, good rooms for entertainment, and a curious kitchen for the dressing of meat, which with good wine sold there makes it well resorted to." It was known as the great meeting place of the Tory party in 1685. Here, in 1715, the Lieutenant of the Tower allowed Lord Derwentwater and the other rebel Lords to dine, when returning from their trial at Westminster to the Tower, for which he was censured by the Lord Chancellor. Dr. Stukely (1687-1765), in his diary, relates how on the 6th January, 1721, he was made a Mason at "The Salutation Tavern," Tavistock Street, "with Mr. Cottin and Capt. Rowe who made the famous diving engine"; and later on the 27th December, 1721, "We met at the Fountain, Strand, and by the consent of the Grand Master present, Dr. Beal (D.G.M.), constituted a Lodge there, where I was chose Master." Grand Lodge was held here on the 22nd March, 1722. Later, on the 12th February, 1742, a great Political Meeting met here, attended by 300 Members of both Houses to consider the Ministerial Crisis. Sir John Hanbury Williams alludes to it in one of his Odes to Pulteney:—

"There enlarge on his cunning and wit,
Say how they harang'd at the Fountain,
Say how the old patriots were bit,
And a mouse was produced by a mountain."

At this old Inn, the Royal Alpha Lodge No. 16 had their first meeting in 1723, and the Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity No. 20 in 1731.

In Fountain Court, afterwards Savoy Buildings, we find "The Coal Hole Tavern," the rendezvous of the Eel Pie Club. Here most of the celebrated actors of the day, including Edmund Kean, met after the Theatre, and kept very late, or rather, early hours. At this House the Old Union Lodge met in 1786.

A little further west, at the corner of Bedford Street, once stood a famous Ordinary of the eighteenth century known as "The Lebeck's Head," and other Inns in Bristol and elsewhere adopted the name. A book which throws many curious and interesting side lights on the manners and customs of the eighteenth century, and particularly of this locality, is "*Nollekens and his Times*," by J. T. Smith (1828). Joseph Nollekens (1735-1823) was an eccentric Royal Academician, the friend of Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds and most of the literary and artistic celebrities of that period. A reference to "The Lebeck's Head" is to be found in this work. A Mrs. Hussey, a great friend of Henry Fielding, after the death of her second husband, carried on business as a mantua maker "in the Strand, just west of the celebrated Le Beck, a famous Cook who had a large Portrait of himself for the sign of his House at the north west corner of Little Bedford Street." Fielding informed Mrs. Hussey that he should introduce her name into his work, "Tom Jones," that he was then writing. Thus in speaking of the grace and shape of Sophia Weston, Fielding says it may be compared to the celebrated Mrs. Hussey, "a mantua maker in the Strand famous for setting off the shapes of women." At "The Lebeck's Head," French Masons seem to have resorted, and we find the French Union Lodge meeting there in 1745.

Proceeding further westward, we find one more old Inn on the north side in Hewitt's Court, namely "The King's Head." From this House William Prynne published his alleged "Vindication" (*Collier's Political Decameron*, vol. ii., pp. 322). Here a Lodge met in 1754, and lapsed in 1783. Lane's note to this Lodge is that No. 2 (A.) was purchased by No. 33 (A.) on the 21st February, 1784, for £6 6s., that Lodge having had their Warrant stolen from them.



V.—The "Angel" Inn, Strand.

From a Drawing in the Gardner Collection.



VI.—The "Windmill," Leather Lane, Holborn, in 1868.
From a Drawing by J. T. Wilson in the Gardner Collection.



VI.—The "Nag's Head," Grays Inn Lane, Holborn, in 1868.
From a Drawing in the Gardner Collection.

Let us now retrace our steps for a time and review the various districts running north, and parallel with the Strand, and pass first into the once aristocratic localities of Clare Market and Drury Lane. In Howell's "*Londinopolis*" (1657) we read: "Then is there towards Drury Lane a new market called Clare Market, then is a Street, and Palace of the same name, built by the Earl of Clare who lives there in a princely manner having a House, a Street, and a Market both for flesh and fish, all bearing his name." To Taverns in this locality the Butchers in the eighteenth century mostly resorted, and they seem also to have been the refuge for persons desiring a temporary retirement from the too pressing attentions of their creditors, for Richard Savage and Steele found in them a quiet retreat in times of adversity. Lodges were held at many of them between the years 1723 and 1750, notably at "The Sun Tavern," "The Horseshoe and Magpie" and "The Three Tuns." Masonry seems, however, to have deserted this neighbourhood about the middle of the eighteenth century, when it was fast falling into disrepute.

Drury Lane was so called, says Stow, "for that there is a House of the Family of Druries. This Lane turneth north towards St. Giles-in-the-Fields." Before the Druries built here, the old name of the Lane was "Via de Aldwych." The whole neighbourhood, and the Taverns, began to deteriorate about the end of the seventeenth century, and Goldsmith thus alludes to it:—

"Where the Red Lion staring o'er the way
Invites each passing stranger that can pay;
Where Calvert's butt, and Parson's black champagne,
Regale the drabs and bloods of Drury Lane;
There in a lonely room from Bailiffs snug,
The muse found Scroggen stretched beneath a rug."

Drury House above alluded to passed into the possession of the Earl of Craven, who died there in 1697. Craven House was pulled down in 1809, and "The Craven Tavern" was erected on part of the site. This Tavern had two famous landlords, William Oxberry, the Comedian, and later Robert Hales, the Norfolk Giant. Here the Lodge of Fidelity No. 3 met in 1754.

Another old Tavern in this district was resorted to by our friend, Samuel Pepys, 27th March, 1667. "To the Castle Tavern by Exeter House, and there met Sir Ellis Layton, whom I find a wonderful, witty, ready man for sudden answers and witty tales." This Tavern appears in the List of 1723, and the Old Dundee Lodge and others met there between 1730 and 1740.

Travelling northwards we pass into Lincoln's Inn Fields and the streets and alleys surrounding it. In the reign of Elizabeth it was a waste place, the resort of beggars and cripples by day, who turned robbers at night. In 1618, however, James I. appointed a Commission to lay out the Fields in Walks, and Inigo Jones commenced the building of the houses on the west side. We find several Taverns in Portugal Street, next the old Theatres, and Serle Street to the south, and two in the Turnstiles to the north, many of them honoured by our ancient brethren. Of these, "The Horse and Groom," Portugal Street, "The Grange Inn," Carey Street and "The Sun," Gate Street, where the Domatic Lodge No. 177 and the Mount Lebanon Lodge No. 73 met, were, perhaps, the most prominent. No records, however, in connection with these Houses have come down to us.

Taking our course through one of the Turnstiles, we enter Holborn and come across several interesting Masonic meeting places. With regard to the name

"Holborn," it has up to recently been supposed that the word is derived from "Old Bourne," but this seems to be erroneous, as there was a village here in the Domesday Survey named "Holeburne," "hole" meaning a hollow or valley. To the north east is Leather Lane, where there are several old Taverns of interest to us. Strype mentions three well known in his time, "The White Hart," "The Nag's Head," and "The Windmill" (*Plate No. VI.*), and we later come across "The Horse and Groom," frequented by Jonathan Wild. At "The White Hart," the Globe Lodge No. 23 met in 1793, and the Friendly Lodge sojourned for a time at "The Nag's Head."

On the south side from Holborn to Cursitor Street, the connecting link is Furnival Street, formerly Castle Street, or rather Castle Yard, so called from the Castle Inn and Gardens, on part of which it was built. In Castle Yard, Lord Arundel, the great collector of works of art and antiquities, lived in 1619, and here Paul Whitehead was born on St. Paul's Day, 1710. Strype describes the Tavern as one of considerable trade, and it afterwards became a place of great resort of sportsmen in the early nineteenth century. The first meeting of the St. Alban's Lodge No. 29 was held here in 1728.

In the eighteenth century, the Holborn Inns where the long stages stopped, were the favourite houses for our country ancestors to put up at. Of these, "The George and Blue Boar," originally known as "The Blue Boar," was, perhaps, the best known. This sign was taken from the Badge of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford. In the Memoirs of Roger, Earl of Orrery (1742), the following anecdote occurs. When Cromwell and Ireton were at Windsor, they were informed by a spy that King Charles was sending a letter to the Queen, stating that in the negotiation then pending, he (the King) was simply playing off one party against another, and would probably close with the Presbyterian or Scotch Party. Cromwell and Ireton hastened to London and put up at "The Blue Boar," Holborn, where the messenger of the King was to arrive. He was arrested on alighting from his horse in the Inn yard, and the fatal letter was found hidden in the lining of his saddle, and "from this time they resolved on the King's ruin." Early in the last century this old Inn was a favourite Masonic resort, amongst others the Royal York Lodge of Perseverance No. 7 met here in 1832, and the Royal Athelstan Lodge No. 19 in 1839. The House was pulled down, and the Inns of Court Hotel built on its site.

We have also "The Blue Posts" near Middle Lane, Holborn, in the List of 1723, which was another old Coaching House of some fame.

Mr. J. Holden Macmichael in his "*Story of Charing Cross*," referring to the prevalence of the word "Blue" in connection with Signs, remarks, "Possibly the blue colour with which many of the London Signs were invested by their owners was an arbitrary selection with no special symbolism excepting in cases of course like "The Blue Lion" the crest of the Percies, etc., but the adoption of the cerulean colour was so frequent that it makes one pause to wonder whether its adoption did not arise from more than mere fancy, or from the necessity merely of distinguishing a certain sign from others that represented similar objects in other varieties of the prismatic spectrum. It seems possible that the colour of the sky, sacred in ancient mythologies, like red as that of the Sun, has come down to us on the Signboard no less certainly than in the folk-lore of the provinces, where a superstitious belief in it survives up to the present day. The young mothers for instance by Teviotside wear a twist of plaited blue thread about their necks until their babies are weaned, and the mischievous west-country fairy hates the sight of blue flowers. According to Randle Holme the blue azure sky signifieth piety and sincerity."

Closely connected with both Lincoln's Inn Fields and Holborn is a Street which must be ever interesting to Members of the Craft, GREAT QUEEN STREET. This Street was so called in compliment to Queen Henrietta Maria. It appears that houses commenced to be erected here about 1606, and that the south side was completed in the year 1623. The architect was Webb, a pupil and imitator of Inigo Jones. Statues of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria appear to have been erected in the Street, as by an order of Cromwell's Council, 17th January, 1651, it is directed "that Colonel Berkstead do take care of the pulling down of the gilt image of the late Queene, and also of the King, the one in the Street commonly called Queene Street, and the other at the upper end of the Street towards Holbourne. The said images to be broken in pieces." "In the time of the Stuarts," says Leigh Hunt, "the Street was full of persons of note and fashion, such as Lord Fairfax, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and others having residences." I may also quote this extract from Smith's "*Nollekens and his Times.*" "The House in Great Queen Street now divided into two, Nos. 55 and 56, was that in which Hudson lived, and it was afterwards the habitation of Worlidge the Etcher, who died in it. Hoole, the translator of Tasso, and the beloved friend of Dr. Johnson, next resided in it, and he was succeeded by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who, after Garrick's funeral, passed the remainder of the day in silence here with a few select friends. It was lately inhabited by Mr. Chippendale. This house is one of those built after a design of Inigo Jones, and still retains some of the original architecture. My old friend Mr. Butridge, 'the Barber,' as Mr. Hone, in his 'Every Day Book,' has been pleased to call him, informed me that he very well recollected the Gate Entrance into Great Queen Street from Drury Lane. It was under a house, and so dark that it received the fearful appellation of 'Hell Gate.' Through this gate the Dukes of Newcastle and Ancaster drove to their houses in Lincoln's Inn Fields, at that time a seat of fashion. Which can readily be believed when the reader recollects that Grosvenor Square was building when Mr. Nollekens was a little boy." The Freemasons' Hall was built in 1776, from designs by Mr. Sandby, R.A., and the Freemasons' Tavern in 1786, from designs of William Tyler, R.A. Some interesting particulars relating to both are given in Bro. Sadler's "*Memorials of the Globe Lodge, No.* 23." There were also other Masonic meeting places in this Street. "The Sugar Loaf," where the Jerusalem Lodge met in 1778, and "The Queen's Head," which appears in the List of 1723, and "The Hercules Pillars," the meeting place of Preston's Chapter of Harodim and other Lodges of the early nineteenth century.

LONG ACRE is a continuation of Great Queen Street, and we first come across the name in 1612, when it was a public footpath leading westwards. The land adjoining it seems to have been owned by Sir William Slingsby, for in 1616 an Order of the King is directed to him to have the said footpath put into proper repair. Bagford, writing to his brother antiquary Leland, says that near by this Lane was a noted vine mentioned in Domesday Book, and adjoining it an Inn, afterwards known as "The Vine." We meet with this old house in the List of 1733, and it was not pulled down in 1820. In Broad Court, off Long Acre, we come across another old Inn named "The Wrekin" (*Plate No. VII.*), reminiscent of our last Summer Excursion, and where the Lodge of Fortitude and Old Cumberland found a home in 1803. At "The Prince of Wales' Head," near the west end of Long Acre, a Lodge of the Antients met in 1754, but lapsed in 1773, "the landlord having sold the Warrant to another house, he wanting money due to him." The two other Masonic resorts near by were "The Freemasons' Coffee House," New Belton Street, and "The Mercers' Arms," Mercer Street.

Let us now turn our steps south again into COVENT GARDEN, or as it was in old time called "Convent Garden." What changes have taken place here since our Brethren of the eighteenth century had their meetings in what Thackeray describes as the "rich cluster of brown Taverns, studded with anecdote and history!" All these are now but shadows of the past.

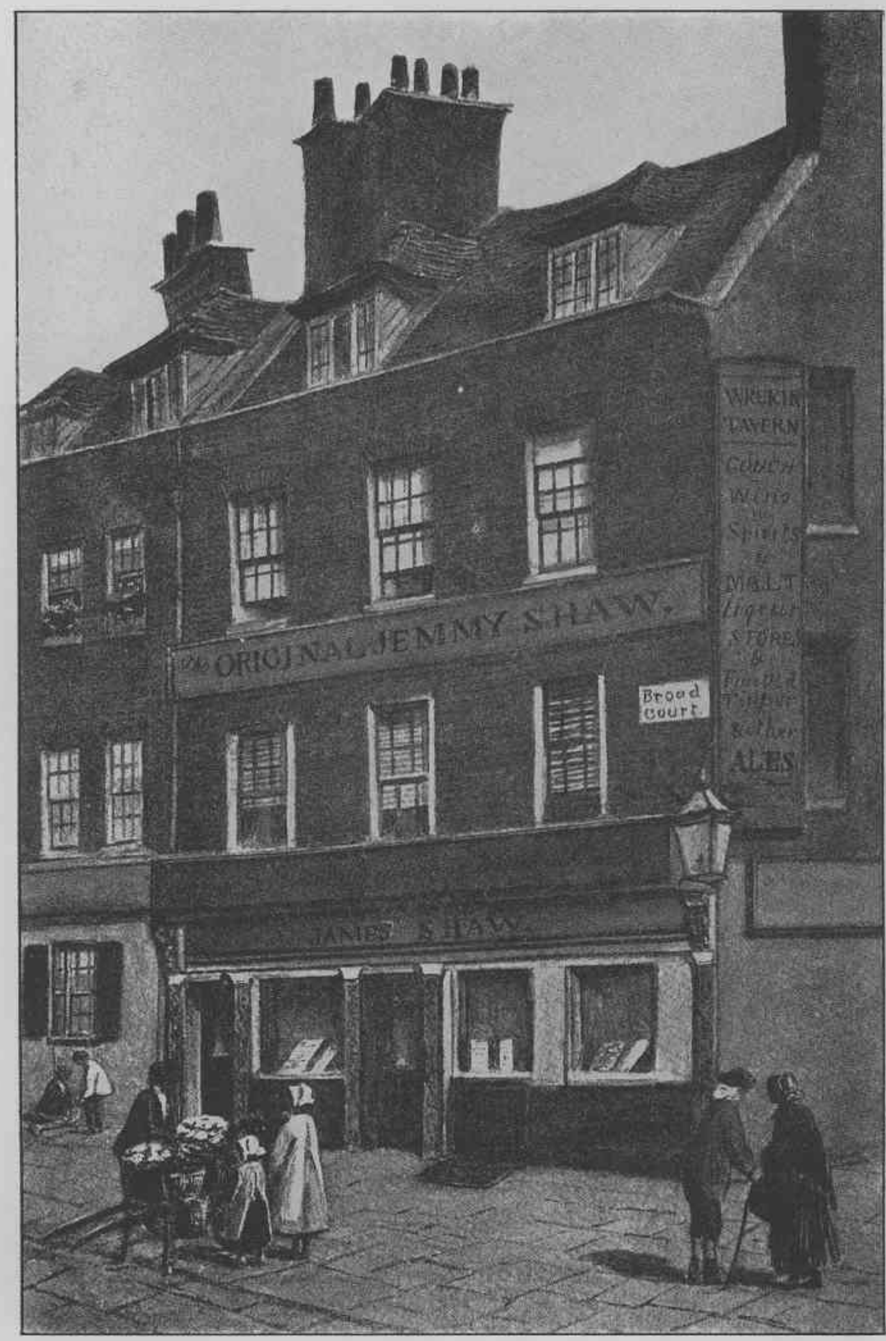
"The Apple Tree," Charles Street, though perhaps not one of the most celebrated, still deserves to be mentioned first, as here, on the Festival of St. John, the 24th June, 1717, the Grand Lodge was first constituted. Here also the Lodge of Fortitude and Old Cumberland (No. 3 of the Old Lodges) continued to meet. Next, perhaps, in Masonic importance is "The Bedford Head," Southampton Street, as it appears in the List of 1723. Here, according to Pope's "Sober Advice,"

"When sharp with hunger scorn you to be fed,
Except with pea-chicks at the Bedford Head."

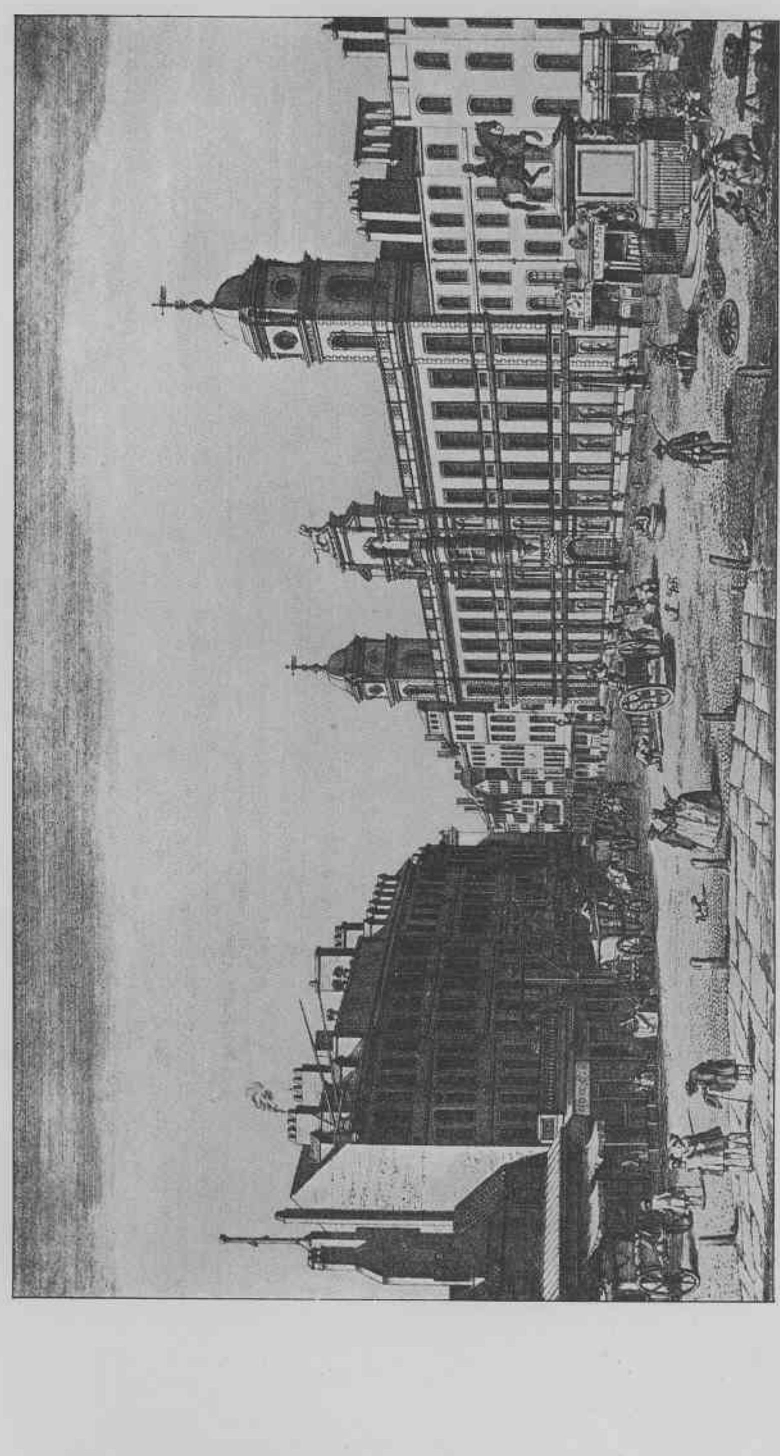
Walpole refers to a great supper at this House ordered by Paul Whitehead in 1741, for a party of gentlemen disguised as sailors and masked, on the night of Admiral Vernon's Birthday. After supper they had a procession round Covent Garden, beating a drum and trying to excite the mob, but seem to have failed in their designs.

"The Garrick Head" close by Covent Garden Theatre was the House where the disreputable Renton Nicholson, Editor of "Town," for some years held his meetings of "The Judge and Jury." He styled himself the Lord Chief Baron. Here the Lodge of Unity No. 69 met in 1808. Another Tavern lower down Bow Street is associated with a somewhat quaint anecdote. Two well-known Irishmen, Anesley Shay and Bob Todington, met here and drank some twenty-four half-quarterns. Shay said, "Now we'll go." "No," said Todington, "We'll have another, and then go." Unfortunately they did not, but made a long stay. Hence the calling for "goes" of liquor (*Etymological Compendium*, Thoms 1853). The Lodge of Faith No. 141 moved to this House in 1792. At the Shakespeare Head, the Beefsteak Society (not to be confounded with the Beefsteak Club) met before removing to the Lyceum Theatre. George Lambert, a scene painter in Covent Garden Theatre, was the originator of the Society. This Tavern was the headquarters of Charles James Fox during the famous "Westminster Election" of 1784, as Wood's Hotel in Covent Garden was the rallying place of Lord Hood and Sir Cecil Wray, the Court candidates. The Sign of the Shakespeare was a work of art, and the House is supposed to have been the first built in Covent Garden. The first meeting of the Grand Stewards' Lodge was held here in 1735.

Henrietta Street was at one time a very fashionable thoroughfare, named after the Consort of Charles I., and King Street was so called out of compliment to that Monarch. Both were built in 1637. At his lodgings in this street the eccentric Paul Whitehead died on the 20th December, 1774, having, during a protracted illness, burnt all his manuscripts. At "The Castle Tavern" in this street Sheridan fought his second duel with Captain Matthews, his rival in the affections of Miss Linley, after an interrupted encounter in Hyde Park. At this House, according to Larwood, a curious culinary feat was performed. A young lover produced a satin shoe he had obtained from his mistress, which being filled with wine, her health was drunk, it was then consigned to the famous cook of "The Castle," who prepared from it an excellent ragout, which was eaten with relish by the company. The Shakespeare Lodge No. 99 removed to "The Castle" in 1772. The "Constitution Tavern" (formerly "The Cross Keys") was at the corner of Henrietta Street, and was

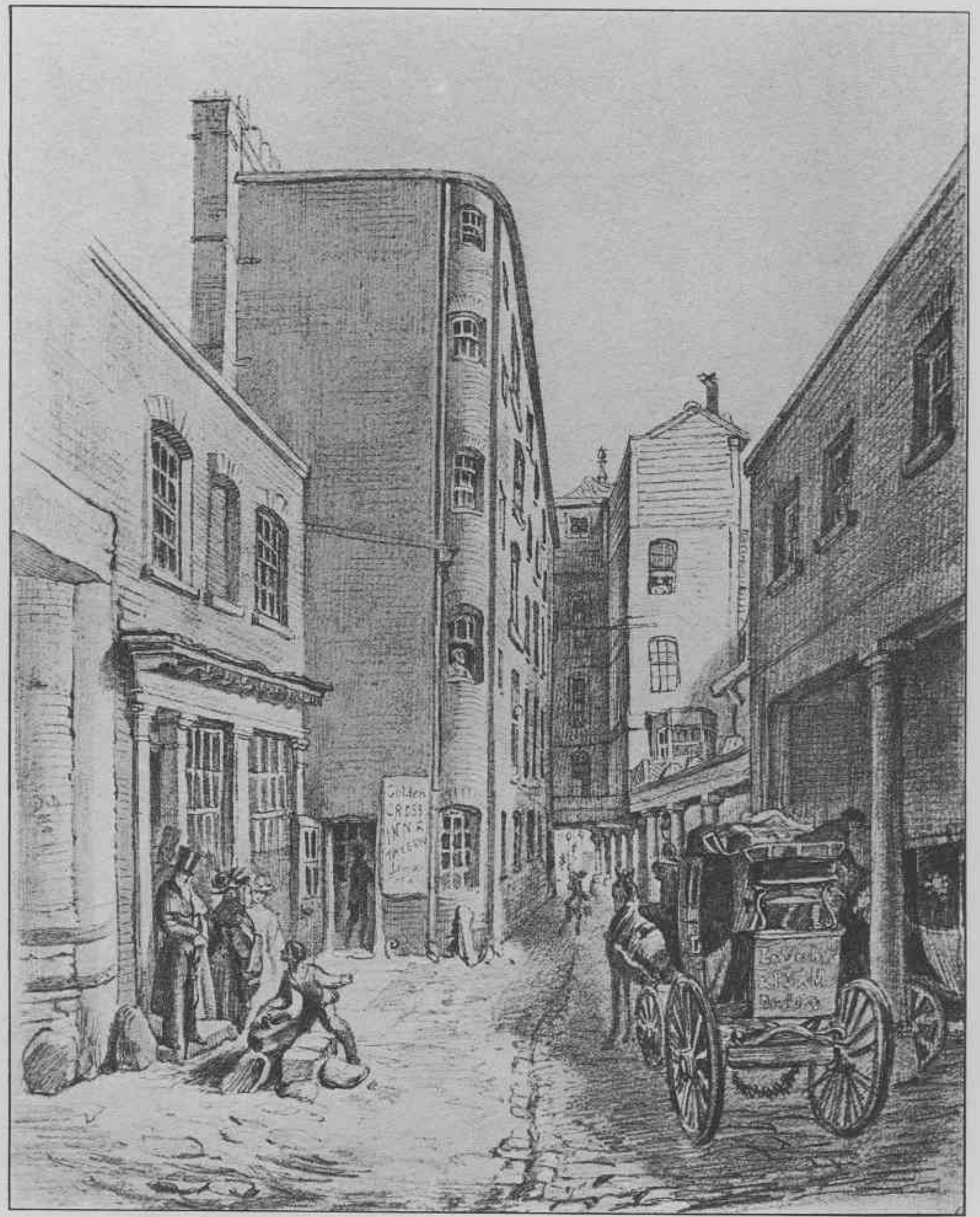


VII.—The "Wrekin" Tavern, Broad Court, Bow Street, in 1868.
From a Drawing in the Gardner Collection.



VIII.—Northumberland House and The "Golden Cross," in 1753.

From an Engraving in the Gardner Collection.



IX.—"Golden Cross" Yard, in 1829.
From a Drawing by G. Scharf in the Gardner Collection.

another House where politicians did resort, for we read in the *Daily Advertiser*, 15th March, 1742, "The Independent Eelectors of the City and Liberty of Westminster are desired to meet to-morrow at 7 o'clock at the Cross Keys Tavern, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, on special affairs." The Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28 met here as early as 1731, At "The Swan Tavern" in New Street, a continuation of King Street, the Lodge of Regularity No. 91 held its first meeting in 1755. This House is now, I think, known as "The White Swan Hotel," No. 14. At the early part of the last century it seems to have been flourishing, as we find in the "*Epicures' Almanack*," 1815, "a long established House, well known for the excellence of its fish, flesh and fowl, which are served up in the best style of cookery by bill of fare daily to a respectable and numerous company of guests."

We must not pass over the two celebrated Coffee Houses, in Covent Garden, where Masons foregathered in the old days. These were "The Bedford Coffee House," under the Piazza at the north-east corner, near the entrance to Covent Garden Theatre, and "Tom's Coffee House," No. 17, on the north side of Russell Street. "The Bedford Coffee House" was in fact two houses, built in 1634 by Francis, Earl of Bedford, and later converted into an Inn. It was much frequented by the witty Foote, and other famous actors, and its Records were, in 1751, written under the title of "*Memoirs of Bedford Coffee House.*" It is masonically interesting as the place where Dr. Desaguliers (Grand Master 1719), sometimes styled "the Father of Speculative Masonry," died 29th February, 1744. The Poet Cawthorne (1719-1761) thus describes his end:—

"Here poor neglected Desaguliers fell!
He who taught two gracious kings to view
All Boyle ennobled and all Bacon knew,
Died in a cell, without a friend to save
Without a guinea, and without a grave."

I am afraid, however, this harrowing picture is more poetical than correct. This house was a respectable and even fashionable place of abode, and the Doctor was decently interred by his sons in the Savoy.

We now approach the vicinity of Charing Cross, a neighbourhood which has strangely altered in all its main features during the last 150 years. Probably the village of Charing took its name from the pronounced "bending" of the River Thames at this point. The Anglo-Saxon "cerran" meaning "to bend or turn." In Hollar's map of the village, even as late as the Reign of Charles I., the only vestige of habitations are four or five houses just east of where Trafalgar Square now stands, and an Inn nestling comfortably beneath a large tree, nearly on the site of the present Golden Cross Hotel, and very possibly bearing that name even then. This Tavern no doubt constituted a convenient midway halting and refreshment place between the City of London and Westminster, and its Landlords doubtless witnessed many stirring and historical events. Later, however, houses multiplied on all sides, till we find Boswell saying, "I talked of the cheerfulness of Fleet Street owing to the quick succession of people which we perceive passing through it." "Why, Sir," said Johnson, "Fleet Street has a very animated appearance, but I think the full tide of human existence is at Charing Cross."

The present Charing Cross Station now occupies the site of old Hungerford Market, once the property of the Hungerfords of Farleigh Castle, Somersetshire, who became extinct on the death of Sir Edward Hungerford in 1711. Here was "The Fox under the Hill Tavern," on the River, referred to in David Copperfield, and outside of

which he used to eat his scanty luncheon, and watch the coalheavers on the wharf. Also "Hungerford Coffee House," a literary resort facing the Strand. Stow mentions a Heley Alley, by "The One Tun Tavern," that falleth into Hungerford Market. In the *Weekly Journal* of 6th December, 1718, we read, "Last Thursday four Highwaymen, drinking at the One Tun Tavern, near Hungerford Market in the Strand, and falling out about dividing their booty, the drawer overheard them, and sent for the Constables, who secured them, and the next day they were committed to Newgate." We are informed in another issue that these rogues had, when taken, two blunderbusses and five pistols, all loaded. At this house the Lodge of Peace and Plenty, No. 21 of the Antients, met in 1752, and only lapsed in 1830.

Over the road were the famous old Coaching Inns, "The Golden Cross" (*Plate No. VIII.*) and "The Chequers." At the former the Lodge of Cordiality met in 1794, and at the latter the Naval Lodge, No. 59, came into existence in 1739. In Duncannon Street, at the back of "The Golden Cross," can still be seen the archway through which Mr. Pickwick passed at times, and which Mr. Jingle designated as a dangerous place for the heads of passengers. Nearly all of the original Inn was pulled down in 1830, and the drawing of the Inn Yard, from the Gardner Collection, was made just prior to the demolition (*Plate No. IX.*). A clever Irish writer of that day, Maginn, thus laments the change:—

"No more the Coaches shall I see
  Come trundling from the Yard,
Nor hear the horn blown cheerily
  By brandy-bibbing guard.
King Charles, I think, must sorrow sore,
  E'en were he made of stone,
When left by all his friends of yore
  (Like Tom Moore's rose) alone."

"The Chequers Inn" gave its name to Chequers Court, and forms the background for Hogarth's First Plate of the "Harlot's Progress." This sign is a very old one, being found in the Taverns of Pompeii, where they are painted lozenge-wise, red, white and yellow. Dr. Lardner, however, thinks that these signs were derived from a board divided into columns something like a chess board, on which merchants with counters made their calculations in the middle ages, the boards being usually kept in Taverns for the use of customers.

On the west side of Charing Cross, in Spring Gardens and Cockspur Street, we come across several Taverns resorted to by gallants and politicians from Whitehall and Westminster in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Union Club now stands on the site of the once famous "Cannon Tavern." Here, we learn from the *Daily Advertiser*, 10th April, 1762, tickets could be obtained for the Annual Feast of Grand Lodge at the Haberdashers' Hall. "The Cannon" is described in the *Epicures' Almanack*, 1815, as having for its landlord a Mr. Hodges, "whose larder and soups, his waiters and cooks, are like our hearts of oak, always ready, the Cannon being charged with ammunition for the stomach." It was at this Tavern that the Rev. Mr. Hackman, on the evening of the 7th April, 1729, watched Miss Ray pass in her coach from the Admiralty to Covent Garden Theatre. He then followed and shot her coming out. The Cannon was the cognisance of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, and was a common sign in the eighteenth century. This old Inn was pulled down in 1822. Here several Lodges met about 1740 to 1760.

Nearer Charing Cross was "The British Coffee House," the site of which was till lately occupied by Stanford's, the map publisher. It had a great Scotch connection and Defoe mentions in his "*Journal through England*" that "The Scots go generally to the British, and a mixture of all sorts to the Smyrna." In the year of the Jacobite rising in 1745, four noted Scotchmen were wont to dine nightly at the "British," Tobias Smolett, Alexander Carlyle, John Blair and "Bob" Smith, afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. They were there when the news of the Battle of Culloden reached London, on which Smollett wrote a poem of six stanzas, entitled, "The tears of Scotland." St. Andrew's Lodge No. 231 met here as late as 1826, and the premises were only finally demolished about 1886.

A little south in Rummer Court, which was next to Cromwell's Palace, and opposite Craig's Court, stood "The Rummer Tavern." It is shewn in the map of 1734 as then between Buckingham Court and Cromwell Place. Later it was known as "The Ship Tavern." As there seems some doubt as to the situation of the Tavern, I may say that Cunningham describes it as "two doors from Locket's Coffee House, and then removed to the Water side of Charing Cross, and pulled down in 1750." Drummond's Bank appears to me to occupy the original site. In the reign of Charles II. the landlord was Samuel Prior, the uncle of Matthew Prior, the Poet, who resided here with his uncle for several years. It is shown in "Hogarth's Night" with a Master and Tyler returning home, and the Salisbury Flying Coach overturned. Those who would desire to read an exhaustive and interesting account of this Plate are referred to Bro. Rylands' Paper in the *Transactions* of 1889, vol. ii. In the *Daily Advertiser* of 15th February, 1742, we read—"To be seen at the Rummer, Charing Cross, the celebrated luminous Amphitheatre, constructed of silver polished steel, and cut glass, exhibiting at one view upwards of 200 fountains." "The Rummer Tavern" appears in the List of 1723.

At the bottom of Northumberland Street was the old "Northumberland Arms," close to some buildings known as the Percy Chambers, where the Vitruvian Lodge No. 87 met in 1827. (*Plate No. X.*)

Having now made a short circuit of Charing Cross, let us proceed north up St. Martin's Lane, which formerly extended southwards to opposite Northumberland House. It was one of the London Streets of the eighteenth century that is peculiarly interesting alike from a literary, artistic and masonic point of view. In the seventeenth century the then rural character of the Lane is indicated by the names "Hop Garden" and "Vineyard" in connection with plots of ground adjoining it. It was, however, early built upon, for Howel in his *Londinopolis* 1657, says, "On the west side of St. Martin's Church and Lane are many gentile fair houses in a row built by the same Earl of Salisbury, who built Britain's Burse but somewhat before." At the lower or southern end of the Lane was a Tavern of high repute known as "The Barn," the "Simpson's Tavern" of the eighteenth century. Here all the noted chess and draught players foregathered, and all matches and games of importance were played. (Smith's "*Nollekens and his Times.*") The Lodge of Unity No. 69 removed here in 1786. The drawing from the Gardner collection is the only view now remaining of this portion of the Lane including "The Barn."(*Plate No. XI.*). A few doors further north we come on "The Crown and Sceptre," which appears in the List of 1723. It is mentioned in Missons "*Memoires par un voyageur en Angleterre,*" 1698. "Buller, the Keeper of the Crown and Sceptre, told me that there was a tun of rich port drunk at his wife's funeral, and that no man goes to women's burials, and no woman to man's, so that there were none

but women drinking Buller's wine." The Irish custom of "waking the dead" seems even then to have found favour.

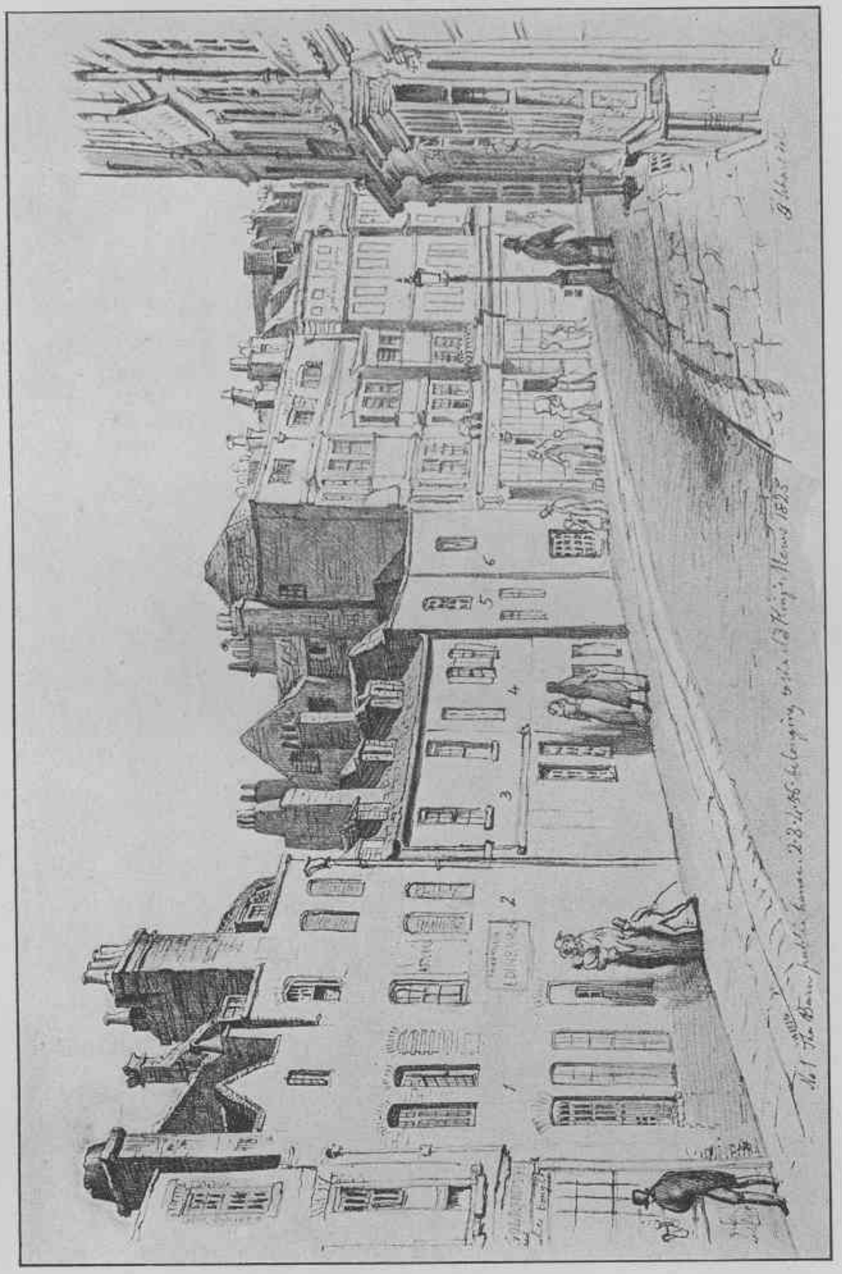
Again on the west side, a little further up close to the Royal Mews, where the National Portrait Gallery now stands, "The King's Arms Tavern" flourished. This house naturally became the resort of the horsey fraternity, and we see in the *Daily Advertiser* of 1742: "To be sold at the King's Arms in St. Martin's Lane a very beautiful strong bay gelding &c." About the middle of July, 1795, a piper named John Lewis was turned out of this Tavern for insulting behaviour. He incited the mob to attack the Inn, and all the windows and furniture were broken up before the military arrived to disperse the wreckers. The Lodge of Faith No. 141, amongst others, migrated here at the beginning of the last century.

And now we have to notice one of the most famous of the Masonic West End meeting places, "Old Slaughter's." (*Plate No. XII.*). It stood on the west side of the Lane some three doors from Newport Street, and comprised Nos. 74 and 75. It was pulled down in 1843, when Cranbourne Street was laid out. Here artists and poets much resorted, Hogarth, Wilkie, Pope, and Reynolds. The Royal Academy had its first inception at "The Turks Head," Greek Street, but the members moved here later on. Thomas Slaughter was the first landlord, and as far as I can ascertain it seems to have been opened by him about 1692. Slaughter was the proprietor for no less than forty-seven years. The name of the Head Waiter about 1790 was one Lock a great favourite of Fielding, who gave him the name. He was the natural son of James Spiller, who kept "the Spiller's Head," Clare Market. Various are the anecdotes connected with this House, and the witty dialogues its walls have listened to. The Engraving entitled "Good News" shows the Coffee Room of "Old Slaughters" in 1783. Several Lodges found congenial quarters here, amongst others the Lodge of Felicity, No. 58, in 1727.

Two other old Taverns close by in St. Martin's Court, were apparently connected alike with Masonry, and the pugilistic interest. "The Round Table," Nos. 22 and 23 St. Martin's Court, had the honour of being the residence of John C. Heenan, when he came to England to fight Tom Sayers, and was also the meeting place of the Lodge of Industry No. 186, in 1846. Also at the corner of the Court was "The Coach and Horses" later "Ben Caunt's Head," and kept by that celebrated individual. In 1802 the Lodge of Confidence No. 193 met here.

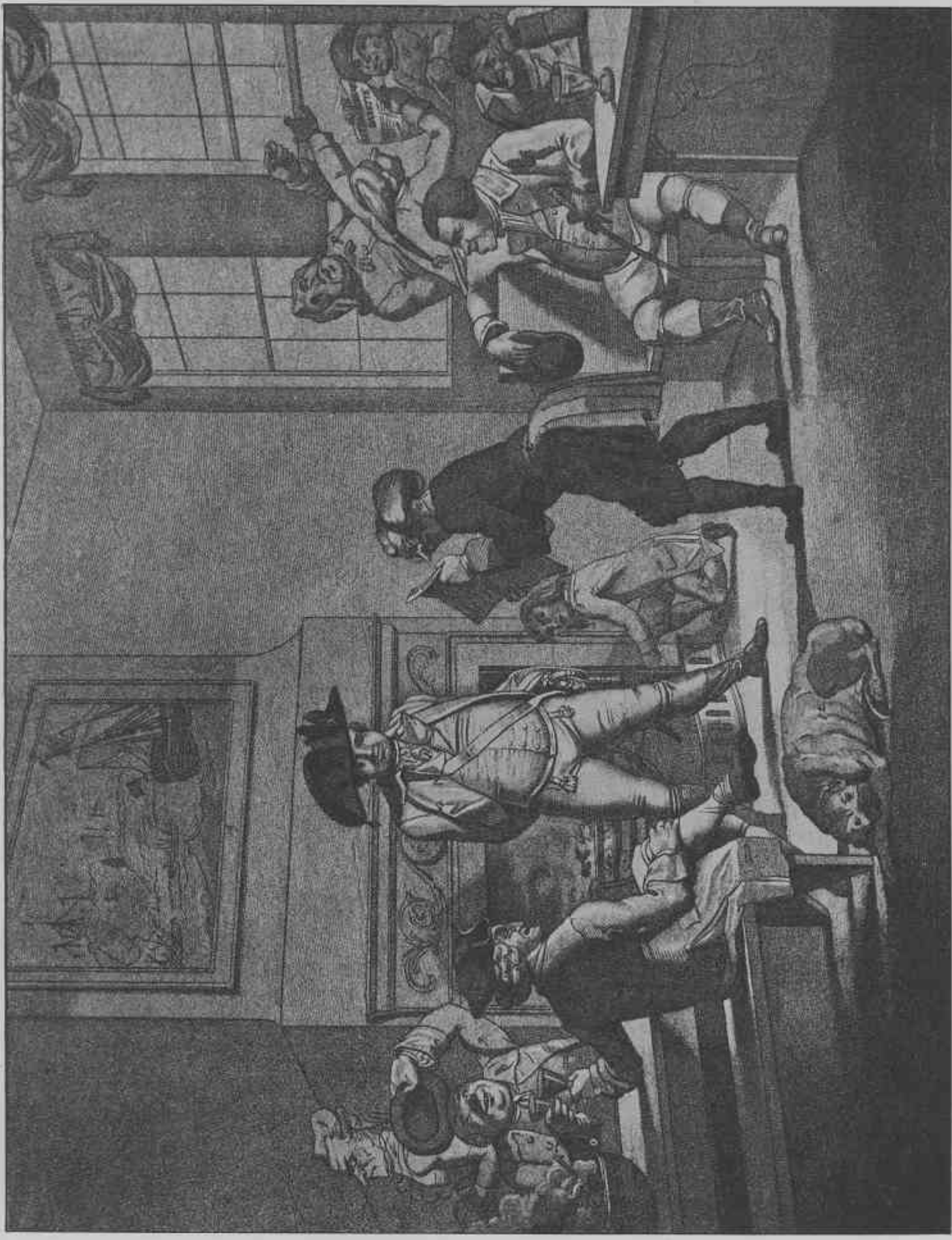
Let us linger for a moment in the districts still further north, St. Giles and Soho. This neighbourhood commenced to be built over about the middle of the seventeenth century. With regard to the name of Soho, Pennant and other writers say that it took its origin from the "word of the day" at the Battle of Sedgemoor in 1685. The reverse, however, seems correct, as the word is found in parish documents of prior date in reference to the locality where the Duke of Monmouth had his house, namely Soho Square. The word "Soho," or "Sohoe" as it was originally spelt, was the old cry used in hunting when the hare was found.

In Gerrard Street, Soho, we come across one of those old Taverns which were in truth the eighteenth century clubs, namely "The Turks Head." And in most cases this class of Tavern had also many Masonic Associations. It was situated at the corner of Greek Street and Compton Street. Here the Artists' Club met about 1750, and the Royal Academy had a modest beginning in 1768. In the year 1764 Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds founded the Literary Club, which was afterwards removed to Sackville Street. "The Turks Head" seems to have been the headquarters of the Loyal Association during the Rebellion of 1745. In 1752 there was at this Tavern a



XI.—The "Barn," St. Martin's Lane.

From a Drawing by G. Scharf in the Gardner Collection.



XII.—"Old Slaughter's," St. Martin's Lane, in 1783.

From an Engraving in the Gardner Collection.

celebrated waiter known as "Little Will," and an engraving represents him as a small man with a large head and periwig, dressed in a long apron with a pair of snuffers suspended from the waist. The Rev. Dr. Huddersford, in a letter to Grainger, the Physician, writes, "Little Will was as I have heard a great favourite with the gentlemen of the Coffee House; there is a print representing him in his constant attitude insensible to everything about him, but really swallowing every article of politics that dropped, and which I am told he understood better than any of his Masters." At this Tavern the Grand Lodge of the Antients was constituted 17th July, 1751, and the Royal Somerset and Inverness Lodge No. 4 met in 1773.

At "The Golden Lion," Church Street, Soho, a Lodge known as the Corinthian Lodge met in 1775, and a year later Dr. Jean Paul Marat, "the stormy petrel of the Terror," came from Paris to reside, and here published a book, entitled, "An enquiry into the nature, cause and cure of a singular disease of the eye, by J. P. Marat, M.D."

Turning westwards into Leicester Fields and the adjacent streets, several old Masonic Houses are recorded, "The Cross Keys," Bear Street, "The Royal Standard," and "The Duke of Cumberland's Head," where the Lodge of Prudence met in 1748. Walpole, in his thirteenth letter to Conway, 16th April, 1747, writes, "I was yesterday out of Town, and the very signs as I passed made me make very quaint reflections on the mortality of fame and popularity. I observed how 'The Duke's Head' had susseeded almost universally to 'Admiral Vernon's,' as his had left but few traces of the 'Duke of Ormond's.' I pondered these things in my heart, and said unto myself, 'Surely glory is but a Sign.'"

The Haymarket was practically adjoining Leicester Fields in the eighteenth century. As its name denotes, the Haymarket was in the seventeenth century a space devoted in a great measure to the sale of hay, and other produce brought from the country. Here also a considerable portion of the laundry work of the West End was done, and the turf and hedges adjacent were adorned on washing days with the undergarments of our ancestors and their ladies. Here some smaller houses gave hospitality to the Brethren, such as "'The Goat' at the foot of the Haymarket," "The Scot's Arms" and "The Lemon Tree." With regard to this latter House a curious advertisement appears in the *Daily Advertiser*, 6th April, 1742: "A meeting Place in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, with new Pulpit and Cushion, new Pews, Window Curtains, Brass Branches, &c., all complete and fit for any congregation of Protestant Dissenters; To be had on very easy terms. Apply Mr. Donaldson, Lemon Tree." The Royal York Lodge of Perseverance, No. 7, met here in 1797.

Waterloo Place stands on the site of what was in the eighteenth century St. James' Market, and from Pall Mall there was an entrance to it by Market Lane. The market was established in 1664, and Strype refers to it as flourishing in 1720. Pepys mentions "The Dog Tavern," St. James Market, in his Diary. "This afternoon some of the Officers of the Army had a conference at Whitehall, but I do not know what is done. At the Dog Tavern in comes Mr. Wade and Mr. Sterry Secretary to the Plenipotentiary of Denmark who brought the news of the death of the King of Sweden at Gottenburg on the 3rd of last month." There Lodges met in 1724, 1739 and 1801. At the bar of "The Mitre Tavern" St. James' Market, kept by a Mrs. Boss the aunt of Miss Nanny, Farquhar the Dramatist found Mrs. Oldfield, then a girl of 16, rehearsing the "Scornful Lady" of Beaumont and Fletcher.

St. James' Street further west dates from about 1670, and the land on which it is for the most part built was conveyed to Henry Earl of Arlington by Letters Patent

of Charles II. It leads from the Palace of St. James to "Pickadilla," and soon became full of gaiety and gambling.

> "The dear old Street of Clubs and Cribs,
> As north and south it stretches,
> Still smacks of Williams' pungent squibs,
> And Gillray's fiercer sketches;
> The quaint old dress, the grand old style,
> The mots, and racy stories,
> The wine, the dice, the wit, the bile,
> The hate of Whigs and Tories."—(*Locker*).

This street was the residence, at different times, of Pope, Addison, Charles James Fox, Byron and Samuel Rogers. "Foreign and domestic news," says Isaac Bickerstaffe, "you will have at the St. James' Coffee House," the last House but one at the west corner. Here Swift and Steele dined with the landlord in 1719, and Masonic Lodges enjoyed its hospitality some twenty years later. A very favourite Masonic Tavern stood close by, "The Thatched House Tavern." Erected in 1711, it remained till 1843 on the site of the present Conservative Club. It then occupied the adjoining premises until 1865, when it was pulled down, and the Thatched House Club built. Beneath the original Tavern was a range of low-built shops, and a parade through to Thatched House Court. Swift writes: "I entertained our Society at the Thatched House Tavern to-day at dinner, but Brother Bathurst sent for wine, the house affording none," December, 1711. The Dilettanti Society met here in 1734. This was a Society having for its objects the improvement in English Art, but in 1865 it removed with its famous pictures and collection of portraits to Willis's Rooms. A large number of Lodges resorted here, amongst them being the Lodge of Friendship No. 6 in 1777, and the Westminster and Keystone No. 10 in 1798.

"Willis's Rooms," above mentioned, in King Street, off St. James' Street, were until 1863 known as Almack's Rooms. They were erected about 1770 by one Almack, a native of Scotland, who died in 1781. In a letter from Mrs. Harris to her son, the Earl of Malmesbury, 5th April, 1764, we read: "Almack is going to build most magnificent rooms behind his house, one much larger than in Carlisle House." Here the Royal Alpha Lodge No. 16 met in 1869.

And now we enter Pall Mall, which, even in the eighteenth century, was an aristocratic locality, the meeting place of high-class Societies and Lodges. It may not be generally known that the curious name of Pall Mall is derived from the French game of "paille maille," introduced into England early in the seventeenth century. In any case Bishop King, in the year 1613, refers to the district as "the Pall of London." It appears to have been a game somewhat resembling croquet played on an extended ground. Later, another Mall was made in St. James' Park by Charles II.

In this street two well known taverns claim our attention as Masons, namely "The Star and Garter" and "The King's Head." The former house was very popular and much resorted to by Swift and his friends. Here the Doctor drew up, in 1713, the Rules of a Club known as "The Brother's Club," of which the Duke of Ormond and Arbuthnot were afterwards members. Swift also mentions it in several of his "Letters to Stella" as a good house with moderate charges. "There is nobody at White's," Gilby Williams writes to George Selwyn, 18th July, 1763, "our Jovial Club (the Thursday Club) meets at the Star and Garter." Here on the 26th January, 1765, the meeting of another Club, the "Nottingham Club" had a melancholy ending. Lord Byron,

the uncle of the Poet, forced a quarrel on his neighbour Mr. Chaworth, and afterwards in one of the rooms below killed him in a duel, or as some alleged murdered him. He was tried but acquitted. He does not seem to have regretted killing his friend, as the Poet records that his Uncle kept the sword he used on the occasion, hung up in his bedroom to the day of his death. At "The Star and Garter" Sir Horace Mann, the Duke of Dorset, Lord Tankerville and other sportsmen, in 1774 met, and drew up the first Laws of Cricket. In Sir Joshua Reynolds' Pocket Book for 1762 there is a notice of an appointment "July 16th at Six with Miss Nelly O'Brien in Pall Mall next the Star and Garter." This portrait has been considered the Masterpiece of the great academician. The Britannic Lodge, No. 33, (amongst others) met here in 1783.

At "The King's Head" a club met which rather arrogantly termed themselves "The World." It was the custom for the Members after dinner to write epigrams on the glasses. On one occasion Dr. Young, the author of "*Night Thoughts*," was present and asked to write, but had no diamond. Lord Stanhope, afterwards Lord Chesterfield, lent him his ring and he then wrote :—

"Accept a miracle instead of wit
See two dull lines with Stanhope's pencil writ."

We have Samuel Pepys strolling in here to refresh himself on the 10th May, 1663. "I walked in St. James, and was there at the Masse, and was forced in the crowd to kneel down. The Masse being done to the King's Head Ordinary, where many Parliamentary men." This old Inn is numbered amongst the Masonic houses in the List of 1725.

And now our journey is nearly ended, and we pass away across St. James' Park into Westminster, a locality rich indeed in antiquarian remains, and vivid historical interest. The present and the shadows of the great past alike appear to us. It is said that when we reach the age of fifty little or nothing remains of the body as it was when twenty years old. But the spirit that is animating and has animated both remains the same. Time, fire, and the hand of man have changed much of the outward form here, but the old associations cling around its borders. This Wordsworth doubtless felt as he stood in the early dawn of the 3rd of September, 1802, on Westminster Bridge :—

"Never did sun more beautifully steep
In its first splendour valley, rock, and hill;
N'er saw I, never felt a calm so deep.
The River glideth at its own sweet will:
Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
And all that mighty heart is lying still."

Did Wordsworth, however, think of or realise, on this September morning, that far-away dawning of history, when just west of the Bridge where the River then flowed broader and shallower, the Great Ford joined Thorney Island and Watling Street in the north, to the Dover Road in the South. Of the many motley crowds that passed that way, the Romans to and from their Colony on Thorney, the Danes on their maurauding excursions north and south, and the stately processions of the Normans to the Shrine of St. Peter?

Westminster probably reached its greatest era of splendour in the Reign of Richard II., when the Palace was in fact a large walled town, with gabled houses, beautiful monastic buildings, archways and gates, the interiors resplendent with tapestry and varied colours. Then the armed following, and the servants and artificers of the Court amounted to some twenty thousand persons, residing within its precincts.

Thus the followers of the Court embraced all Trades and Professions, and all sorts and conditions of Taverns catered for their needs. Thus we find Chaucer had a Tavern called "The White Rose" in old Palace yard, in 1399, which was not pulled down till 1502. And we come across also here "The White Hart" of Richard II. and "The Brown Bear" of Warwick.

When the Court removed from the old Palace of Westminster to Whitehall, in the reign of Henry VIII., the Taverns outside in King Street and elsewhere received most of the custom of the Royal retinue, and thus the older Taverns of the Palace became the resort of the Members attending Parliament, and the lawyers and litigants in the Courts of Westminster.

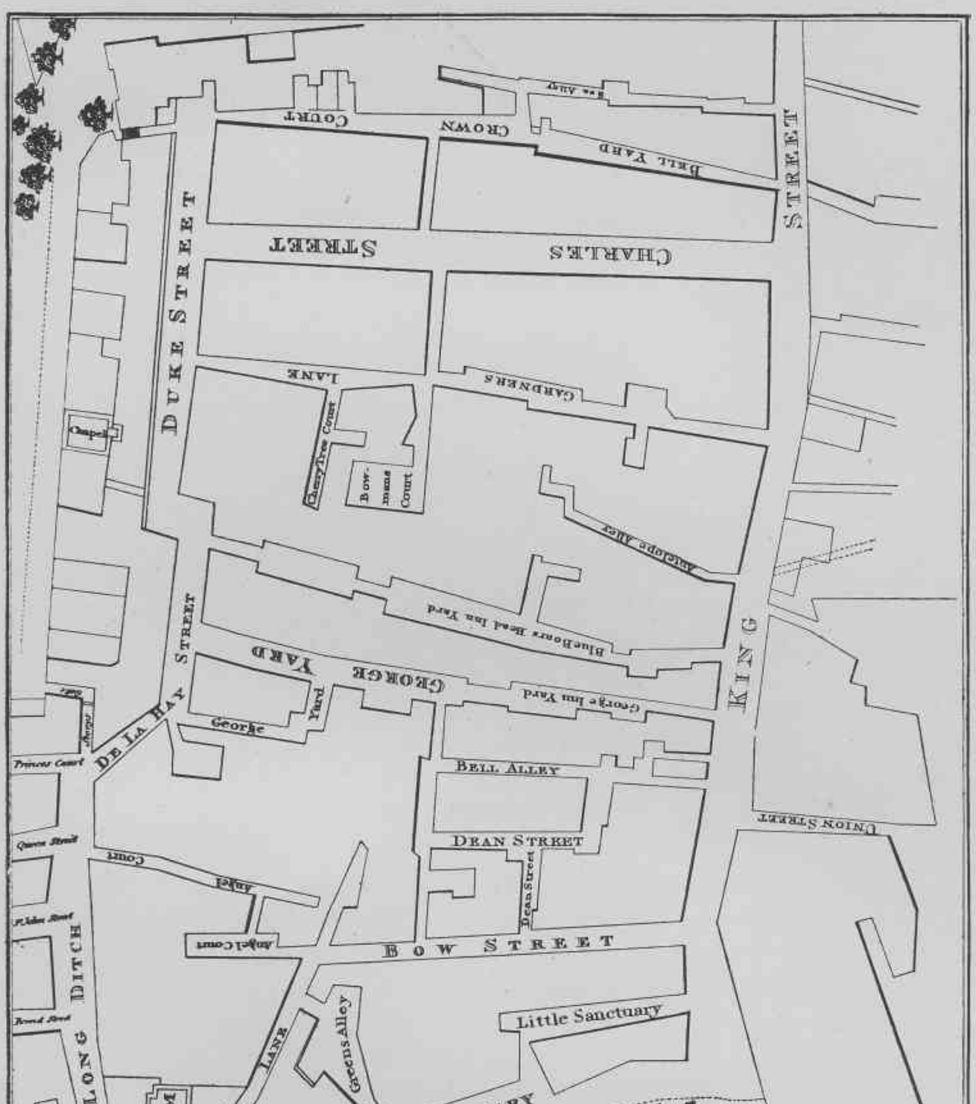
In the seventeenth century, Samuel Pepys, in his Diary, mentions several old Houses patronised by him, some of them later the Homes of Masonic Lodges. The whole of the locality adjacent to King Street has, however, undergone such drastic alterations that we cannot realise the position of these Inns unless we glance at the Plan (made *circa* 1734) before the laying out of George Street. (*Plate No. XIII.*). In King Street was Axe Yard, where Pepys himself resided, and where he opens his Diary on the 1st January, 1660. The Yard was so called from "a large messuage or Tavern in the west side of King Street commonly called the Axe." Later, on the 20th July, 1666, Pepys records: "Lord to see how the Plague spreads. It being now all over Kings Street, at the Axe and next door to it, and at other places." Edmund Burke seems for some time to have resided at "The Axe," and writes to the Marquis of Rockingham from there. "The Axe" with most of King Street was pulled down about 1760. The Lodge of Peace and Plenty met here in 1739. The fine Inn known as "The Bell" was also in a yard off King Street. A very old House, as we find in Sir John Howard's "Journal of Expenses," 1465 to 1467, several items in connection with his visits to "The Bell." Here the Tory Club known as "The October Club" met about 1710, and gave infinite trouble to Harley's Administration. Swift was a constant visitor and was employed to propitiate and gain over the Members of this Club. This Tavern was early famous in the Masonic Records, and appears in the lists of 1723, 1724 and 1725.

"The Mitre and Dove" was also a well-known Inn in King Street, where several Lodges met about the middle of the eighteenth century. (*Plate No. XIV.*)

At "The Bull Head Tavern," Princes Street, close by, we have Pepys again in the character of a sportsman, 29th March, 1667. "To the Bull Head Tavern whither was brought my French gun, and one Truelocke, a famous gunsmith, who is a mighty ingenious man did take my gun to pieces." This Inn was the original meeting place of the St. James' Lodge No. 180 in 1787.

At "The Swan" in Bridge Street, Lodges met about 1750. Pepys also had an adventure here in the Great Fire. "And so to Westminster thinking to shift myself being in dirt from top to bottom, but could not find there any place to buy a shirt or pair of gloves Westminster Hall being full of people's goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch (Epsom), but to the Swan, and there was trimmed and thus to Whitehall."

The New Palace Yard (*Plate No. XV.*) was an open square before the north entrance to Westminster Hall, so called from being the principal Court of the New Palace commenced by William II., of which Westminster Hall, its chief feature only was completed. It had originally four gates leading out of it, one of which opened into St. Magaret Lane the approach to Old Palace Yard (*Plate No. XVI.*), the interior and older Square or Courtyard. Many houses to the north east of New Palace Yard remained standing till 1865. The disastrous fire of 1834 destroyed most of the ancient buildings in Old Palace Yard.

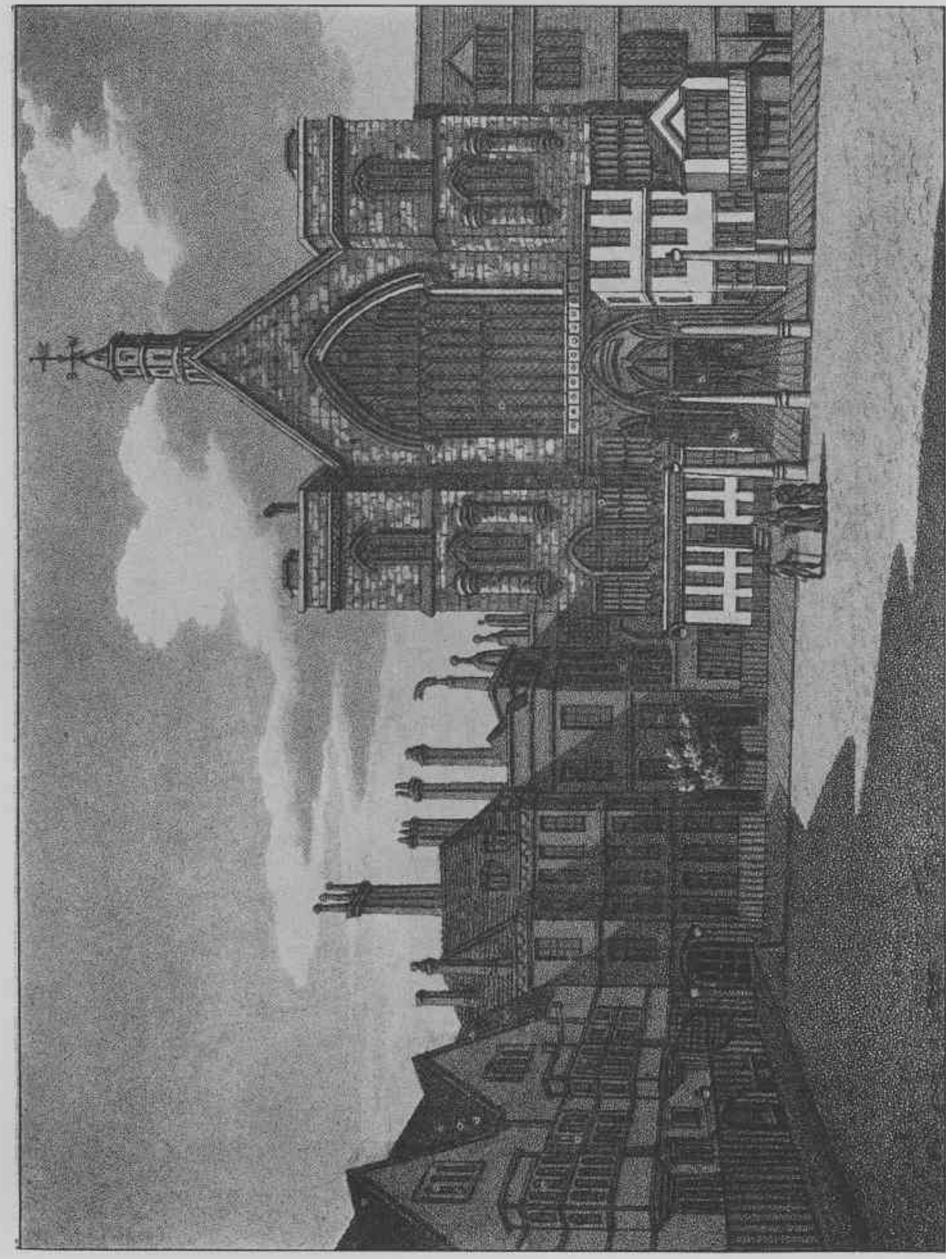


XIII.—Plan of King Street, Westminster, and adjoining Streets, *circa* 1734.



XIV.—The "Mitre and Dove," King Street, Westminster, in 1873.

From a Drawing by Fred. Shepherd in the Gardner Collection.



XV.—New Palace Yard in 1800.



XVI.—Old Palace Yard in 1800.

New Palace Yard has seen many interesting historical events, such as the great fight between the men of London and the men of Westminster, as related by Stow. The famous Pillory stood here on which Perkin Warbeck, William Prynne, Titus Oates, and, lastly, the printer of Wilkes' famous "No. 45" stood and suffered. Old Palace Yard witnessed in the old days many tournaments, executions, and trials by battle. In the south-east corner Percy, one of the conspirators of the Gunpowder Plot, took a house, through which the barrels of gunpowder were carried to the vaults below the House of Lords, and here four of the conspirators were afterwards executed. In the same reign, fifteen years later, the shameful execution of Raleigh was carried out in the yard.

In New Palace Yard we come across in the *Records* "The Kings Arms" on the west side of the Square where the Royal Somerset and Inverness Lodge met in 1771, and the "Horn Tavern," also a meeting place of this Lodge, and the Westminster and Keystone No. 10, in 1792. The Old Palace Yard had amongst its taverns "The Mason's Arms" where two Lodges (now erased) met in 1754, "The Star and Garter," St. James Lodge No. 180, in 1787, and "The Golden Fleece," where the Lodge of Perseverance, now the Royal York Lodge of Perseverance had its second meeting place in 1776.

"The Horn Tavern" is entitled to more than passing mention, as it appears to have been a famous and aristocratic Masonic House in the earliest times. For instance, we have recorded in the *British Gazetteer*, 28th March, 1724, "There was a great Lodge of the ancient Society of Freemasons held last week at the Horn Tavern, Palace Yard, and there were present the Earl of Dalkeith their Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master and several other persons of Quality." There is also a letter written by James Anderson from "over against St. James St. Pickadilly," to "Samuel Gale, Esq., at Commissioner Gale's in Bedford Row," 26th February, 1731:

"Dear Sir

The enclosed is from Councillor Edwards the worthy Warden of the Horn Lodge of which the Duke of Richmond is Master. It is to get the Bearer (who is also a Mason true) made an Excise man by your benign influence with your brother the commissioner

Your affectionate Brother and obedient servant

James Anderson."

And now our travels are at an end, and we find ourselves under the shadow of the Abbey Church, whose ancient aisles and chapels, "half as old as Time," form a fitting sanctuary and resting place, and will we hope ever remain

"To God's most holy service dedicate
Enriched with sculptures rare, and effigies
That with clasped hands seem ever meekly praying;
And with the solemn bells that send afar
The tidings of great joy, and bid us leave
The turmoil, and the strife of busy life,
To worship, as we should, the living God."

Bro. T. B. WHYTEHEAD *writes*:—

I have been much interested in the papers of Bro. Simpson on "London Taverns and Freemasonry." He is doing for London what I have been for years trying to do for York, and the pursuit of these details is a very interesting study. He has been more successful in his London researches than I have been in my own city, but still I have managed to ferret out a good many matters that otherwise would have been lost to posterity. There is no time to lose in these destructive days, and in York we are even now threatened with the demolition of some of the oldest houses. Within the last twenty years two old Masonic Taverns have disappeared, and doubtless others will presently follow.

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER desired to express his cordial appreciation, which he was sure would be equally shared by all present, of the valuable and interesting paper which had just been read by Bro. J. Percy Simpson. It was one in every way worthy of the best traditions of the Lodge, and its preparation must have involved immense application to work, and research in many directions. Its re-perusal, when printed in our *Transactions*, would add a fresh interest to our daily walks in town; it was valuable, not only to us as Freemasons, in indicating many meeting-places of old Lodges, but also to all students of the topography of old London, which was fast vanishing from our view, in identifying and preserving for time to come the actual sites of those old Taverns, which played such an important part in the lives of our ancestors. Few of the Taverns cited remain to our day; it might be of some interest to trace the way in which some of them changed their appellation for that of Coffee-House, while a few of these again have further developed into the Club-Houses which have taken the place of these old Taverns, now no longer wanted by the more exclusive social practices of modern life.

In moving a vote of thanks to Bro. Simpson, the W.M. said that he could give no higher praise to the paper than by expressing his conviction that, while it was admirably suited to the pages of our own *Transactions*, it would have been equally well received at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries itself.

The vote was seconded by Bro. E. J. CASTLE, P.M., and, after comments by Bros. W. M. BYWATER, P.M., E. H. DRING and C. GOUGH, was carried unanimously. Bro. SIMPSON suitably expressed his thanks and appreciation.

The thanks of the Lodge were also tendered to Bro. G. VOGELER, who added so much to the interest by kindly bringing his lantern and throwing the views on the screen; and to Mr. J. GARDNER, who generously permitted Bro. Simpson to inspect his valuable collection, and allowed the reproduction of many unique prints and drawings in our *Transactions*.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE TEMPLARS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND FOR HERESY, ETC., A.D. 1307-11.

TAKEN FROM THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE PERIOD.

BY BRO. E. J. CASTLE, K.C, *P.M.*

PART I.

IN a previous paper(*A.Q.C.*, vol. xix., 1906, pp. 209-228.) enquiry was made into the modern charge of Gnosticism brought against the Templars. It is now proposed to give a summary of the actual evidence that was taken in France and in England, between the years 1307 and 1311, upon the charges brought against them at the instigation of Philip the Fair. In examining this evidence the reader will find that he is no longer dealing with theoretical speculations of *savants* anxious to exhibit their cleverness, but with hard cruel persecution, and terrible tortures, of unhappy individuals forced to confess crimes of which apparently they were not guilty, who, if they afterwards dared to assert such confessions to be untrue, were, as relapsed heretics, hurried to the stake.

The present enquiry is based upon undisputed facts; which are proved by the very best of evidence. Day by day, both in England and France, depositions of the witnesses were taken down more or less verbatim, and these depositions have come down to us intact, so we have a better and a fuller report of what took place than we have of most of our modern trials. Hitherto it is true these proceedings remained closed to the ordinary reader by not having been translated from the mediæval Latin in which they were originally written, besides this they are very voluminous, they are nearly 1,000 pages of a large quarto size, in the French proceedings there were 241 witnesses examined, and their depositions become monotonous and wearisome, although every now and then something material occurs—some observations, showing the views of the Commissioners—some bit of evidence that explains or illustrates much. The depositions therefore have to be carefully read by one accustomed to deal with evidence. This the author has to the best of his ability done, and he has given the result of his reading in a *précis* of the depositions, with references to the originals, so that a reader wanting more information may search for himself.

When we come to the proceedings themselves a full description will be given of where and when the originals may be found, and how they come to be preserved, but at present it is sufficient to say that we have verbatim reports of what actually took place which are of interest, apart from the guilt or innocence of the Templars, as the report of proceedings conducted in a legal way nearly 600 years ago. Michelet, the editor of the French proceedings, says that "in order that the reader may judge for himself we put into his hands the most ancient criminal process of which there remains a detailed report; this report will be found a kind of inquest singularly curious in the history of rights, manners and customs."

Before, however, giving extracts from the evidence, it is advisable to show what the charges were and how they originated.

Clement the Fifth was made Pope on the 14th November, 1305, and he himself tells us in his Bull, hereinafter referred to, that it was about this time that he heard rumours about the Templars to which, for reasons which he gives, he was unwilling to listen. We may therefore conclude that up to this time these charges were unknown, and this view is confirmed by the letter from Edward II., in the year 1307, in which he speaks of them "coming as matters of astonishment more than it is possible to believe," not only to himself but to the Priests, Counts and Barons of his kingdom.

These charges, it is generally supposed, were first made in the year 1305 by two disgraced Templars. Dr. Milner, in his History of Latin Christianity, says (vol. vii., p. 193), "there was a certain Squino de Florian, Prior of Montfalcon, in the County of Toulouse, who had been condemned as a heretic and man of evil life to perpetual imprisonment in the dungeons of one of the royal castles, there he met one Roffo, a Florentine and apostate Templar, he contrived to communicate to the King's Officers that he could reveal foul and monstrous secrets of the Order. He was admitted to the royal presence, &c., and on his attestation the vague and terrible charges, which had been floating about as rumours, grew into distinct and awful articles of accusation," and the author adds, "authorities say this was the current history of the time." That this Prior Montfalcon was one of the originators of the charge against the Templars is confirmed by the statement of Ponzardus to the Papal Commissioners in November, 1309, where he says (*Procés*, vol. i., p. 36), "these are the traitors who have brought forward falsehood and calumny against the religion of the Temple, William Roberts, the Monk who tortured them, Esquino de Floyriac, Prior of Montfaucon, Bernardus Peletus, and Geraues de Boyzol. And Raynardus de Pruino, the skilful defender of the Templars before the Commissioners" (*Ibid*, p. 168), said "those who have carried these mendacious charges to the King and Pope, had sought out apostate or fugitive brethren from the Order of the Temple, who, on account of their wickedness, like diseased cattle have been driven from the flock." It is to be noticed that Dr. Milman speaks of the vague and terrible charges that had been floating about, but Raynouard does not take this view, he says that contemporaneous literature may be searched and nothing will be found against them, and adds (page 13), "it is certain that up to the epoch of their bad fortune the Templars had enjoyed general esteem, that not only had no enemy, public or secret, reproached them with the improprieties and impurities with which they were then accused, but both Popes and Kings, even those who afterwards pursued them most bitterly, openly rendered justice to their zeal for religion and to the purity of their manners."

We do not know exactly when Esquino got access to the King, it was probably before the Grand Master came to France, who was said to have been summoned by Clement in 1305. (*Ray.*, p. 13).

It seems, therefore, pretty clear that the charges were first made about 1305, and that though the King received them with a greedy air, they were new and came as a surprise to the Pope, who was not inclined to believe them. (*Aurem noluimus inclinare*). This view is confirmed by his Bull to Edward II. in 1307, in which he states "that the Order had for a long time shone forth in the grace of much nobility . . . we had then never had any suspicion about the premises, nor any infamy against them. (*quodque tunc nullam avdiveramus super premissos suspicionem vel infamia contra eos*)." The Pope distinctly states then that these charges were new and not heard of before about the time of his promotion to the Apostolic See, November 1305, and even as late as December, 1309, he still shows that he is not satisfied that the Templars were guilty, for after requesting Edward II. to cause the arrest of the Templars in England, he

directs him to make provisions for the preservation of the property of the Templars, so that it should be preserved for them if they were found innocent, otherwise for the Holy Land. (*Ut bona ipsis dictis templariis si reperiantur innocentes alloquin pro terra sancta integre conservientur*).

The evidence of the Pope and Edward II. that these charges were unknown to the Pope up to the time they were forwarded to him in 1305, and to Edward up to the arrival of Peletus in November, 1307, seems very material; it is the evidence of contemporaneous witnesses about facts clearly within their own knowledge, which they would hardly have put on record if they had not been true. If there had been these vague rumours of corruption and decay in the Order, neither the Pope nor Edward would have laid so much stress that the charges were new and unknown.

NATURE OF THE CHARGES.

It has already been explained in the previous paper that the task Philip and his advisers had to perform was to satisfy the Pope of the guilt of the Templars as an Order, and a distinction was drawn between the guilt of individual members, and that of the body as a whole. This distinction must not be lost sight of. A loyal regiment might have many disaffected persons in its ranks, but it would differ from a regiment where each recruit was made by the officers to insult his Sovereign's flag and swear fealty to the enemy. The charges brought against the Templars were ultimately reduced into writing, and the Papal Commissioners in France and Edward's Commissioners in England had to examine the witnesses upon more than 130 questions. The depositions, however, shew that the principal articles relied on were two charges, *i.e.*, that every candidate was at his reception called upon to deny Christ and spit upon His Cross, and he was so called upon because it was the rule and practice of the Order (*de punctis ordinis*) that candidates should be received in this manner.

The actual charges were, however, by no means limited to the Denial and the Insult (as these two charges may be described, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition of matters of offence), there were charges of Idolatry and Indecency, and the crimes of the cities of the plain were not only imputed to individual Templars, but it was suggested that they were made obligatory. Besides there were matters charged which were opposed to the teachings and practice of the Roman Faith, such as the giving of Absolution by the head of a chapter, though not a priest. It was for this offence, and this only, that the Order was found guilty in England. It was also said that in consecrating the Sacrament the necessary words were omitted. These were no doubt offences against the religion of Rome which the Templars professed, though they were not like Denial and Insult, offences against Christianity, nor, like the Indecent Charges, offences against humanity. Still, as professing members of the Roman Church, under whose protection they had gained all their great wealth, they were traitors to their faith if they knowingly and wilfully taught or practised observances that were opposed to her teaching. No one has a right to pose as a member of a community whose authority he is undermining and whose teaching he is opposing. But to the modern reader it is evident that a very different verdict is to be found when the only proved charge, as was the case in England, was that owing to a misunderstanding of the powers granted to the Order by the Pope, the heads of Chapters, even when only laymen, gave absolution; than that which would be given if the charges of the Denial and Insult, not to mention the indecent crimes were considered to be proved.

As stated, the principal charges upon which the prosecution relied were the Denial and Insult, which it was alleged took place as part of a candidate's reception. This view is supported by Raynouard, who tells us that the Agents of the King did not press the charges of depravity since they had obtained a confession of having denied God and spat upon the cross. And in the Papal Bull to be referred to hereafter more particularly, the Pope mentions the mysterious Knight, who confessed that at the receptions the Denial and Insult took place. This view is also supported by the depositions themselves and by many other matters. Thus the Inquisitor William of Paris issued instructions to the Bishops and others, who had to examine the Templars, as follows:—"Transmit to the King under the Seals of the Commissioners of the Inquisitors a copy of the depositions of those who shall confess the said errors, especially the denial of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The views of Philip and his Bishops no doubt were, that these charges of heresy justified them in all their extreme measures against the Templars, and upon those they relied. Posterity has, however, considered the charges of impurity as the most terrible of the accusations. There is something in the very mention of such charges that makes men hesitate. Fearful suspicions will arise that cloud the intellect and prevent the exercise of a calm judgment. But the depositions show that the reader may in a great measure be relieved from unpleasant enquiries. After a careful perusal of the evidence the author has come to the conclusion, that though some individuals pleaded guilty to the commission of the crime, most of the witnesses denied ever having heard of any such suggestions until they had questions put to them by the examining Bishops, and a little reflection will shew that whilst this charge helped to destroy any popular sympathy towards the Templars, it did not help the King's cause with the Pope, or the educated Churchmen who advised him.

It must be remembered that the question of the Templars was a burning one in Philip's time. It is clear that the Pope never was convinced of the guilt of the Templars as an Order, *i.e.*, that the alleged offences were universal. This can be shown from his own statements to be referred to directly. Even his Bull for the suppression of the Order in 1313, admitted that the offences had not been proved against the Order. No doubt sides were taken, and bitter feelings were aroused, as they have been in the case of Mary Queen of Scots, of Queen Caroline, of Dreyfus and others.

A great many writers have dealt with the extravagant nature of the charges, the inherent improbability that any large body of men of different ages, some young, some widowers, seeking retirement from the world, could have been guilty of these practices; that candidate after candidate, full of religious fervour, after a powerful and ceremonial service, at which his own family were often present, should have consented to deny his Saviour, etc., and that for years these practices could have gone on undetected, when a word from the disgusted candidate to the officers of the Inquisition, or to the King, would have exposed the whole affair.

But it is not necessary to rely upon these arguments, we have the depositions of the witnesses, these clearly failed to satisfy the Commissioners and the Pope of the guilt of the Templars. The former had seen and heard the unhappy Templars, they could not have found the guilt of the latter proved, and the Pope would not have framed his Bull[1] abolishing the Order in the way he did.

One of the statements in writing sent to the Commissioners of the Pope was that of the way in which Candidates were received. This statement has already been

[1] *Post.*

published in the *Transactions* of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, but as one of the charges against the Order was that it was required, as a part of the Order (*de punctis ordinis*) that each candidate at his reception should deny and insult the Cross, it is necessary to refer here shortly to what the ceremony of Reception was.

It appears, as in similar cases, the reception of a new member was treated as of great importance. By the rules of the Order, the ceremony was to be carried out by those well acquainted with the ritual. The Candidate attended with his friends and relations. Chapter was fully opened, a sentinel was placed on the roof to watch for intruders, hence probably the name Tyler. The presence of the Candidate was announced to the head of the Chapter or Receptor, who sent out two members to make enquiries as to the Candidate's position and the particulars were reported to the Receptor, who told the two members to inform the Candidate of the hardships he would have to endure: hunger when he would eat, watch when he would sleep, etc. This was carried to the Candidate, who said he was willing to undergo the same, and upon this acquiescence being reported to the Receptor the Candidate was admitted to the Chapter, having been sworn never to speak of what took place there. Whilst in the Chapter he sat at the feet of the Receptor and listened to charges. During the ceremony he was taken to some retired room or chapel to put on his new clothing, the mantle, etc. It was during this temporary absence that all the alleged enormities were supposed to take place, *i.e.*, the denial of the second person, the spitting and the trampling on the cross, and even worse treatment, and then it was said advantage was taken of the change of clothing to kiss the Candidate indecently, or sometimes the statement was that the Receptor stripped himself (*totum nudum se spoliavit*).

Persons may take a different view but, after a careful study of the evidence, it seems to the author that the Bishop's Inquisitors, no doubt with the help of their attendants and guardians, persuaded some of the brethren to confess that they denied and insulted the cross, but allowed them to mitigate their supposed crimes by saying the denial was with mouth only, and not in their minds, and they spat not on but near the cross (*non supra sed juxta*). But Bishops and Janitors, Inquisitors and Penitents forgot that there had to be a cross at hand, and when one witness said he was taken into a room apart, he became confused when asked where the cross came from, and who brought it, and could give no answer.

This drew the attention of the prosecution to the fact that the presence of the cross had to be accounted for, and in all the subsequent examination we find the Templars coming up, carefully prepared, by batches, saying they insulted the cross, but giving different explanations of what the cross was and where it came from. Some said it was a metal cross, some a wooden one, others that it was a painted one in a missal, others that it was the cross of the Receptor's mantle, others that it was that on the Candidate's new clothing, in one case the cross was said to be a piece of cloth cut in the shape. In another case the cross seems to have been a monument out of doors.

It must be remembered that (if the charges were true) the Receptor, or those to whom he delegated the duty, had a very dangerous, not to say unpleasant task to perform, *i.e.*, to call upon a new Candidate to deny and insult the cross. He could not be sure how it would be taken, and there would be no hitch on his part. The cross he would use would be the one he had used before, if he had received others. Nothing would be left to chance. He would have matters cut and dried. But we find in the depositions that the nature of the cross alleged to have been used did not depend on the particular Receptor, but on the batch in which the witness came up for examination. And this, though the members of each batch were

of different ages and had been received in different parts of the earth at different times, yet they all or most of them spoke of the same kind of cross. One batch favoured a wooden cross, another a metal one, others a cross of cloth, etc. It was not entirely so. The Bishops or their Janitors were too clever to allow of unadulterated uniformity. But they do not appear to have realised the difficulty, and after the first breakdown, as long as the cross was accounted for in some way, they did not notice the danger of persons of different ages and standing, received in different places, giving these uniform explanations.

For example, there was one well-known Receptor, Sir Francis de Bort, who had received many candidates in his time. One would, if the story had been true, have expected that he had a fixed method and a particular form of cross. But according to the witnesses he sometimes ordered them to insult a wooden cross, sometimes one in a urinal, sometimes one on a mantle, and sometimes the witnesses said he omitted the insult.

It would require very strong evidence to get rid of these contradictory statements. Not the frightened admission of those who were broken down by torture, or were in fear of it. By the time the examination of the witnesses took place in 1310-11, the prisoners, as their remarks show, knew the order could not be saved, and their only hope of safety was in swearing what the King and the Bishops wanted, and out of the whole number arrested in France it must be remembered only 240 could be found even to do this.

That these unfortunate Templars were not only coerced but coaxed, and when in a proper frame of mind coached, as to what they were to say to the Pope's Commissioners seems pretty clear from the depositions themselves, and this fact seems to have been well known at the time, for we find in the French contemporaneous chronicle[1] of the year 1307, it stated :—

> "Some of them confessed voluntarily all or part of the premises even with tears, others as it seemed led by remorse, others put to the question with divers tortures or frightened with the threat or at the sight of them, others led or seduced (*illecti*) by bland promises, others tortured in the confinement of prison without food, or otherwise forced or compelled in different ways. Some, however, denied nearly everything, and many more who had confessed at first, afterwards retracted and persisting to the last in this, some of them died under punishment."
>
> *Factumque est quod eorum uonnulli sponte quœdam prœmissorum vel omnia, etiam lacrymabiliter, sunt confessi, alii quidem, ut videbatur, pœnitentia ducti, alii autem diversis tormentis quœstionati, seu comminatione vel eorum aspectu perterriti, alii blandis tracti promissionibus et illecti, alii arcta carceris inedia cruciati, vel coacti, multipliciterque compulsi. Multi tamen penitus omnia negaverunt, et plures qui confessi primo fuerant, ad negationem postea reversi sunt, in ea finaliter persistentes, quorum nonnullii inter ipsa supplicia perierunt.*—Nangis Contin., vol. 1, p. 362.

[1] Our information about this period of French history is for the most part derived from the *Chronique de Nangis et de ses Continuateurs.* An edition of this work was published at Paris in 1843. Nangis was a Monk of St. Denys, who wrote between the years 1289 and 1299, dying, it is believed, about the year 1300. His history covers the period from the commencement of the world up to the year 1300. But, as he himself says, it is only during the epoch of his life that he has the pretention to be an original author, and it was during the latter half of the thirteenth century that Nangis is considered a contemporary historian. After his death his history was continued by unknown members of the Abbey of St. Denys, up to the year 1340, and it is to the latter work, therefore, that we have to turn for an account of what passed in the years 1305-11. The history is divided into different years, an account being given of the transactions in each year.

But even gaolers and executioners can feel sympathy, especially as time goes on. The Templars at the date of the Pope's Commission had been some years in prison, and their case was hopeless. Philip had gone too far with his tortures and burnings, the Order could never have been restored. It is said that when Peter the Great allowed his son heir to the throne to be flogged, there was only one thing to be done, and that was to put an end to his life. The Bishops must have been tired of keeping men they knew and had associated with in confinement, for each Bishop had to take charge of the Templars found in his diocese. He had probably enjoyed their hospitalities and he would be only too willing to come to a compromise. The Order had to be condemned, the individual might be spared. As soon as they abolished the Order the prisoners would be let free if they were not obstinate, and it is not too much to believe, as the continuer of Nangis puts it, that the Templars were led and seduced by bland promises that if they would only say by the points of the Order they denied, they might say they did with mouth, not mind, and spat not on but near. Michelet says "the avowals were all different, varied with special circumstances," from which he draws a conclusion against the Templars. The depositions convey an entirely different impression to the author, the avowals are all in one form, denial with mouth not mind, spitting not on but near, and seem to him conclusive of an arranged and settled compromise.

PHILIP AND CLEMENT.

Clement was a Frenchman, formerly Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was made Pope by the assistance of Philip the Fair under the title of Clement V. French authors say that there had been arrangements entered into between Philip and the future Pope, as the conditions for the King's support; amongst other matters, Clement gave Philip one-tenth of the revenues of the Church for five years, for Philip was at his wit's end for money. He had already debased the coinage, and had been chased by the mob in Paris, and forced to take refuge in the Temple.

At the time Clement was made Pope in November, 1305, as he himself tells us in his Bull, and even before, he heard of the charges against the Templars, but, knowing, as he said, their good performances in defence of the Faith, he was willing to incline a deaf ear to the former. Philip took a different view. He came to the conclusion that the Templars were guilty, and at once accepted the statements of Esquino de Florian and the Florentine Roffo as being true, and he endeavoured to bring Clement to his way of thinking. But Clement seems to have suspected that Philip's intention was to get possession of the lands and wealth of the Templars. It is said that they owned a thousand manors in France alone, besides being possessed of much plate and money. Whatever Clement's reasons were he refused to be convinced, and he avoided seeing Philip's messengers, on one occasion giving for a reason as a schoolboy might, that he was going to take some preparatory drugs and afterwards a purge which, according to the opinion of his doctors, would, please God, greatly benefit him (*Quædam præpatoria sumere et postmodum purgationem accipere quá secundum prædictorum physicium judicium auctore doctore valde utilis nobis erit*).

It appears that Philip had quarrelled with the Pope Boniface, a predecessor of Clement's. Nogaret, Philip's Chancellor, had taken Boniface prisoner, and though he was released he had died shortly afterwards. Boniface either had been or was reported to have been a free thinker, and what was worse, a free talker, and had occasioned much scandal, and Philip, it is said, asked Clement to try the dead Pope and even to dig up his bones and have them burned as those of a heretic.

There could be no greater scandal than a living Pope trying one of his predecessors for heresy. But one of the conditions that Clement had agreed to was the destruction of Boniface's memory (*La quatrième, que tu détruises et annules la memoire du Pape Boniface*).[1] And Philip and his Chancellor, Nogaret, determined to make Clement fulfil his bargain. But Clement had promised nothing about the Templars, and Michelet says that Clement took the course with Philip of refusing belief in the charges against the Order, not from any desire to shield the Templars but that he might defeat Philip's intention of prosecuting his old enemy Boniface for heresy. Clement continued fighting Philip, as will be seen, until at some time a compromise was entered into, the King giving way about Boniface and the Pope abandoning the Templars to him. As Michelet says, "They gave up the living to save the dead. But the dead was the Papacy itself." It is very difficult to arrive at the motives of those who have so long passed away, but it will be seen that whilst Clement in *France* refused to be convinced of the guilt of the Templars, notwithstanding the confession obtained in Paris (under torture it is true) by the Inquisitor and confessions, which he tells us, were made to Cardinals appointed by himself; in *England* he wrote to Edward in terms that seemed to assume their guilt, and that all that remained to be done was the abolition of the Order by a General Council. But even in the case of the English Templars we have seen he enjoined Edward to secure their property so that it might be returned to the Templars if they were found innocent. In 1307 Philip visited Clement at Poictiers and had a long deliberation with him and his Cardinals, especially concerning the arrest of the Templars. Michelet says that the Pope tried to satisfy Philip by bestowing on him all the benefits in the power of the Holy See, helping his son Louis to Navarre, etc. Philip received everything but he was not satisfied. He surrounded the Pope with charges against the Templars and Michelet says he found in Clement's household a Templar who accused the order. Some of the Templars, as appears in the depositions, did act in a Papal household as Treasurers. This Templar, who is said to have accused the Order, may be the Mysterious Knight mentioned by the Pope in his Bull, "not without position in the Order, who being sworn in secret said the Brethren in their reception Denied, etc."

It was about this time, possibly in consequence of the pressure by Philip, that Clement summoned the two Grand Masters of the Hospitallers and Templars to France and expressly ordered them to appear before him by a certain time putting aside everything. The Master of the Temple obeyed, arriving at the end of April, 1307; but the Master of the Hospitallers excused himself as he was occupied in taking the Island of Rhodes from the Saracens. It has been said that it was lucky for him that he had this excuse or the Hospitallers might have shared the same fate as the Templars and been accused of the same crimes. Unfortunately, the Grand Master "beyond the Seas," as he was often called, De Molay, did not come alone, he brought a considerable amount of treasure with him. Raynouard says 150,000 gold florins (a considerable sum for that period) and a great quantity of silver coins, amounting to a load for twelve horses, and besides this there was already a great quantity of treasure stored at the Temple. At this time the Templars, a large part of whom were in France, appear to have numbered nearly 15,000.

The Grand Master, De Molay, had an interview with the Pope at Poictiers, in the month of April, 1307. Raynouard says that he had with him three Preceptors, Caron d'outre-Mer, Goneville d'Acquitaine; Peraudo, Precepteur de France. De Molay

[1] Michelet.

and the Preceptors were the heads of the Order. It will be seen that the King's party at the time and in subsequent enquiries laid great stress upon the confessions that De Molay and the Preceptors are supposed to have made voluntarily to the Pope before the arrest or torture was used or threatened. But the Pope does not in his Bull say that any confessions were made to him by them either at Poictiers or elsewhere or at *any other times.* On the contrary, he said that he sent for them to come to Poictiers. But because he was informed that owing to their injuries they were not able to ride[1] "or in any way come to our presence," he says that he sent certain Cardinals to hear their confessions, and that De Molay and the Preceptors confessed to the Cardinals and received absolution, etc. Thus there is no suggestion made by Clement that confessions were made to him personally by any one except the Knight who, as stated, was supposed to be a member of the Pope's household.

But something did pass between De Molay, the Preceptors, and the Pope. De Molay, in his last speech said when withdrawing everything, that he had been misled by Clement, and as we shall see said this on more than one occasion. He told the Pope's emissaries in 1310 that he would not say anything to them as the Pope had arranged to deal with them himself. We can only conjecture what passed. We know that Clement had heard rumours about the Templars, that one of his own household had told him that at the Reception the Denial and Insult took place, and De Molay may, for the purpose of strengthening the Pope's hands and pursuing the reformation of the Order, have made admissions. That the Order required reformation seems very clear. It was too wealthy. Its *raison d'être* was gone, the Holy Land being lost. Its immorality with the other sex was notorious. Part soldiers and part monks, they had ceased to be either. But who was to reform this wealthy body? It had grown out of hand. De Molay was Grand Master but they called him Master Outre Mer (beyond seas). His authority may or may have not been admitted in the provinces of France and Acquitaine. But what could one old man do? What can the present Czar do in correcting evils and putting down the power of the Dukes, and the abuses of bureaucracy? Some arrangement may have been come to with De Molay, so that he and the Pope might work together in reforming the Order, but it is clear that nothing like a confession of the charges took place.

One of the most mysterious matters in the affair of the Templars is this confession, or alleged confession, of the Master. Each one speaks of it as being made in a different way and we shall see how De Molay himself until he was stopped, treated it when it was put to him.

But to return to the year 1307. Philip tired of delays, and failing to get the Pope's consent, determined to act by himself and to arrest all the Templars found in his Kingdom on one day, as he had already the Jews. A somewhat difficult task in the absence of telegraphs, railways, etc. But it was effected in September, 1307, by sending directions to those whom he could trust to have a certain number of men collected, and on a particular day the sealed orders which had also been sent were to be opened and they would state what was to be done. These orders being opened contained instructions to proceed without delay and arrest all the Templars in that particular place. This appears to have been carried out without alarming the Templars who were taken by surprise, and unable to consult together or to make resistance. On the 13th October, De Molay and the 140 Templars in Paris were under arrest, and

[1] Sed quoniàm quidam ex ipsis sic infirmabautur tunc temporis quod equitare non poterant nec ad nostram presenciam quomodo adduci, etc.

throughout the country others were captured, and it appears were handed over to the custody of the Bishops, who appear there and later on to have played the part of gaolers in cases of heresy. There is still a Lollard's Tower in Lambeth Palace, with the rings in the walls, and Bishops of London as late as Mary, it is said, burned their victims at night in their gardens.

It does not appear that every Templar was arrested. Many escaped at least for the time, and Templar hunting became a popular sport. In those days Templars were distinguished by wearing a beard, and the Papal Commissioners were careful to note in 1310 whether the witness still wore the beard and mantle, or had the former shaved (Barbâ rasâ). The connection between beards and Templars seemed to have long survived, for Edward III., who was not born at the date of the arrest, still found it necessary to give his valet, who in obedience to a vow wore a beard, a certificate that he was not a Templar. It must have been a rude awakening for these Knights, in all their pride and opulence one day, and the next in the dungeons of the Bishops, or of the prisons of Paris, threatened with immediate torture, execrated by the mob, accused of charges and crimes which many of them said they first heard of when examined by the Bishops. De Molay after leaving Clement, up to the day of his arrest, had been treated with the greatest ceremony and respect, of itself inconsistent with the fact that he had confessed everything to the Pope. He was one of the four who carried the pall at the funeral of the Princess Catherine, Philip's sister-in-law, and the next day he was a prisoner in his own house, the Temple of Paris—a place half fortress, half palace—that survived to the time of the Reformation. Philip made it a prison, and by the irony of fate Louis XVI. found it one, and his unfortunate son, not only *that*, but a place in which it is said he was starved to death.

Having with one blow in the course of a single night swept into his power all the members of the Order he could arrest, having deprived the numerous Houses of the Order of their masters, and the thousand Manors of their owners, Philip had to justify his acts to astonished France. The Templars were a numerous body, and they must have had many relatives with the nobility and leading families of France, who were interested in Knights of the Order, while the people of France generally must have had connections among the serving brethren and lower ranks. Philip did not hesitate. The day of the arrest he took steps to secure the approval of the people and of the University of Paris. The citizens were called together by parishes in the Jardin du Roi in the Cité where Monks preached to them.

Though nothing had up to this time been proved, Philip had a deadly weapon in his hands. The charges themselves seemed to slay without proof. The times, no doubt, were full of heresy, led only a few years back by Boniface himself, and the charge that those who had professed to protect the tomb of the Saviour, in their reception expressly denied him and insulted his Cross, was bad enough. But beyond that there was the terrible charge of a crime that was said not only to be permitted but made obligatory. This charge, whether he believed it or not was immaterial, had only to be brought forward by Philip to silence all opposition and extinguish all sympathy. What voice could be raised in defence of those who were said to be such sinners against humanity? The people were preached to on the first day and Nogaret, Philip's chancellor, read the Act of Accusation on the following to the assembly of the University, and a Royal letter was circulated through France which seems to be spoilt by translation.

> Une chose amère, une chose deplorable, une chose horrible à penser, terrible à entendre, chose execrable de scélératesse, détestable d' infamie. Un esprit doué de raison compâtit et se trouble dans sa compassion, en voyant une nature qui s'exile elle-même hors des bornes de la nature, qui oublie son principe, qui méconnait sa dignité, qui prodique de soi, s'assimile aux bêtes dépourvues de sens; que dis-je? qui depasse la brutalité des bêtes elles-mêmes. *Michelet* vol. iii., p. 145.
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> [A bitter matter, a deplorable affair, a thing horrible to think of, terrible to hear, a matter execrable for wickedness, detestable for its infamy; a mind gifted with reason would pity and be troubled in its pity in contemplating a disposition, which exiles itself beyond the borders of nature, which forgets its principle, despises its dignity, which reekless of itself approaches the beasts destitute of sense, what do I say? which exceeds the brutality of the beasts themselves.]

"One can judge," says Michelet, "of the terror, etc., with which such a letter was received by every Christian person. It was like a blast of the trumpet at the last judgment." Philip's letter writer seems to have been a person accustomed to strong language, for Raynouard says the act of accusation spoke of the Templars as "ravishing wolves, a perfidious society idolatrous, whose works nay whose words alone are capable of poisoning the earth and infecting the air."

But matters did not rest here; a report was spread that De Molay had confessed everything to the Members of the University, who met at the Temple. In the continuation of Nangis, p. 362, it is stated,

> "The Grand Master of the whole Order having been brought before the Masters of the University, as it is said in the following week, admitted the charges except the crime, and that in the reception he did not spit on the crucifix but on the ground at the side, and he conveyed to the brethren by his letter that being led by prudence he had made the confession, and entreated them to do the same thing."

If this were true it would be almost conclusive, but there is every reason to believe that this was only one of the many rumours spread by the King's people. De Molay was examined several times before the Commissioners, and he repudiated with indignation the confession he was said to have made to the Inquisitor later on than this period. But not a word was mentioned of his confession to the heads of the University, and more important still, not a copy was produced of his alleged letter to the brethren. It seems but a rumour that reached the Monk of the Abbey of St. Denys, who wrote it down in his continuation of the history of Nangis, and being so written down it found its way into French histories, but if true there would have been some reference to this confession to the University in the proceedings that have come down to us. But we find only vague statements that were incapable of refutation, that the Master and Preceptors had confessed, set out in the questions to be put to the witnesses who were asked to admit what, if true, was clearly not within their own knowledge, such as "The Grand Past Master confessed this in the presence of great persons" (*in presenciam magnarum personarum*) "before he was arrested" (*antequam esset captus*), or "That he confessed to clergy and laymen worthy of belief" (*coram fide dignis clericis et laicis*), and it is put for the third time, "That the Grand Master Visitor and Grand Preceptors of Cyprus and Normandy and Poictiers and many other Preceptors and some other brethren of this Order had confessed the premises as well

at their trial as outside it before solemn persons in many places and to public persons" (*Notaries coram solempnibus personis et in pluribus locis etiam personis publicis*). In the meantime the Templars were languishing in prison. At Paris they were treated with the greatest cruelty, being, at least some of them, subjected to the most horrible tortures.

TORTURE.

Geologists tell us that man has been an inhabitant of this world for many thousand years. During this immense period there are some things he has been very slow to learn. It is only of late years that man has learned the art of cutting a pair of trousers, the Highland kilt they say was adopted for men because the women could not make *trews*. The Romans had no idea of making a boot, and it was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that they were made rights and lefts. For thousands of years, perhaps, women have milked cows and watched the cream rise, it is only quite recently the world has learned that a few seconds vibrating motion will do the work of hours in causing this rise. So men seemed very slow to learn the uselessness of using torture for the discovery of truth. And this appears to have been particularly the case with ecclesiastical and even scholastical persons. The process of their minds seems to be to determine first of all whether the individual is guilty, if satisfied that he is, then, if he is made to confess and repent, pardon may follow, but if he refuses then he is obstinate. This is entirely opposed to the judicial view that guilt must be proved by evidence, and until that is done the presumption should be in favour of innocence. But there are, it is said, many cases where the guilt is certain, and all know it, though legal proof may be wanting, and the priest or schoolmaster, who has not to act between the accused and the State, but between him and his conscience, cannot allow the failure of legal evidence to be a reason for not calling him to account, and if he will not speak or confess, for the good of his own soul, and for his redemption in the future, he must be made to do so, even by torture. But this is working in a circle. Torture begs the question, it is a *petitio principii*. It assumes the guilt it attempts to prove. For it is assumed that torture was not knowingly applied to innocent people.

But, as stated, the world has been slow to learn the uselessness of torture. Long after Philip's time torture was used judicially in England. Bacon, as Attorney General, is said to have been present at its application in the Tower of London. Guy Fawkes was put on the rack. It was not until the trial of the Regicides that the Judges resolved, among other matters, that torture was not to be applied to them as it was contrary to English law.

Our modern rule of law goes further, for all confessions obtained by promises of favour or threats of the reverse are not admissible in evidence. If this rule had been applied to the Templars there would have been no evidence of any kind, for all the alleged confessions would have been excluded for one or the other reason. The only one perhaps admissible was that of the Mysterious Knight mentioned in the Pope's Bull, who being sworn in secret said that in the reception of the Candidates in the Temple Chapters they were made to "Deny" and "Insult the Cross." But we do not even know how this confession was obtained, probably by the bribes or threats of Philip.

In Clement's time, however, torture was the practice, and it will be seen that he himself tells the Bishops it was their duty to use it in cases of suspicion, which means in effect that where there is a doubt the accused must be made by physical pain to accuse himself. And from the depositions we find that this being interpreted meant

burning a man's bones out of his feet so that he was able to produce them to the Commissioners, and other tortures of so indelicate a nature that one would have thought even an ecclesiastical inquisitor, who professed to think of the soul's salvation, might have shrunk from their use. But the most deadly form seems to have been the continued suffering, lasting for months, till the spirit was broken and the unhappy wretch had no longer either the mental or physical strength to endure more. Another cruelty about the use of torture was that the chiefs and principal persons were not generally tortured, but their unfortunate servants and dependents were. It was 'my Lord's steward' not 'my Lord' who had to confess 'my Lord's' treason. He had an interest in telling anything that was wished so long as he could escape.

One of the examples of this is the examination of De Molay's private servant, who confessed all that even an Inquisitor could wish. He was described as a servant in the family and house of the Grand Master, looking after his horses, etc. He not only speaks to the Denial, etc., but said he saw a head in Cyprus which they adored, and said the Grand Master committed the crime, etc. This confession, if true, was fatal, but we hear nothing more of it, the man William de Grace is not heard of again. He was one of the 240 Templars examined by the Inquisitor in Paris, between 19th October and 24th November, 1307.

These confessions made at this period were written down and witnessed, and, as a rule, there is no compromise about them. Everything was admitted, even the crime, though some excused themselves personally. They all seem to have seen the head which the Templars adored, etc. These confessions were probably those mentioned by Clement in his Bull as having been sent to him, which, in fact, he refused to accept, and, as he says, sent his own Cardinals to enquire.

ENGLAND.

Philip's next step, if he had not taken it before, was to send Bernard Pelet to Edward II. of England, who was about to become his son-in-law. This Pelet is mentioned by Ponzardus in his examination before the Papal Commission in 1310, as being one of the principal enemies of the Templars. Pelet's mission was to persuade Edward of the enormities of the Templars, but the King refused to listen. Like Clement he was unwilling to lend his ears to such charges, and after hearing what Pelet had to say, wrote the following letter on October 30th.

> To the Most Excellent Philip, by the Grace of God Edward your devoted son.
>
> We have been made acquainted with those matters set out in the letters of your magnificence sent to us, as well as those which the discreet Master Bernandus, Peletus' *Clerk*, wished to tell us, about that detestable Heresy about which your letter also speaks.
>
> And we had these matters set forth by him before Ourselves, Priests, Counts and many Barons of our kingdom and others of our council.
>
> Which matters to our senses and those of the said Priests, Counts, Barons and others who were present came as matters of astonishment more than it is possible to believe.
>
> And because such abominable and execrable words were hitherto unknown to us and the aforesaid Priests, Counts and Barons, at the beginning it seemed an easy belief was to be given least.

> With the consent of the council we will require our Governor of Guienne whence these rumours are said to have come to be called to our presence personally that we may properly proceed about the premises. *Rymer*, vol. iii., p. 18.

According to this letter the charges originated with William the Governor of Guienne, then part of the possessions of the English Crown, to whom there is a letter from Edward, of the 26th March, 1307. *Ibid*, p. 32.

> The King to his beloved and faithful William of Dene his Seneschal of Acquiensis (Guienne) Health.
>
> Although it is not long since you wrote something to us about the Templars, we wish to be made sure by you about them and the condition of our land.
>
> We order you that putting all other things aside you be with us at Boulogne *sur mer* on the next feast of the nativity of our Lord, to inform and instruct us fully upon the premises and matters touching them in any way.

While Edward was writing in this way to Philip and the Governor of Guienne, he wrote to the Pope, on the 10th December, 1307,[1] a letter which shows that the views of the English law that a person is to be treated as innocent until guilt be proved was not unknown nor unappreciated in these early days. Compare this letter with Philip's proclamation on the arrest of the Templars, which assumes that the Templars, being charged, were guilty.

In this letter, after speaking of a rumour "full of bitterness terrible to think of, horrible to hear, detestable in wickedness," Edward says :—

> "And because the said Master or brethren constant in the purity of the Catholic faith have been frequently commended by us, and by all of our kingdom, both in their life and morals, we are unable to believe in suspicious stories of this kind until we know with greater certainty about these things.
>
> We, therefore, pitying from our souls the suffering and losses of the s[d] Master and brethren, which they suffer in consequence of such infamy, and we supplicate most affectionately your Sanctity if it please you, that considering with favour suited to the good character of the Master and Brethren, you may deem fit to meet with more indulgence the detractions, calumnies and charges by certain envious and evil disposed persons, who endeavour to turn their good deeds into works of perverseness opposed to divine teaching; until the said charges attributed to them shall have been brought legally before you or your representatives here and more fully proved."

Edward also wrote duplicate letters to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon and Sicily. In these letters Edward speaks very plainly of the duty of prosecuting with benevolence those recommended by strenuous labours and incessant exertions in defence of the Catholic faith, etc., and says :—

> "Verily a certain clerk (Bernard Peletus) drawing nigh unto our presence applied himself with all his might to the destruction of the

[1] Rymer, vol. iii., p. 37.

Order of the brethren of the Temple of Jerusalem. He dared to publish before us and our Council certain horrible and detestable enormities repugnant to the Catholic Faith, to the prejudice of the aforesaid Brothers, endeavouring to persuade us through his own allegations, as well as through certain letters which he had caused to be addressed to us for that purpose, that by reason of the premises, and without a due examination of the matter we ought to imprison all the Brethren of the said Order abiding in our dominions. But considering that the Order, which hath been renowned for its religion and its honour, and in times long since passed away was instituted as we have learned by the Catholic Fathers, exhibits and hath from the period of its first foundation exhibited a becoming devotion to God and his holy church, and also up to this time hath afforded succour and protection to the Catholic Faith in parts beyond the sea; it appeared to us that a ready belief in an accusation of this kind *hitherto* altogether unheard of against the fraternity was scarcely to be expected."

Edward then asks his correspondent:—

"That ye with due diligence consider of the premises and turn a deaf ear to the slanders of ill natured men who are animated, as we believe, not with a zeal of rectitude, but with a spirit of cupidity and envy, permitting no injury unadvisedly to be done to the persons or property of the brethren of the said Order dwelling within your kingdom, until they have been legally convicted of the crimes laid to their charge, or it shall happen to be otherwise ordered concerning them in these parts."

It is known that in Spain the Templars were fully acquitted, and, though when Clement suppressed the Order in 1312, the Templars ceased to exist as such, the brethren and their property were only transferred to another Order. This letter of our Edward shows that the charge came to him and his Council as a matter of surprise, and that there were and had been no evil rumours about the English Templars.

In the meantime Philip had not been idle. "On the day of the arrest he went in person to take up his residence in the Temple, and with an army of lawyers to take an inventory, so that with this fine haul he was made rich at one stroke."[1] And he, as stated, without waiting for the Pope's sanction, commenced to torture the unfortunate Templars with the aid of his Confessor, the Inquisitor General of France.

Michelet tells us that the astonishment of the Pope was extreme when he learned that the King had passed him by in the prosecution of an Order which could only be judged by the Holy See. This rage made him forget his ordinary servility, his precarious and dependent position in the territory of the King. He suspended the powers of the ordinary Judges, Archbishops, and Bishops, and even those of the Inquisitor, and Dr. Milman says[2] Clement could not suppress his indignation, he issued a Bull in which he declared "it an unheard of measure that the secular power should presume to judge religious persons. To the Pope alone belonged the jurisdiction over the Knights Templars. He deposed William Imbert from the office of Grand Inquisitor as having presumptuously overstepped his powers," and Milman quotes from D'Achery a letter to the Archbishops of Rheims, Bourges, and Tours, in which he declared that he had been utterly amazed at the arrest of the Templars and the hasty proceedings of the

[1] Michelet. [2] History of Latin Christianity, vol. vii., p. 206.

Grand Inquisitor, who, though he lived in his immediate neighbourhood, had given him no intimation of the King's design. *He had his own view on the subject, his mind could not be induced to believe the charges.*[1]

It is difficult to know what the Pope's real views were. In France, as stated, he said "his mind could not be induced to believe the charges," and though, subsequently, in his later Bulls to Edward and the English Bishops, he writes as if the guilt of the Templars was proved, and as if nothing remained beyond assembling a General Council to abolish the Order; down to the last in France he refused to act upon the confessions sent to him by Philip, made by the tortured Brethren, but insisted upon his own commissioners personally examining the witnesses. And when, in 1312, the General Council was held at Vienna, and so many of the Bishops refused to condemn the Templars unheard, he determined to act on his own authority, as a later Pope did in the matter of the Papal infallibility, and Clement admitted the charges had not been proved and he only suppressed the Order because it was expedient.[2]

It seems a satirical remark to say that it is hopeless to expect those placed in high places to act as honest and straightforward men, but it seems to be the case. For Clement, at the time he was expressing his astonishment at Philip arresting the Templars in France, was having a Bull prepared which was sent to Edward requiring him to arrest all the Templars in England in one day as Philip had done.[3]

This Bull, according to Rymer, is dated the 22nd November, 1307. It may have been sealed on that date but it did not reach Edward's hands till much later.[4]

"This Bull, after the usual salutations, commences with the words *Sane dudum circa*, 'Truly some time ago, about the time of our elevation,' etc., reciting how rumours came to his ears, which he had been disinclined to believe." These recitals seem to have been used as a common form. They are to be found in this Bull to Edward, later on in one to the English Bishops, and in the Pope's letters of authority to his Commissioners, and they will be found set out as far as is necessary in the proceedings of the Commissioners. But the conclusion to be drawn from these recitals differs in each case. In the Bull to Edward, Clement asks him to have the Templars arrested, in that to the Bishops he assumes the Templars to be guilty, in that to the Commissioners he leaves it to them to enquire and report.

In the Bull to Edward, with which we have at present to deal, Clement suppresses all about his astonishment at the arrest of the Templars, at the hasty action of the Inquisitor, and of having deprived and suspended the latter from his office, and leads Edward to suppose that everything was in order and done with his approval. For after reciting the rumours and charges against the Templars, he continues:—

> "On account of which the King, at the request of the General Inquisitor, appointed by the Apostolic See in his Kingdom, and of the Priests, Barons and otherwise, in solemn deliberation caused the Grand Master, and the other Members of the Order, who were then in his Kingdom on one day, with well considered diligence, to be arrested, to be taken before the judgment of the Church, and their goods to be kept in safe custody, to be faithfully preserved for the Holy Land if the Order should be condemned, otherwise for the Order itself."

[1] Spicilegium, x., 366. [2] *Post.*

[3] The Bull is entitled :—Regi Bulla pro Captione Templariorum facienda uno die quod eodem modo processit Rex Franciœ.

[4] ? 10th December, see Rymer, vol. iii., p. 37.

Clement continues by saying that the Master of the Order

> "Spontaneously and openly confessed before the principal ecclesiastical persons in Paris, Masters in Theology and others, of the corruption in the profession of the heathens, introduced at the instigation of Satan, contrary to the original institution of the Order, of the error of denying Christ, etc."

He then speaks of confessions made by others and continues :—

> "From which if in the field where the said Order was planted, which field is thought to be virtuous, and to shine with the appearance of great sublimity, diabolical seeds are sown, our bowels are disturbed with great commotion. But if the premises are not true, and this is discovered, the trouble will cease, and please God, joy will arise. Wherefore we propose to investigate without delay and as much as God shall permit to efficiently discover the truth.
>
> And because, as we understand from the information of many, the fame of speaking more fully the infamy against the Templars about these crimes continues to increase, our conscience prompts us that in these matters we follow the obligation of our duty."

He then requests that Edward should prudently, cautiously, and secretly cause the arrest of the English Templars.

It is to be noticed that Clement in this letter lays stress, as he always does where it suits his purpose, on the alleged confessions of the Grand Master and others, although, as we have seen, in spite of these confessions, he told the French Bishops he had his own views on the subject and could not be induced to believe these charges.

As already pointed out, if the Grand Master really confessed these charges, and was corroborated by the Chief of the Order, Bernandus, the Visitor of France, the Preceptors of Normandy, Poictiers, etc., one would have thought the Pope could have had no doubt. But there is considerable mystery about these confessions. We shall see that though the King's party published to the world that De Molay and the others had confessed the charges, De Molay himself was in prison, and did not know what was going on, and was unable to contradict the report. It will, moreover, be seen[1] that when he appeared before the Commission, his and the other confessions were read to him and he expressed his indignation in terms that led to the only exhibition of temper on the part of the Commissioners. But Edward, for what reasons we know not, on the receipt of this Bull from Clement, determined to do as the Pope suggested, and an order was issued for arresting all the Templars in one day. Rymer gives the date of this as 1st December, 1307, which seems wrong, for he wrote a letter to Clement on the 26th December, 1307, in which he says :—

> "We have heard and fully understood the matters touching the business of the brethren of the Order of the Templars, within our dominions, about which your Beatitude has very lately written to us, and we signify to your Sanctity that we will carry out the expedition of those matters in the quickest and best way we can."

On the same day Edward left for France to meet Philip, having appointed his favourite, Gaveston, Guardian of the Kingdom. According to Rymer, Edward had on the 15th December, written directions to the Lieutenants of the Counties to collect "four

[1] *Post.*

and twenty discreet and faithful men of the Militia of your county," and on Sunday the morn of the Epiphany of our Lord they were to do the things which they would find contained in a letter of the King. The Templars, though arrested, appear to have been treated very well, at all events at this period. There was an inventory taken of their goods at the Temple in London, which Mr. Bayliss has had copied for his work on the Temple Church, and it appears that in many cases the property of individual Templars was returned to them.

But this mild treatment was not allowed to last, Edward II. was one of the weakest of our Kings, and we see, notwithstanding the strong opinion he had expressed in the innocence of the Templars he ordered his officers to arrest them at the request of the Pope. But this arrest seems to have been very carelessly executed. Many of the Knights were allowed to roam about, and those taken were kept in a kind of open arrest. During this time, if Michelet is right, Clement was fighting Philip on the matter of the dead Boniface's prosecution, and whilst this was undecided, doing nothing with regard to the Templars. He had suspended the Grand Inquisitor and then prohibited the French Bishops from proceeding in the Courts against the Templars. Philip might destroy the Templars, but he must give up Boniface, and until he did so all that Clement had to do was to rely upon the resources of masterly inactivity. And so matters remained for a time, both in England and France. The French Knights were allowed breathing time to recover their strength, and the English to act almost as laymen. It is said that the Pope found, later on, to his scandal, that the liberated Knights were taking to marriage as two hundred years later the Monks, Abbots, etc., did, and hence their family names.

During the year 1308 negotiations took place between the King and the Pope, which from the somewhat forcible measures adopted by the former resulted in Clement withdrawing his prohibition, and the Bishops and Inquisitor were allowed to proceed. It appears that Philip went himself to Poictiers, accompanied with a great crowd of followers. Michelet says[1] that Clement tried to leave Poictiers, but as he could not go without his mules and baggage, he was not allowed to pass and found himself as much a prisoner as the Templars. Finding escape was impossible, after several attempts, he gave way and addressed, August 1st, 1308, a Bull to the Archbishops and Bishops, which Michelet says "was singularly brief and precise, contrary to the custom of the Roman Court. It is evident that the Pope wrote despite himself and some one pushed his hand." Some of the Bishops, according to this Bull, had written that they did not know how to act with those of the accused who persisted in their denial and those who had retracted their statements. These things, said the Pope, "are not left in doubt by the written law, of which that many among you have full knowledge, we do not intend in the present matter to create any new law, and we wish you to proceed according as the law demands" (*selon que le droit exige*). The actual permission given to the Bishops to proceed was dated July 5th, 1308. Though this permission was given, there does not appear to have been any recrudescence of torture. The King and his party were for the time satisfied with the blood they had shed, and were waiting for Clement to abolish the Order.

What were the actual negotiations which took place between the Pope and Philip we have no means of knowing, we can only judge such matters by their results. Up to the interview between the King and Clement at Poictiers the latter's attitude had been one of sullen refusal to endorse the former's acts, and though Clement, as stated, withdrew

[1] Michelet, vol. iii., p. 153.

his prohibition to the Bishops and Inquisitor and allowed them to proceed against the individual members of the Order, we have seen that Michelet suggests that he did so only under pressure. Nothing more seems to have been done in France during the year 1308. The King had got all the confessions he required, and for the present could do no more, the Order could only be suppressed by the Pope, who had said in so many words that he did not believe the Templars were guilty of the charges.[1]

Things appear to have remained in this state until the year 1309, when at last the Pope issued a commission to his own nominees to examine into the question of certain articles, which we are told were settled and agreed to by the King's advisers, and how far they affected the order, the distinction, as already pointed out, between the alleged crimes of the Templars as individuals and those of the Order, being that in the latter case it was alleged, it was by the regulations of the Order (*de punctis ordinis*) 'that the newly received brother had to deny the Saviour, insult the Cross, kiss the receptor indecently,' etc. The question the Commissioners had to try was whether the Order itself was guilty of these charges. All this took time, especially as the King seems at first to have thrown every difficulty in the way of the Commissioners. So much so, that their work was not finished till 1311, though Clement had written to Philip to give facilities to the inquiry in May, 1309, and in August of that year had issued his Bulls to the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Bayeu, and the other Commissioners, appointing them to act in the enquiry against the Order.

During this period the Templars in England, Ireland and, presumably Scotland, so far as Edward's disputed authority extended there, had been under arrest, at least some of them, and the Pope, it appears, determined that the same process should be taken against them as were being or had been taken against them in France.

But whereas he had previously written to Edward in 1307 that it was a matter to be enquired into, he now sent the Bull to the Clergy of England, suppressing the facts that the original enquiry against the Templars had been taken without his authority, and that though he had withdrawn his prohibition to the Bishops nothing had been done by the Commission appointed by him to enquire into these very charges against the Order.

The Bull was dated the "2nd August in the third year of our Pontificate," and was addressed to Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of the English Bishops, and presumably a similar one was sent to the Archbishop of York and the Northern Bishops. The Archbishop of Canterbury published his Bull in September, 1309. It was entitled[2]

Bulla supra Convocatione ad Concilium generale.

The reader must judge for himself as to the good faith of this Bull, but it does not seem a very unfair observation to say, as Mr. Milman has done, that it assumes that the guilt of the Templars had been proved, and the Pope affects to lament this guilt in a way which shows that his Notaries, or whoever drafted the document, had been reading lately the lament Virgil makes Æneas utter before he commences the recital of his Adventures to Dido. For he prefaces his Bull by saying:—

> "We believe that the unspeakable wickedness and abominable crimes and the (sapientia ?) of notorious heresy have come to the knowledge of almost everyone, by which the Order and individuals of the Templars, not by light arguments, but by manifest indications and forcible presumptions, are known to be defamed, about the denial of

[1] *Ante.* [2] Wilkins' *Concilia Magna*, vol. 2, p. 304.

> our Lord Jesus Christ and about the wicked, rash, presumptious, heretical spitting on the image of Him crucified, and even in many other articles which, though we believe them to have been proved, it is not advisable to name, &c."[1]

Then after repeating the reasons he had for not believing, "because the Templars were fully believed to be fighting faithfully, &c.," he suddenly burst out into the following lamentation as if fresh information had suddenly come to light:—

> "But, oh, grief, a new calamitous voice setting forth the enormity of the malignity of these bretheren filled but more truly disturbed our hearing.[2] For this voice the messenger of lamentation both makes the listeners groan, troubles their souls, clouds their minds and admonishes the malice of ineffable bitterness to all believers in the Christian faith, and whilst as necessity demands, we ascertain the course of the case (*facti seriem*), our spirit is awakened by anguish and our separate members worn out with broken health are withered (*tabescunt*) with too much grief."

This lamentation is given as a preliminary to the same recitals as those found in his letter to Edward for the arrest of the Templars as well as that in his Commissaries, *i.e.*, "It was not long ago, about the time of our elevation at Lyons, reports had come to our ears which we were unwilling to believe, &c."[3] Then he adds to his recital the following statements suppressing the facts that the first enquiry of the Bishops and Inquisitors had been undertaken without his authority, and that his Commission had not commenced to hear any witnesses and had by no means reported against the Templars.

> "That seeing that such horrid crimes could not and ought not to go uncorrected without injury to Almighty God and all Catholics, We decreed by the advice of our council that enquiry should be held," (this was true, as he had removed his prohibition, but it is very misleading) "about the said crimes and excesses, by the local Bishops and by other faithful and wise men deputed by us for this purpose.

The Bull then breaks into fresh lamentations, as if all the charges had been proved.

> "By these things, indeed, which we are more inclined to weep at than to tell, our heart was pained with too heavy grief. When such cause for groaning so nearly threatened us we could not refrain from weeping. For what Catholic hearing these things could grieve too much and not burst into wailing.[4] What believer hearing of a terrible event of this kind would not break forth into sighs, and would not utter wails of grief and sorrow when the whole of Christianity is made partaker of this grief, and this matter strikes down all believers."

The Pope then says that,

> "As a healthy remedy in the general interest of all, he with his Brethren and other prudent persons of his Council had decreed a general

[1] *Ibid*, p. 309.

[2] Sed proh dolor nova et calamitosa vox de malignitatis fratrum ipsorum, imo verius perturbant auditum, etc.

[3] *Ante*, "*Sane dudum, circa.*"

[4] Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumve, and duri Miles Ulyssi
Temperet a lacrimis? *Virg. Æneid*, Bk. 2.

> Council to be called in two years' time from the next calends of October," following the example &c. "worthy of imitation of the Sacred Fathers, so that all things concerning this Order and the members and their property and other things which appal the condition of the Catholic Church, as well as those about the recovery and help of the Holy Land, and the reparation, ordination and stability of the Church and Ecclesiastical persons and their liberties by the assistance of God, may be found in the General Council, etc."

Besides sending this Bull, the Pope sent over his own Inquisitors to teach the English Bishops how to examine their prisoners. Fortunately for them, Edward and his Council would not allow these gentlemen to use torture. And the result, as far as proving anything against the Templars, was disastrous. On the 20th December, 1304, as soon as Edward made up his mind to arrest the English Templars, letters were sent to John Ingan, his Judiciary in Ireland, to John de Richmond, his Guardian of Scotland, and to Walter de Palestin, his Judiciary of Wales also. According to Rymer,[1] there is a circular letter from Edward to the local authorities which says that the Pope had sent over the Abbot de Latiguiaco in the diocese of Paris, and Master Siccard de Vauro, Canon of Narbonne, to enquire with certain other persons upon the articles sent in the Pope's Bull (to the Bishops) and other matters which seemed to them expedient against the Order of the Temple and the Masters and Preceptors of the Order in England, and also against the individual Brethren. It was evident that they intended travelling through England and examining the imprisoned Templars in the different dioceses, for Edward's letter contains:—

> "On account of our reverence for the Holy See, we command you that when the S. Abbot and Canon and other servants are journeying through your parts they have accommodation in person, horses, harness, as well as other matter as lies in your power, and that you allow no injury, molestation and that you rather cause them to be safely and securely conducted."

Copies of this letter were sent over the country, but matters in England, up to this time, had not been pressed against the Templars. Their principal enemies were certain Minor Friars, who, probably from envy, appeared only too ready to speak evil of them. Edward, as already stated, though he refused to pay any respect to his father-in-law's charges against the Templars, changed round and had them arrested more or less when the Pope desired it. So now, on the 14th September, 1309,[2] he ordered, "That all the Templars should be sent to London, York, or Lincoln, to be there examined by the Inquisitors sent for that purpose by the Apostolic See, who would go there and make these enquiries and examinations according to what had been enjoined them by the Pope", and Edward ordered in this letter that each of the Bishops should, in his own person, take the enquiries and examination, and others should not interfere in any way and those who had custody of the Templars were to present and bring them before the Inquisitors and Bishops as often as they required them.

And orders were sent to John de Crumbewell, Constable of the Tower, that all the Templars that should be delivered to him by the Viscounts of Cornwall, Devon, Hereford, etc., he should take charge of. And a letter was sent from Edward to John

[1] Vol. 3, p. 168.

[2] Rymer says 1310, but it must be 1309. Vol. 3, p. 168.

Ingan, his Justiciary in Ireland,[1] that "the Templars not yet arrested in our land should be without delay, and with the others sent safely and securely to Dublin, and kept in custody in our Castle, bringing them before the Venerable Father Elect of Dublin or his Vicar, and the said Inquisitors" (the Abbott and Canon), and a similar order was sent to John de Segrove, Edward's Governor in Scotland, for the King, though opposed by Bruce at this time, claimed Scotland as his, and made Segrove his custodian of "all the land of our Scotland, as well within the sea as beyond, as long as our pleasure is."

The Templars, or so many of them as could be made prisoners, being collected in these various places, (we do not know where they were to be imprisoned in Scotland) the examination proceeded, but it was playing Hamlet without the Prince. Torture was not allowed, the consequence was the Templars naturally denied everything. Himbert Blanke, the Preceptor of Alvernia in France (Auvergne), gallantly led the defence, playing a very different part from the Grand Master, De Molay, who was persuaded by Nogaret, Philip's Chancellor, or De Plasans, his friend, not to defend the Order, as we shall see. The Templars were examined upon the same articles in England as they were in France. These articles were numbered and are given in the appendix. They related to the alleged abnegation, spitting on the cross, the indecency, depravity, idolatry. But the English Templars would have none of these and denied them absolutely. But there were some minor charges, such as that they held their Chapters at night so as to ensure secrecy. That the principal of the Chapter, though not a priest, gave absolution. That the Grand Master, Preceptors and others, had confessed all the charges, even before the general arrest, etc. A few words on each of these last is necessary, in order that the reader may understand the answers given, which, on the first enquiry (for there were three or more) were absolute denials of all the charges, so much so that in some of the depositions the answers of the first witness are given to the individual charges, but the subsequent depositions shortly stated that so and so being sworn deposed 'as above.' In some cases, possibly out of reverence for the Apostolic See, as Edward put it, the witnesses said if the Pope stated the Master had confessed they believed it, but others said more properly that they knew nothing about the confessions, and if the Master did confess he lied. (*Mentitus est.*)

In the depositions taken in Paris by the Papal Commissioners there are several accounts of the ceremonies that took place at the Reception of a new brother, and of the general proceedings in the Chapters of the Order. Though not a secret society the Templars were sworn not to reveal what took place in the Chapters, and during the time the Chapter was being held, as already stated, a sentry was placed on the roof of the building, to give notice if anyone approached. The brethren, as appears to be customary in the religious orders of the Roman Church, at the close of the Chapter, made a public confession of their faults, and it was one of the charges that the president of the Chapter, even when he was not a priest, gave the brethren absolution. It was this offence that the Inquisitors and Bishops in England tried to bring home to the Templars, who, whilst they absolutely denied all the charges of the denial, spitting, idolatry, depravity, etc., did admit that at the close of the Chapter certain words were used that might bear the interpretation the opponents of the Order sought to put upon them. According to the tenets of the Roman Church absolution is a sacramental office, that can only be performed by a Priest, who alone can say "Absolvo,' and so release from sin. But a prayer that God may absolve is not sacramental nor judicial, as *Indulgentiam, absolutionem et remissionem peccatorum vestrum, tribuat vobis*

[1] *Ibid*, p. 173.

omnipotens et misericors Dominus, the form used in the Mass. It will be seen that the words admitted to have been used by the Templars assumed some power of remitting sins, and approached very nearly to the Sacramental form. Writers who are on the side of the Templars try to explain this act of the head of the Chapter as referring only to the forgiveness of the offences against the Order, not of the sins against God. But this is a modern idea, the defence set up by members was that there were words of limitation, the absolution given being " as far as I am able."

Another great point made against the Order was that the Grand Master had confessed the charges of heresy (that is that the head of a Chapter gave absolution even when a layman), to the Pope before the general arrest in 1307, and that he and the principal preceptors had confessed all the charges to the Cardinals. After the arrest the Inquisitors in England closely pressed the different prisoners, as to whether they believed those confessions to have been made. The article, which refers to the Master alone, comes after the charges of Heresy, and says the Grand Master " confessed the aforesaid, but before the arrest, voluntarily."

These alleged confessions of De Molay, the Grand Master, and the Preceptors, are very mysterious, they have already been referred to. They have an important bearing on the question of the guilt of the Templars, for the Grand Master and the Heads of the Order would hardly have confessed to these terrible and disgraceful crimes, *en bloc*, if they had not been true. But did they confess them ? The alleged confession "before the arrest voluntarily" does not seem to have been considered very seriously. A great deal was made of the alleged heresy later on, but at first it was treated rather as a matter to be corrected than a ground for the abolition of the Order and the terrible punishment of its members. If it be true De Molay remained on in favour at Court, and that the day before he was arrested he was one of the four great personages who carried the pall of Princess Catherine, Philip's sister-in-law, there was nothing in it to justify Philip the day after in his *Acte d'accusation* in calling the Templars "ravishing wolves, whose acts and words alone are capable of soiling the earth and infecting the air." [1]

There is this further proof that De Molay made no vital confession before arrest, *i.e.*, that the Pope, in his Bulls, which sets out all the circumstances of the case, makes no reference to any confession, except those made by De Molay and the Preceptors after arrest to the Inquisitors, etc., at Paris, in 1307, which the Pope says were reduced to writing.

The articles, as we have seen, state that the Grand Master and the Preceptors of Cyprus, Normandy, Poictiers, and many other Preceptors and some brethren had confessed the premises (*i.e.*, all the charges), as well in their trial and out of it, before distinguished persons (*solempnibus personis*), and in many places and even to Notaries (*personis publicis*).[2]

We have the depositions of these confessions, and they are no doubt difficult to reconcile with the innocence of the Order. These depositions profess to be taken in the ordinary way, before Cardinals or Priests and Public Notaries, some of whom belonged to the Pope, some to the King, and others even to the Empire. Everything seems to be regular and in order. But it must be remembered that there is no evidence that those who were supposed to confess signed the depositions or otherwise admitted their truth. The prisoners went back to prison and did not know what confessions they were alleged to have made. And it will be seen later on that

[1] *Ante* Raynouard p. 51. [2] *Ante.*

when De Molay was before the Papal Commissioners, and said he was ready to defend the Order, they enquired, "how can you do so after these confessions of yourself and the Preceptors." And when these were read to him he broke out in a rage, and and wished that such liars (*perversi*) might be beheaded or cut in two, as the Saracens would have treated them. This led to angry words from the Commissioners, the only ones they used in the enquiry.

All that can be safely said is that though there is no reason to suppose the Grand Master was tortured or even threatened, we do not know how the Preceptors were treated, and that we have no admission outside the documents themselves, that these confessions were made, and that the only time the attention of one of the accused was called to their contents, he at once repudiated them.

One of the most important of these alleged confessions was made by Gaufredus de Gonnavilla, Preceptor of Acquitaine and Poictiers. He was called before the Commissioners and refused to say anything except that the Pope had promised to take his case himself. But in 1307, De Gonnavilla is reported as having made a confession before the French Inquisitor. In it he is alleged to say that he was received in England at the Temple by the then Master de Torteville, by whom he was ordered to deny Christ, spit upon a cross, etc. That upon his refusing De Torteville said it would not hurt his soul, as it was a practice of the Order introduced by some wicked Grand Master, who was in the power of the Soldan, etc. It is to be noticed that the confession does not give the name of the Grand Master, which must have been only too well known if the story was true. (Some witnesses, however, said it was De Bello joco.)

In order to help their case the Inquisitors had a copy of this and another confession of a Templar received in England, sent over to England and placed with the other documents, as shewing, notwithstanding the universal denial of the English Templars, what was the real way in which the brethren were received here. As will be pointed out this argument cuts both ways. If there was only one method of reception, and De Gonnavilla confessed the truth, then the English Templars, led by Himbertus Blanke, swore falsely when they said that nothing impious or improper took place at the receptions. On the other hand, if they spoke the truth, then either De Gonnavilla never made the alleged confession, or under torture or fear of it swore falsely.

Though the Commissioners had had a number of witnesses called before them for the purpose of saying they persevered in their confessions they did not refer to De Gonnavilla's confession, and it was not read over to him. If it had been, posterity would have known whether he accepted it as true or indignantly repudiated it.

The final proceedings were taken in England and France against the Templars about the same period, 1309-1311. The depositions of the different witnesses, taken in both countries, have come down to us. In England we find them in the *Acta Councilii Magnæ Britannicæ*, and in France they are in the *Procés des Templiers*, the publication which was edited by Michelet.

It is proposed to give a short account of the English inquiry first, and then a *précis* of the evidence taken in France, as set out in the *Procés des Templiers*.

A BELGIAN DAUGHTER OF THE GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND.

BY BRO. COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA, P.G.M., BELGIUM.

IT is rather a common saying among Freemasons that all Blue Freemasonry in existence to-day can be traced, through some channel or other, to the Grand Lodge established at London in 1717. Yet this assertion ought not to be taken without qualification. If it simply alludes to the first appearance of speculative or theoretical Masonry, it does not admit a shadow of a doubt. From whatever source were derived the materials of the ideal Temple begun by the worthy Masons who met at the *Goose and Gridiron*, on St. John's the Baptist's Day, 1717, it is unquestionably there we must look for the cradle of an institution which to-day fills the civilized world with its many thousand Lodges. But if it is intended to mean a kind of apostolic succession, namely, that every Lodge in both hemispheres has been founded either directly by the Grand Lodge of England or indirectly by other Lodges which drew their authority from this venerable body, we must remember that there is no rule without exception.

To say nothing of the English *operative* Lodges, which were at work before 1717, and which simply rallied round the Grand Lodge of London, there are all the subordinate Lodges of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and, I believe, of Ireland, which can both boast of a distinct and autonomous formation. This results plainly from their respective histories, as drawn for Scotland by Bro. Murray Lyon, for Ireland by Bro. Chetwode Crawley, for both by Bro. R. Freke Gould. The same remark includes the Lodges these two Grand Lodges founded abroad. I am not aware that, in the colonizing process, the Irish went far beyond the shores of the Emerald Isle. But the Grand Lodge of Scotland, for many years after its foundation in 1736, competed seriously on the Continent with its elder sister from London. "At an early period in its history," writes Murray Lyon, "it had daughter-Lodges in Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands, in Russia, Prussia, France and Spain, in North America and in England, Carlisle being the only point in the sister kingdom into which a Scotch Charter was introduced. The Grand Lodges of Denmark and Sweden and Prussia (*The Three Globes*) derive their origin from Scotland."[1]

The local Lodges thus erected by Patents from Edinburgh have, for the most part, long disappeared from the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and, as they made themselves independent, became in turn Mother Lodges, or passed under other jurisdictions, but their history should prove tempting to another Murray Lyon, or some of his Scotch Brethren. To this chapter of Masonic History I should like to contribute a few pages concerning Belgium, where we still number at least one survivor of the Lodges which could claim a Scotch origin.

I.

Some years ago I had occasion to point out that just as the Mithraic mysteries were spread in the Roman Empire through travellers, merchants, and especially military

[1] D. Murray Lyon. *History of Freemasonry in Scotland,* 1 vol., Edinburgh, p. 401.

men, who opened *mithrea* wherever they stayed, so speculative Free-Masonry was propagated abroad by British travellers, residents and officers who founded the first Continental Lodges.[1] This was essentially the case in Belgium, where, between 1721 and 1788, many Lodges were opened under English and Scotch warrants. The Lodge at Mons, *La Parfaite Union*, still in full prosperity, claims to have been instituted in 1721 by the Grand Lodge of London under Lord Montagu, and we have proof, at any rate, that this claim was endorsed in the Lodge as early as 1749. Among the Lodges which went back, for their origin, to the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh, there were one Lodge at Brussels and two at Tournai. The "new" Statutes adopted in 1769 by the Lodge *l'Unanimité* at Tournai state that in March, 1765, it had been constituted, under the auspices of H.R.H. Prince Charles de Lorraine, Governor General of Austrian Netherlands, by some Masons belonging to "La Grande Loge de Saint André à Edimbourg." Although thus of Protestant origin, this Tournai Lodge was much frequented by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics (*quantum mutati ab illis!*), in spite of the papal anathema already in full force against Free-Masonry. One of its members was the Vicar-General of the Diocese.

Another "Loge de Saint-Jean d'Ecosse," *les Amis Inséparables*, lately revived after a long sleep, was working in the same city towards 1765. We have a copy of its proceedings from 1767. Its true origin remains unknown, but its Officers were annually elected on the day of St. Andrew, and on the roll of its members we find two Scotch names, Alexander Gordon and John Cunningham. The latter was a Captain in the Dutch forces which at that period garrisoned some of the Belgian fortified towns. He must have been a zealous Mason, as, two years later, we hear of his petitioning the Grand Lodge of Scotland to obtain a Patent for the creation of a Lodge at Namur, where he had most likely been transferred.

This was granted, and there sprang into existence, in the last month of the Masonic year 1769 (February, 1770), the Lodge which, in point of antiquity, has precedence, with one exception, over all other Belgian Lodges.

Bro. Cordier, the Masonic historian, who searched, some fifty years ago, the old records of the *Grande Loge Provinciale* established at Mons in the eighteenth century, in order to write his *Histoire de l'Ordre maçonnique en Belgique*, relates in the following terms how, after a few years, the Lodge of Namur left the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Scotland:

"A Brother Cunninghamo (*sic*) raised at Namur the standard of the Fraternity by the erection, in 1770, of the Lodge *La Bonne Amitié*. . . . This Lodge did not show great activity during the first years of its existence. Either through indifference or incapacity of its Officers, it neglected the condition insisted upon in its Warrant, to keep up a correspondence with its Metropolis, and to return every year a list of its members, as well as a summary of its proceedings. Towards 1776 some of its members tried to recall it to the observance of its sworn Statutes and Principles. . . . All agreed on the necessity of placing themselves under some central Grand Lodge. They could no longer think of claiming the protection of the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh, as this Authority had entirely forgotten its Belgian offspring. . . . They resolved therefore to address themselves to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Austrian Netherlands."

This Grand Lodge was the one erected at Mons in 1748 by the French Grand Master, Count de Clermont, to provide the Grand Orient of France with a Provincial Grand Lodge for Belgium; but in 1770 it had transferred itself with all its subordinate Lodges to the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England.

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiii. (1900), p. 90.

When, recently, I took an opportunity to look into the archives of the Lodge at Namur, with the assistance of one of its most devoted members, Bro. Terpagne, I found its oldest records to be a *Livre d'Or*, dating from 1809, which contains a copy of the following documents:—

1°. A Charter of Constitution in Latin, granted on February 9th, 1770, to Bro. John Cunningham by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, empowering him to open a Lodge under the name *La Parfaite Union de Namur.*

2°. A Patent of Erection, Re-constitution and Confirmation, issued in favour of the same Lodge, on the 8th August, 1777, by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Austrian Netherlands, in which there is a reference to the warrant delivered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland seven years sooner.

3°. A Patent of Affiliation and Reconstitution, delivered on the 18th June, 1808, by the Grand Orient of France to the Lodge *La Bonne Amitié à l'orient de Namur*, in which the Edinburgh Charter is again mentioned as the fundamental Warrant of the Lodge.

4°. The Rules of the Lodge, as drawn up after its reconstitution in 1808, containing no fewer than 505 Articles!

5°. The signatures of all the members who have belonged to the Lodge from the 9th of March, 1809, to the present day.

The originals of the three Charters have disappeared with many other valuable relics, perhaps through the neglect or malice of an unfaithful Secretary, who was expelled from the Craft some decades ago, and whose papers have never been recovered. But their existence is sufficiently proved by their traces in the surviving Records of the different Powers which issued them in turn.

I owe to the kindness of Bro. David Reid, the present Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the following extract from the Grand Lodge Minutes of Quarterly Communication on 5th February, 1770:—"Upon reading a letter from Captain John Cunningham at Ipros in Germany[1] requesting a Charter of Constitution under the name of *La Parfaite Union de Namur*—Granted."

Bro. Reid, whom I visited last autumn at Edinburgh, explained to me that the original Charter was not engrossed in the Cartulary of the Grand Lodge, but that in 1770 it would have been signed by the following officers: James Adolphus Oughton, Grand Master; William Erskine, Dep. Grand Master; Andrew Alison, Sub. Grand Master; James Lind, Sen. Grand Warden; and William Baillie, Jun. Grand Warden. —Alex. McDougall, Grand Secretary; David Bolt, Grand Clerk.

The copy, found in the *Livre d'Or* of Namur, runs thus:

> Universis et singulis ad quorum notitiam præsentes haec litteræ pervenerint Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quandoquidem in petitione Liberis, Acceptisque Fratribus Latomis Supremi Regni Scotiæ Sodalitatis Latomicæ exhibita a perhonorifico Fratre Johanne Cunningham militante sub Imperatore Majoribans apud Ordines Generales Bataviæ ipsius ac quorumdam præterea honorificorum signorumque Fratrum apud Namurcum Flandriæ urbem habitantium, nomine expositum est—eos liberos acceptosque esse Latomos rite et solemniter adscitos et hanc artem promovere præsertim sub patrocinio Supremæ Sodalitatis latomicè magnoperè velle, ideoque

[1] Evidently the town of Ypres, one of the cities garrisoned by the Dutch in Flanders, according to the Treaty of the Barrier. (Namur is not in Flanders; but many foreign documents used to locate it amongst the Flemish towns.)

a fratribus dictæ supremæ Sodalitatis latomicè peterunt ut Chartam sibi Erectionis et Constitutionis solemni formâ concedere illis placeat, quâ Sodalitatem Latomicam justam ac regularem sub nomine et titulo de *La Parfaite Union de Namur*, instituere et tenere liceat et dictum Fratrem Joannem Cunningham præsidem, Malotam Dominum de Foolx seniorem et C. V. Douxchamps juniorem Monitores, Godefroid Baronem de Maitrey seniorem et Saint-Pierre Roquet juniorem Diaconos, Deprez et Baronem de Corbecq dispensatores, Mormal a Secretis et N. J. Lemielle, Dominum Guillenghien, Roquet juniorem et Hock a consiliis et denique Defresne tegularium creari cupere Præses Supremus, Fratresque dictæ Supremæ Sodalitalis Latomicæ hac petitione diligenter perpensâ infrascriptum Erectionis et Constitutionis Diploma in petitorum gratiam expediri decreverunt. Moveritis igitur colendissimum et perhonorificum Præsidem Supremum Fratresque Supremæ Scotiæ Sodalitalis Latomicæ supradictos erexisse, constituisse ac ordinasse atque his ipsis erigere, constituere ac ordinare honorificos Fratres supranominatos, eorumque successores omni tempore futuro esse veram ac regularem Sodalitatem Latomicam Liberorum Acceptorumque Latomorum sub nomine et titulo de *La Parfaite Union de Namur*, velle etiam ac censere omnes Sodalitates Latomicas regulares sub Supremæ Scotiæ Sodalitatis Latomicæ patrocinio constitutas agnoscere, fateri ac colere eos tanquam Liberos Acceptosque Latomos, ritè ac solemniter creatos et constitutos, dando simul concedendo et committendo iis eorumque successoribus plenam potestatem et auctoritatem conveniendi, congregandi et in unum coeundi, ut Societatem Latomicam decet, Cirones quoque adiscendi et accipiendi, fratres artifices sustinendi et ad gradum Architectorum promovendi solutâ prius tali summā pecuniæ in subsidium Sodalitatis qualis illis videbitur, Præsides quoque Monitores aliosque administros eligendi et creandi, idque quot annis vel aliter ut res postulabit requirendo fratres supradictos, eorumque successores ut superioribus suis in omnibus justis et honestis reverentiam et obedientiam tuendæ dignitatis et concordiæ artis Latomicæ præstent fratribus dictis per acceptationem hujus præsentis chartæ a strictè obligatis et devinctis, ne dictam Sodalitatem ita constitutam derelinquant, neque sub ullo prætextu qualicumque quævis separata aut shismatica conventicula sinè consensu Præsidum et Monitorum pro tempore existantium habeant, neve quam pecuniam pecuniasve aliasque quasvis facultates a communi ærario Sodalitatis suæ separatas, cum damno inopum ad eamdem pertinentium colligant, iis porro eorumque successoribus per omne tempus venturum obstrictis ut decreta, leges et instituta Supremæ Sodalitatis Latomicæ in utilitatem, commodum et beneficium Artis condita aut condenda summâ olservantiâ colant ac prosequantur, nec non solvere et præstare quidquid ab iis pactum aut postulatum fuerit ad tuendum dignitatem Sodalitatis Supremæ et in libris quos per hæc ipsa habere tenentur, præsentem hanc Chartam Erectionis et Constitutionis cum institutis suis privatisque legibus singulis, singulisque temporibus actis prout evenient referre, ut eadem a fratribus suis facilius perspiciantur ac serventur cum singulis Supremæ Sodalitatis Latomicæ sociis semper pateant, inspiciendi ac cognoscendi causâ, fratres denique dicti eorumque successores per hæc ipsa tenentur ad diem celebrare generales omnes conventus, communicationesque trimestres Sodalitatis Supremæ, per Præsidem, Monitoresque suos pro tempore existentes aut per Vicarios legitimos suo nomine, dummodo ii Vicarii Architecti sint, Fratresve artifices sancitæ alicujus Sodalitatis sub patrocinio Sodalitatis Supremæ Latomicæ constitutæ, ut in dicta Sodalitate Supremâ agant et suffragenter ac de rebus ibi gestis diligenter fiant certiores, declarando eorum locum et ordinem in dicta Sodalitate Supremæ ab hoc diplomate dato exordium sumere, quæ omnia ut diligentius custodiantur ac conserventur in libros Sodalitatis Supremæ referre placuit.

Datum Sodalitate Latomicâ Supremâ in urbe Edinburgo, Nonis Februariis Ære Christiano millesimo (septingentesimo) septuagesimo et Lucis quinquies Millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo quarto (?) ab venerando per quam amplissimo, præstantissimoque Legato imperatoris Oughton, præsente Scotiæ Supremo Præside Latomo, a perhonorifico Andrea Alison armigero Supremo Præside Substituto, a perhonorifico Jacobo Lind medicinæ doctore et Guillaume Bailli armigero Supremis Monitoribus,

a Jacobo Hunter, armigero Supremo Thesaurio et Sigillæ Supremæ Sodalitatis Latomicæ obsignatum coram Alexandro M. Dougall armigero Supremo Secretario et Davide Bolt Supremo Scriba testibus.

Signatum : Jac. Adol. Oughton, P.S.; Andreas Alison, P.S. Subst.; James Lind, S.M.S.; Geo. Syme (?), J.M.S.; Jacobus Hunter, S.; Alex. Bougall, S.S. (*Mac. Dougall ?*) David Bolt, Sup. Scriba.

a Latere appositum erat Sigillum sub Cera rubra.

II.

Is this text the original one ?

Bro. Cordier peremptorily disposes of the question by saying that the Grand Lodge of Edinburgh never used Latin in its Deeds. It may be so—although a few years later, according to Murray Lyon, there was at least one Scotch Lodge which had its minutes drawn up in Latin, the *Roman Eagle*,[1]—but it does not prevent us from supposing that, while the Charter was perhaps first written in the English language, it may have been at once translated into Latin for the benefit of the Namur Brethren who could not be expected to read or understand English. Latin, at that period, was still a universal language of the polite world, besides being exclusively used by the Roman Catholic Church.

Another point, which must have struck our readers, as it did me at once, is that while the Namur Lodge is known under the name of *la Bonne Amitié*, the document alludes to a Lodge called *la Parfaite Union*. Cordier and other Masonic writers absolutely ignore its first name. Does therefore the *Bonne Amitié*, instead of being the direct continuation of the original Lodge, represent a hermit-crab which had crawled into the vacant shell after the disappearance of its legitimate owner ?

Luckily, there are direct proofs that the *Bonne Amitié* was really at first called the *Parfaite Union*. It is still mentioned under this name in the Patent of Confirmation delivered in 1777 by the Grande Loge Provinciale of Austrian Netherlands. Besides, I have found in the Records of this Grand Lodge, some minutes which allow us to fix when, and perhaps why, the name was altered. On February 13th, 1777, the Grand Master read aloud a letter from the " Parfaite Union " of Namur, asking permission to work henceforward under the authority of the Grand Lodge. This request having been granted, the Lodge of Namur appears on the roll of the Grand Lodge for the next year under the following heading: "Loge de Namur, *La Bonne Amitié*, constituée par le R.·. F.·. Oughton, Grand-Maitre de la Loge d'Edimbourg le 5 Fevrier 1770 et confirmée par le T.·. R.·. F.·. Marquis de Gages, Grand-Maitre provincial le 21 Aout 1777."

The transition is clear and its reason plain enough. As the Grand Lodge had already in its jurisdiction a Lodge called *la Parfaite Union* at Mons), one of the conditions imposed upon the Lodge of Namur must have been that it should take a new name— " Good Friendship " having about the same meaning as " Perfect Union."

The papers of the Grand Lodge—carefully preserved at Mons in the interesting archives of the *Parfaite Union*—contain still another document, dating from 1775 or 1776, which goes far to show the genuineness of the Latin copy made in 1808. It is a Memoir in two parts, addressed to the Provincial Grand Master, Marquis de Gages, by a former Secretary of the Namur Lodge, who signs M. (very likely Bro. Mormal, mentioned in Cunningham's Charter). After carefully perusing this document, in company with our learned Brother, Bro. Cloudt-Mirland, of the *Parfaite Union*, I am perfectly satisfied as to its authenticity. It not only contains an important extract of

[1] Murray Lyon, *op. cit p.* 257.

the Latin Charter, which entirely coincides with the text given above; but it also throws a curious light on the circumstances which induced the Lodge of Namur to look for another jurisdiction. As it presents a good illustration of the Masonic psychology of the time, I ask permission to reproduce it fully in its quaint provincial French of the eighteenth century.

OBSERVATIONS.
faites au T.·. S.·. T.·. E.·. & T.·. R.·. F.·. Marquis de Gages,
Grand Maitre Provincial de toutes les Loges des Pays-Bas Autrichiens,
par le F.·. M.*

Post nebula Phœbus.

Malgré l'esprit de paix et d'union qui doit régner parmi les vrais enfants de la Lumière, de temps en temps par une fatalité irrésistible il s'élève entre eux des querelles qui sont bientot dissipées, dès que la subordination est bien établie et l'autorité respectée. De là la nécessité d'un pouvoir fixe, premier et irréfragable.

Cete Loge, peu nombreuse dans les commencements, n'avait besoin à sa tête que d'un homme qui jouissait d'une autorité précaire, par ce qu'on ne connaisait guère alors que la Loge d'Atelier[1] et que la mastication (*sic*) était le principal travail des frères.

Initié dans les mystères, je travaillais tout comme mes camarades et j'étais loin de me figurer que la Maçonnerie procurait d'autres avantages, que ceuz de la table et de la bonne chère. Nous étions tous, la dessus de la meilleure foi du monde.

Le f.·. Cunninghame, deux fois Ecossais, qui avait levé ici l'étendard de la Fraternité nous avait procuré, quelques anneés après, des Patentes de la Loge d' Edimbourg.

On reçut le parchemin avec tout le respect qu'il méritait; mais, tranquilles à l'ombre des pampres, nous coulions les plus beaux jours sans nous mettre en peine de remplir les conditions de notre contrat. Nous n'écrivimes plus à Edimbourg et sans doute là on nous oublia. De temps en temps, on nous montrait la pancarte dans un étui de fer blanc. Mais personne ne la lisait; tout le monde n'entend pas le latin, et ceux qui auraient pu le comprendre n'y faisaient pas attention.

Arrivé par sauts à une place que je n'avais garde d'ambitionner, je laissai quelque temps les choses sur le vieux pied. Cependant, à force de questionner les Frères visiteurs qu'on reçevait alors, je commençai à douter de la vérité du dépot qu'on m'avait confié. Quelques Frères reçus dans des Loges d'Allemagne, de Suisse et de Hollande et que nous venions d'aggréger à la nôtre, augmentèrent mes doutes. Je m'informai; j'écoutai. Sur les témoignages de plusieurs et surtout du F.·. de Ruts qui avait vu les principales □□ des Provinces-Unies, je n'hésitai plus à croire que nous faisions des *qui-pro-quo*. Je substituai enfin les véritables Paroles aux fausses qu'on nous avait transmises; mais vous ne sauriez croire, T .·. R .·. , (très-Respectable) quelle ruse je dus employer pour cela. En donnant toujours celles que j'avais reçues[2] je recommendais aux récipiendaires d'en donner d'autres quand ils se présenteraient à quelque □, par ce que, disais je, les Maçons de tous ces pays-ci sont des modernes et nous sommes les seuls Anciens et Acceptés Maçons! Avec tous ces ménagements, on criait encore que je déformais la Loge, surtout quand il fut question d'arracher du milieu de la colonne du midi, le second surveillant qu'on y avait enté avec son bâton de Maréchal.

Les Edimbourgeois se promettent encore aujourd hui de rétablir les vieilles formes, surtout le ballottage qui a été adopté pour le plus sûr garant du lien fraternel, comme vous le sentirez, T.·. C.·. et T.·. R.·. Fr.·. , si vous voulez bien vous donner la peine de lire le mémoire que nous vous joignons sous le numero j°.

Toutes ces oppositions qu'on faisait naitre à la moindre occasion d'humeur ou de mécontentement nous faisaient sentir le besoin d'un recours à une autorité supérieure pour contenir les brouillons qui ne respectaient plus rien. Depuis longtemps nous

[1] The Lodge of the first Degree.
[2] *viz.* the Scotch "Words"—The other Lodges of Belgium were following the "modern" or so called *Rite Anglais réformé.*

savions le défaut de nos Constitutions qui étaient devenues nulles par la négligence de rapport et de correspondence avec notre Mère qui ne nous connaissait plus. Ecrire à Edimbourg pour en avoir des nouvelles, nous n'avions plus de major Ecossais ! D'ailleurs, l'inconvenient aurait également subsisté. Nous connaissons, T.·. C.·. F.·., votre zèle et la place que vous tenez dans l'Ordre. Nous n'hésitames pas un moment à prendre nôtre recours vers vous; le succès répondit à notre attente. C'est ce qui forme aujourd-hui deux partis, l'un qui se distingue par l'ordre et la convenance, l'autre en suivant sa passion et ses préjugés. Au reste celui-ci n'était composé que de trois frères, qui se déclarèrent (on sait bien pourquoi) après l'élection du f.·. Lamquet[1]. Depuis un quatrième s'est joint à eux.

Nous avons tenté inutilement de ramener ces frères à l'ordre. Les armes de la douceur et de la raison, tout a blanchi vis à vis d'eux. Nous ne pouvons plus les considérer aujourd'hui que comme des gens qui cherchent absolument à faire bande a part. Nous vous joignons, T.·. S.·. F.·. le précis des points qui nous divisent.

Les difficultés qui règnent entre les deux partis doivent se réduire à deux genres de questions: savoir aux questions d'ordre et aux questions d'intéret.

Les questions d'ordre sont celles-ci:

1 Ya-t-il deux sortes de véritables Maçons dans le monde ?

2 Est-il vrai qu'il y ait des Anciens francs et acceptés Maçons et des Modernes, que ceux-là appellent Bâtards ?

3 Est-il possible qu'il n'y ait de bonnes Loges que celles qui ont obtenu des parchemins d'Edimbourg ?

4 Est-il bien vrai que les Anciens francs et acceptés Maçons savent tout ce que les modernes savent et savent encore bien des choses que ceux-ci ne savent pas ?

(Comme j'ai l'avantage d'être franc et accepté Maçon et comme je tiens un peu aux Modernes, je me réserve la tâche d'exposer au T.·. S.·. F.·. Marquis de Gages la masse des connaissances des Anciens francs et acceptés et de lui faire sentir par là leur prééminence sur les Modernes.)

5 Ne serait ce pas (je parle leur langage) se dégrader que de reconnaitre une Grande-Loge provinciale des Pays-Bas Autrichiens qui n'a été constituée que par la Loge de Londres et qui n'est rien du tout vis à vis de la Métropole d'Edimbourg ? D'ailleurs les Francs-Maçons de ces pays-ci ne sont que des modernes, Cunninghame l'a dit et nous sommes les seuls anciens francs et acceptés. (On croit cependant qu'il pourrait bien y avoir à Tournai quelques bons Maçons, parce que Cunninghame y a demeuré).

On veut bien reçevoir le T.·. S.·. F.·. Marquis de Gages, comme on a reçu le T.·. R.·. F.·. baron d'Haltinnes, c'est à dire comme un Maitre en chaire visiteur, mais point comme un Grand Maitre Provincial des Pays-Bas Autrichiens. Où est-il dit qu'il l'est ?

6 Nos Constitutions sont très-bonnes et c'est à tort que nous soutenons que par le défaut de correspondance elles soient devenues nulles. Ces Messieurs, qui ne les ont point lues, disent que nous sommes dispensés de cela tout au long et nous qui les avons lues, nous savons ce que nous disons, quand nous rapportons les termes de ces mêmes Constitutions : "*Fratres denique dicti eorumque successores per hæc ipsa tenentur ad diem celebrare generales omnes conventus, communicationesque trimestres sodalitatis supremæ per præsidem, monitoresque suos pro tempore existentes, aut per varios legitimos suo nomine dummodo ii Vicarii architecti sint fratres ve artifices sancitæ alicujus sodalitatis supremæ latomicæ constitutæ, ut in dicta sodalitate suprema agant et suffragentur ac de rebus ibi gestis diligenter fiant certiores.*" Quel coup de foudre !

N'importe, ces Messieurs tiennent à leurs vieilles Constitutions, et ils les soutiendront, ils ont même déja choisi entre eux un Grand-Maitre et l'on verra plus tard.

[1] Henri Lamquet, Lord of Wagnée, burgomaster of Namur, who was still Master of the Lodge at the time of its change of jurisdiction.

The remaining *Observations* are of less interest; they deal mainly with personal squabbles or refer to the division of the Lodge property in view of the intended partition. As to the second part of the Memoir, it concerns exclusively the method for ballotting candidates. A unanimous vote was required by the Statutes; but Bro. Mormal relates how he induced the Lodge to substitute voting by ballot to the former show of hands. Hence new complaints. Finally the following system was adopted, which gave good results (and still would nowadays in many Lodges): "When a Brother has a friend to propose, he does not make him advances at once, but first warns the Master who sounds the other members. If some think lightly of the candidate, the Master advises the Brother to postpone the proposal or even to give it up. If, on the contrary, the members show themselves favorably inclined, the Master brings forward the candidate's name. A table is placed near the Chair; each member receives a white and a black ball and throws secretly one of the two in the box on the table. The urn is then opened by the Master and the Wardens. If there are some dissenters, they must reveal their motives to the Master within 24 hours. If they fail to do this, or if the poll shows unanimity, the proposer asks only then the candidate to file a petition to be received in the noble and ancient Society of Freemasons."

Bro. Cordier, when he wrote his History, must have heard of this document, as he alludes to the same facts. But he does not mention the Memoir itself, and anyhow he did not see all he could draw from it. In reality it carries the following conclusions:

Capt. John Cunningham—of whom we should like to know more[1]—spontaneously created some Freemasons at Namur, and opened there a Lodge without a warrant, some time before 1770. Early in that year he obtained from the Grand Lodge of Scotland a Charter of Constitution to regularize the situation.[2] Shortly afterwards he left the town, and was no more heard of by the Brethren. The Lodge kept up no communication with its Mother Grand Lodge. On the other hand, the Brethren discovered that they had not the same Words as the other Belgian Lodges which were practising then the *Rite anglais réformé*; that their Wardens did not sit in the same positions, etc. A party grew which contended that, by the break of intercourse with the Mother Lodge, they had forfeited their Warrant, and that it would be better to seek a new shelter under a nearer jurisdiction, viz., the Provincial Grand Lodge of Austrian Netherlands, itself under the Authority of the Grand Lodge of England.

The Scotch or Conservative Party answered that the Charter remained perfectly valid; that the founder, Bro. Cunningham, "twice Scotch," had given the real Words; that the Scotch Ritual represented the methods of the Ancient and Accepted Masons, while the Brethren under the Grand Lodge of England were only "modern and bastard Masons." These differences of opinion were embittered by discussions on the mode of voting for the admission of candidates. Finally the "Ancients" had to give way,

[1] The valuable papers published by Mr. James Ferguson, under the auspices of the Scottish History Society, on *The Scotch Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands*, mentions several officers bearing the name of John Cunningham or Cuninghame in the Regiment of General Marjoribanks. The one who best fits the requirements of the case is a Captain John Cunningham, stationed with his battalion at Tournay in 1767 and at Ypres from 1767 to 1770. He was honourably discharged in 1772—about the time when the founder of the Lodge of Namur disappears from our Masonic horizon (Ferguson, vol. ii., pp. 409 and 482, and vol. iii., p. 138).—There is also mentioned at Tournay, in 1768, an Alexander Gordon, captain in the same Regiment; he was married to a Flemish lady, named Marie Petronilla Ghyben (*id.* vol. iii., p. 95).

[2] This may explain how the Lodge *l'Unanimité* at Tournay could claim to have been founded by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, without any trace of its constitution appearing in the Minutes of Edinburgh. It is just possible that Cunningham, with his friend Alex. Gordon, and maybe some local Masons, opened at Tournay a Lodge patterned after the Lodges of his native land, before petitioning the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a warrant, and that the matter dropped then and there, the Masonic recruits of the following years taking for granted, after the departure of the founders, that the Charter had been granted.

and left the Lodge after a last dispute concerning the partition of its property and the payment of expenses. The Author of the *Memoir* tried to patch up the quarrels, but his efforts were of no avail, and he seems himself to have favoured the transfer of the Lodge.

Amongst the members of the *Bonne Amitié* at that time, according to the first list drawn up by the Grande Loge Provinciale, we find a Royal Highness, the Prince of Solms-Braunfels; a French Duke, the Duc de Saure; the Burgomaster of Namur, Bro. Lemquet; a Canon of St. Martin at Liége, Bro. Mahy (whom Bro. Mormal, in his Observations, denounces as "le plus Jésuite qu'il y ait jamais vu," and who nevertheless died, towards 1783, in great odor of Masonic sanctity, having become Grand Orator of the Provincial Grand Lodge); several officers, amongst whom a Colonel; finally a score of noblemen, lawyers and merchants of the town.

In 1778, the Grande Loge Provinciale met at Namur, where it was splendidly received by its newly adopted daughter. The description of the rejoicings, processions and speeches made on this occasion has been religiously kept in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge.

In 1786, the *Bonne Amitié*, like most of its Belgian sisters, was obliged to temporarily close its doors, on account of the restrictions imposed upon Masonic life by the Austrian government of the Netherlands. It has been said that the Brethren of Namur continued to meet secretly, and this is not unlikely, but of this phase of their history, nothing has remained. When Freemasonry revived in Belgium under Napoleonic rule, the Lodge reopened with the assistance of its surviving members who had religiously preserved the old Records, and swore allegiance to the Grand Orient of France. This happened in 1808. After the fall of the French Empire, in 1815, it placed itself under the jurisdiction of the "Grande Loge d'administration des Pays-Bas Méridionaux," the Southern Section of the Grand Orient of Holland.

III.

A few years later, the *Bonne Amitié* published in the *Annales Maçonniques des Pays-Bas*, a set of documents, in which it styled itself as "the Mother Lodge of the *Rite Ecossais Primitif*,"[1] a title which it kept till 1847. Amongst these papers there was a Historical Notice, trying to establish that this Rite, endowed with 33 degrees, had been the original Rite of the Lodge, having been introduced directly from the "Metropolitan Grand Lodge of Scotland," through a "*gentilhomme écossais*, John Cunningham, then garrisoned at Namur, who possessed the highest grades of the Rite and had therefore the right of creating Masons." This was rather hard on poor Cunningham!

It is well known that the "Rite écossais primitif" is not older than 1770, when it was organized at Narbonne, in the South of France, as an offshoot of the Rite of Perfection. Besides, there is no need to remind the readers of the *A.Q.C.* that the Grand Lodge of Scotland never dealt with any but the three symbolic and the Mark Degrees. How could Cunningham have transmitted in 1770 what he never received? Foreseeing the objection, the authors of the Notice were careful to add: "The masonic zeal of Bro. Cunningham did not stop with this gift. A few years later, he obtained from the Royal Arch Camp of Scotland belonging to Primitive Grand Encampment of Ireland a Patent to constitute a Grand Chapter of the Interior of the Temple." When, in 1777, the *Bonne Amitié*, in order not to remain cut off from the other Belgian Lodges, passed under the jurisdiction of the Grande Loge

[1] *Annales chronologiques, littéraires et historiques de la Maçonnerie des Pays-Bas.* t. iii., p. 388 and *seq.*

Provinciale, " the Great and Sublime Chapter of the Interior thought better not to inform officially the Lodge of its existence." In 1808, when the *Bonne Amitié* re-opened its doors, the Grand Chapter obtained its recognition from the Grand Orient of France, under the guise of an ordinary Chapter of R.·. +.·. . But the College of the R.·. +.·. was itself controlled by a higher Power in the background, the Grand Chapter of the Interior, which conferred special degrees from the 23rd to the 33rd. It was only in 1817 that the time seemed to have come to reveal this organization to Masons at large and to claim for the *Bonne Amitié* the direction of the *Rite ecossais primitif* in Belgium.

This document was signed by the Prince de Gavre, Lt Grand Commander of the Rite, and by twelve other Grand Officers; among them the Grand Secretary P. C. Marchot, who is generally held responsible for this elaborate scheme. He was a lawyer, settled at Namur, from the town of Nivelles, where he had for some years occupied the Chair of the Lodge, *les Amis discrets*. In 1812 the *Bonne Amitié* elected him an honorary Member, for valuable services, and from that time he took a prominent part in the management of the Lodge. Bro. Murray Lyon mentions him as holding intercourse with Alexander Deuchar, who was chosen, in 1811, as Grand Master for life by the Knight Templars of Scotland.[1] It was the time when Encampments of Knight Templars were spreading all over Ireland and Scotland. This goes far to explain why Marchot should have turned towards this nail on which to hang the origin of his Grand Chapter. He could have argued—had he known the fact—that Mother Kilwinning established at Dublin, as early as 1779, a " High Knight Templars of Ireland Kilwinning Lodge," and she might have done something similar in Belgium a few years sooner, when the Namur Brethren were anxiously turning for help towards the shores of Scotland. But this cannot alter the fact that the *Rite écossais primitif* has shown no trace of its existence at Namur before the year 1812 at the earliest, while the *Bonne Amitié* had, from February 18th, 1777, a regular Chapter of R.·. +.·., created and ruled by the Grande Loge Provinciale, which controlled also the higher Degrees, in accordance with the rituals of the Rite of Heredom or of Perfection.

Yet we must not be too severe upon the memory of Bro. Marchot. He was a sincere and zealous Mason, who bravely resisted the attempts of the Grand Master, Prince Frederic of the Netherlands, when the latter tried to encroach upon the independence of the Belgian Chapters. A remarkable scholar and a lover of symbolism, passionately devoted to the interest of his Rite, Marchot tried to graft it on the old stem by methods which agreed with the Masonic ways of his time—witness the example given, in high quarters, by the display of the so-called Charter of Cologne.—The Rituals of the Thirty-three Degrees, which he wrote, and, perhaps, illustrated with his own hand, are now in the Library of the Supreme Council at Brussels, where they were deposited, some forty years ago, after the Chapters of the *Rite écossais primitif* were merged into the Scottish Ancient and Accepted Rite, another child of the Rite of Perfection.

The *Bonne Amitié* still possesses a Record-book containing the Minutes of the Lodge, without interruption, from 1821 to this day, and another containing all the Minutes of the Chapter of R.·. +.·., from 1821 to 1862. This last book opens with a copy of the General Rules of the Chapter, dated 1817. Rules 13 and 14 run thus : " The Sov .·. Chapter has authority over all the Degrees of the Rite, from the 1st to the 21st included. Yet this authority is subordinate to that of the Grand and Sublime Chapter of the Interior, chef d'Ordre du Rite."

[1] Murray Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

After the Revolution of 1830, which parted Belgium from Holland, the *Bonne Amitié* passed under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient of Belgium, which it had helped to create in 1832, and where it headed the list, as the oldest of the Belgian Lodges, till, in 1898, some documents were discovered, which assigned a still greater antiquity to the *Parfaite Union* at Mons.

Henceforth the Lodge of Namur had rather an uneventful life, and, in 1870, it celebrated the first centennial of its birth, although, I am sorry to say, neither the celebration, nor the speeches recorded on the occasion, were worthy of the anniversary. It was especially the time when the Belgian Lodges meddled with politics, perhaps more than was good for them, and certainly more than would have seemed fit to our Anglo-Saxon Brethren. But account must be taken of the difficulties with which Belgian Freemasonry has to contend, especially in country towns, on account of the bigotry and intolerance of the Catholic Church, which, nearly every Sunday in the year, from every pulpit in the land, hurls its thunderbolts at the head of Freemasons, their families and their supporters. To frequent a Lodge in a small city like Namur required a degree of endurance and courage our Protestant Brethren cannot even imagine. How could Freemasons not retaliate to a certain point?

Nevertheless the *Bonne Amitié* has remained a good and valiant little Lodge, ever faithful to the ideals of Masonry, working its Ritual with earnestness and care. It has rather increased in strength and numbers during the last decade, and looks forward with still greater confidence to the time when it will possess a new Temple, now in course of erection, on a larger and more convenient plot of ground, bought with the help of a few generous friends. But building costs money, even to masons and especially to Freemasons. I hope I shall not be accused of turning this essay into a booming modern-style advertisement, with the sting in the tail, if I conclude by strongly recommending to the generosity of the Grand Lodge of Scotland these long forgotten children, who felt so keenly their dereliction . . . some hundred and thirty years ago.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

EARLY Philippine Nasonry.—My brief note on the "Knights of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem" (*A.Q.C.* vol. xix., p. 69) called forth a wealth of information as unexpected as it is gratifying, from two eminent, though widely separated Masonic *savants*—Brothers L. de Malczovich (p. 137) of Hungary and F. de P. Rodriguez (p. 141) of Cuba, Grand Chancellor and Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Colon. This result places these *Transactions* in a new light, at least t the writer, and illustrates their value as a cosmopolitan clearing-house of Masonic lore. My first venture having proved successful I am tempted to utilize the *Transactions* again. During my residence in the Philippines I have become especially interested in the origin and early history of Masonry in this jurisdiction and it occurs to me that perhaps Bro. Rodriguez, with his abundant learning in the field of Spanish Masonry can give me some light. Of course I might obtain this through private correspondence but that might also deprive our members and the Craft generally of the benefit of one of Bro. Rodriguez's luminous letters.

There has recently come into my hands a Spanish Ritual of the third degree (*Maestro*) entitled "*Obras Masonicas Officiales*" (Madrid 1906) which contains as an appendix an interesting survey, from the standpoint of the Spaniard, of Masonry throughout the world. From this I learn that Masonry was introduced into the Philippines in 1856 by a Spanish naval officer, Malcampo, who was followed in 1859 by Vice-Admiral Nuñez, and in a work entitled "Inhabitants of the Philippines" by an English writer, Frederick H. Sawyer, it is stated that the first Masonic Lodge in the Philippines was organized at Cavite in 1860. I have not been able to learn anything authentic regarding the details of these events, or the antecedents of the Brethren who transplanted the Ancient Craft to these Islands, or how close the connection has been between Spanish and Philippine Masonry. Can Bro. Rodriguez or some other reader of the *Transactions* put me in the way of getting further light?

Manila—P. I. CHARLES S. LOBINGIER.

Never in my life have I been in more earnest need of a good arsenal of data upon Masonic lore as now, in order to fill Bro. Lobingier's desire for knowledge of early Masonry in the Philippine Islands, so gallantly expressed in his note.

Being so far from the field of action it matters not how well acquainted I may be with Spanish Masonry in order to give a satisfactory answer to Bro. Lobingier's questions; but judging from the Spaniards' behaviour in this country, as far as Masonry is concerned, I shall honestly give my opinion on that interesting subject.

It is true that Spain introduced Masonry in her Colonies, but it was the Masonry of the early nineteenth century type, and whatever Masonry they introduced during the first quarter of that century was for their own benefit, without a thought for the welfare of the natives. They did so in Mexico, Perú, Uruguay, and other American vice-royalties. In Mexico at all events the natives had to apply to the American Minister Poinsset, in order to have Masonic Lodges of their own and those Lodges came from the United States and were soon working against the earlier Spanish Lodges whose membership was restricted to the Spanish officials and *very few* pro-Spanish natives,

In Cuba we had no early Spanish Lodges, all we had came from the north save one or two which derived their existence from the Grand Orient of France. But whatever we had not in those times came to us later, after the downfall of Queen Isabella.

Spanish Masonry during the middle third of the nineteenth century, whatever Spaniards may claim, was a riddle: nothing is known with certainty. After the persecutions of King Ferdinand VII. came those from the ministers of his daughter Isabella, the first were of a bloodthirsty class, the others, more benign, compelled the progressive Spaniards of the epoch to keep Masonry so much behind curtains that nothing can satisfy the Masonic student.

I have often stated, and I am convinced of the truth of the statement, that from 1830 to 1868 Spanish Masonry was problematic, *i.e.*, it existed only on paper. The best that can be said is that they had governing bodies of the high degrees with very few or no blue Lodges to be governed, simply because they could do no better.

In 1843 there was an attempt to organize a ruling body called the Grand Orient of Hesperia; D. Ramón María Calatrava one of the most enthusiastic of Spanish Masons was at its head, but although a Constitution and bye-laws were framed the idea was not a success and by 1848 nothing more was heard of it. Whatever Lodges met in Spain afterwards (secretly, of course) were of French origin or owed allegiance to the Grand Orient of Lusitania (Portugal), and there were very few even of these.

It was during those days that we Cubans were so fortunate as to definitely organize our Masonry (1859); at first with no opposition from Spain, but as soon as Queen Isabella was overthrown by the revolutionary movement of September 1868 a revival of Spanish Masonry was effected and from that time henceforth the Spanish Masonic *imbroglio* dates.

In 1879 Masonic Lodges of Spanish extraction first appeared in Cuba to oppose our local Masonry, more as disguised political clubs than as true Masonry, so much so that they used to call ours *rebel* Masonry and theirs *faithful* Masonry.

During those days Admiral Malcampo, who is mentioned in the Spanish ritual of 1906, resided some time among us, but I never heard that he took any interest in Masonry, nor indeed did I know that he was a Mason. It was different with another naval officer, Admiral Oreiro, who frequented Cuban Masonic circles, and was even raised to the 33° by our Supreme Council.

Can it be possible that in 1856, or even 1860, Malcampo introduced Masonry in the Philippine Islands? Where did he draw his authority for so doing? What was the name of the governing body then *flourishing* in Spain?

The Grand National Orient of Spain used to print an uninterrupted series of her Grand Commanders, or Grand Masters, dating from the Count of Aranda in the seventeenth century to our days, but nothing more than that list is known of their doings during more than half a century, until after the dethronement of Isabella.

In 1870 a new Grand Orient was formed in Spain, presided over by the eminent statesman, Romero Ortiz, and soon afterwards—1874—by the celebrated Prime Minister Sagasta, and from this Grand Orient, the present one headed by the eminent historian Morayta came into existence. This Grant Orient has been always noted for its success in organising Lodges outside of Spain; it has done so in Cuba, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and even in the United States. It also formed Lodges in the Philippine Islands, and from it I have obtained the first sure statement of the existence of a Lodge there in 1880. This date I have seen confirmed in a book called *Cyclopædia of Fraternities*, edited at New York, in 1899, by A. C. Stevens.

Many educated Filipinos were made Masons abroad, among whom may be mentioned that glory of his country, Dr. Rizal. Many Spanish Masons, specially naval and military officers, may have resided in those islands, but as we know how easily Latin Masons are prone to start Lodges and work Masonry of their own, with no regular warrant or authority of any kind, we may well doubt the veracity of the introduction of true Masonry in the Philippines by Malcampo in 1856, or by Nuñez in 1860.

In the *New International Encyclopædia*, Dodd, Mead and Co, New York, 1906 (vol. xv., page 719), it is stated, without mentioning the authority, that Masonry was introduced in the Philippines in 1860, but that it was not until more than a quarter of a century afterwards that the natives gained access to the Lodges and, guided by Dr. Rizal, formed the "Liga Filipina" and the "Associación Hispano-Filipina," which led to the establishment of the Katipunam. This certainly seems to confirm my statement that Masonry, if started in 1860, was only an attempt without any solid foundation.

There is another book, which I have never seen, named "La Masonización de Filipinas: Rizal y su obra," edited at Barcelona in 1897. It claims that the Masonic spirit was spread in his country by Dr. Rizal for revolutionary purposes. This, however, is from a Spanish point of view, and even if it is true, it could not have been before 1880, as Rizal graduated at the University of Madrid in 1882, travelling afterwards for several years in Europe before coming back to Manila.

Therefore, until sufficient proof to the contrary can be produced, I shall insist upon the year 1880 as being the true date of the starting of Masonry on those shores.

I hope that all this may be of any interest to Bro. Lobingier, or to any other lover of Masonic lore, and that it may, at least, serve as a clue for new investigations.

Havana, Cuba. F. de P. Rodriguez.

Dr. Anderson.—While I was searching in the British Museum, in a vain attempt to ascertain whence the Rev. James Anderson (author of the Book of Constitutions) got his degree of D.D., I discovered the following about him, which, so far as I know, has not been mentioned before.

In 1719, on February 19th, a meeting of Presbyterian Ministers in London was held at the Salters Hall Meeting House (whence it is known as the Salters Hall Synod) to discuss some proceedings that had recently occurred among the Presbyterians of Exeter; there was a sharp division among those at the Salters Hall Synod as to subscribing to the First Article of the Church of England, and three parties arose—Subscribers, Non-Subscribers and Neutrals—each party published pamphlets, and in one, now in the Museum, called "A true relation of some proceedings at Salters Hall by those Ministers who signed, &c." the name of James Anderson occurs three times among the signatories. And Drysdale, in his "History of the Presbyterians in England," says on p. 556:—

"Both Dr. John Cumming and Dr. Anderson of Swallow St. took an active part as subscribers in the Salters Hall Synod and in the controversy that followed."

Dr. Cumming received his D.D. degree from Aberdeen, in 1728, but I was unable to find any record of Dr. Anderson having been similarly honoured.

However the name "Jacobus Anderson A.M." occurs in the list of Alumni in Arts of Aberdeen University for 1713-17. But that seems a little late for him if he came to London in 1710.

The name also occurs, but without "A.M.," in the lists for 1690-94 and 1707-11.

E. L. Hawkins.

The Rev. James Anderson and the Earls of Buchan. (*A.Q.C.*, xviii., 9).—To David, the same ninth Earl of Buchan, was also dedicated the original issue of "Christian Morals, By Sir Thomas Brown, of Norwich, M.D. And Author of Religio Medici. Published from the Original and Correct Manuscript of the Author, by John Jeffery, D.D., Arch-Deacon of Norwich. Cambridge. Printed at the University Press. For Cornelius Crownfield Printer to the University: And are to be Sold by Mr. Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's church-yard; and Mr. Morphew near Stationers-Hall, London, 1716."

In a short dedication by Mrs. Elizabeth Littleton, the Daughter of Sir Thomas Browne (whose work was thus posthumously published, he having died in 1684), the titles and styles of the Earl of Buchan appear in precisely the same terms as in the dedication of Anderson's 1723 sermon, except that "Glendo*w*achie" is "Glendo*v*achie," and, whilst "Stirling" is correctly spelt, "Britain" is mis-spelt "Bri*tt*ain." There is nothing noticeable in the wording of the dedication, beyond the phrases, "The Honour you have done our Family," and "Your acceptance of it will much oblige our Family," which suggest that the dedication was prompted by some kindness or good offices by the Earl.

In what are supposed to be modern reprints of the first edition of "Christian Morals," the original mis-spelling is corrected, and the name "Littelton" gratuitously altered to "Litt*le*ton."

W. B. HEXTALL.

Bartomolo Bergami.—A query in *A.Q.C.*, viii., 33, mentions a mug inscribed "Bartolomo Bergami," and bearing a man's portrait. This referred to the Bergami whose name was prominently before the public at the "Trial of Queen Caroline," in 1820, and who figures in many contemporary caricatures by Cruikshank and others. That the portrait had no relation to the Craft seems certain, but it is also certain that, at some stages of the differences between the Prince and Princess of Wales, in the early years of the nineteenth century, indications of Masonic interest are not wholly wanting.

The Earl of Moira, who took an active part with the accusers, in March, 1813, published in a newspaper a letter bearing his signature, and addressed to "A Member of the Lodge of Free-Masons," which produced comment in the House of Commons from Mr. Samuel Whitbread, M.P., and correspondence between him and the Earl. The "Delicate Investigation," in 1806, was the outcome of statements made to the Duke of Sussex by Major-General Sir John Douglas and his wife, and, some years later, after Lord Castlereagh, a principal Secretary of State, had in a speech in Parliament, on March 12th, 1813, made use of the expression "the degraded and guilty heads of Sir John and Lady Douglas," the consequence followed that (to quote as I find), "Sir John Douglas was dismissed from the household of the Duke of Sussex, and expelled from a Masonic Lodge."

W. B. HEXTALL.

Pasqually.—I have read with much interest the paper of Bro. Firminger on Pasqually. There are two points upon which I would desire a few words. He certainly seems to have drawn upon the Kabala; and Cagliostro seems, very curiously, to have drawn upon the system of Pasqually for his own three degrees above the ordinary Craft, as they are identical in aim and arrangement. We may feel pretty certain that Pasqually had some adherents in London, and hence it may be true that Cagliostro obtained his first idea of his Egyptian Masonry, not from Swedenborg, but from some Pasqually MS., attributed to a certain George Cofton. The French Monthly

"*L'Initiation*" is now printing the MS. Lectures of a copy, signed by Cagliostro, of his three advanced degrees:—1—4° Apprentice; 2—5° the Hall; 3—6° the Reintegration. Swedenborg's three degrees were quite different, if I know aught about them. In regard to Swedenborg it is quite possible that he may have had some sort of Initiation, either at London, or Lunden, as early as 1706, and it seems certain if the words of Royal personages are reliable. Findel says—(*History of Freemasonry*, English Ed., 1869, p. 326)—"As a practical Art it had long before been exercised by the Stonemasons of the middle ages, who had erected the Gothic buildings of Sweden. 'Ancient Manuscripts,' says Br. Dr. Otto, 'expressly state that Freemasons (Stonemason Fraternity) held meetings at Stockholm and Lund in the reign of Queen Margaret.' (See Bauhütte 1860, p. 239.)"

JOHN YARKER.

The Quatuor Coronati Lodge in Fiction.—The work of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge is not a matter of general knowledge even to the Craft, so that it is all the more surprising to find that it has played a part in popular fiction. In his book, "Twelve Stories and a Dream," Mr. H. G. Wells tells the "Story of the Inexperienced Ghost." Clayton, a member of a golf club is telling three or four of his fellow-members how he had slept the night before at the club by himself, and had encountered the ghost of a young man who, in life, had been of a weak, silly, aimless character. Clayton, having dined well, is not at all scared, but enters into conversation with this weak-minded phantom, and finally advises him, in a fatherly way, that the best thing he can do is to give up his feeble attempts at "haunting" and to disappear. But this is just what the unfortunate shade cannot do—he has forgotten the correct method, which consists of a series of "passes" or motions with the hands, and has been skulking about in cupboards and empty rooms for a whole day. However, he is persuaded to try, but cannot succeed in hitting upon the proper method. He thinks that if he could *see* the thing done he would be able to discover what was wrong. Clayton, having watched him carefully, is able to assist him in this way, and goes through the whole performance slowly, until the perplexed apparition suddenly remembers the concluding gesture, by accomplishing which satisfactorily, he disappears into thin air.

One of Clayton's auditors is Sanderson, who is described as "a Freemason, a member of the Lodge of the Four Kings, which devotes itself so ably to the study and elucidation of all the mysteries of Masonry past and present." This can be none other than the Lodge of the Four Crowned Martyrs thinly disguised. Clayton exhibits the "passes" made by the ghost, so far as he can remember them, and Sanderson (who is "by no means the least" among the students of this Lodge) recognizes them as being identical "with a series of gestures—connected with a certain branch of esoteric Masonry"—and he is, therefore, able to supply Clayton with the few remaining motions necessary to complete the series.

The question is then raised whether it would not be dangerous for Clayton to go through these passes in full, but in spite of the dissuasion of his friends he decides to take the risk. He then goes through the whole series of signs, even to the culminating gesture, and at the conclusion he does not vanish, but his face is seen to change "as a lit house changes when its lights are suddenly extinguished," and in brief he falls down before them, dead. But whether he did indeed pass into the spirit-world by means of the poor ghost's incantations, or whether he was stricken suddenly by apoplexy in the midst of an idle tale, is left to the reader's imagination.

F. BENDLE.

REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF THE WESTMINSTER AND KEYSTONE LODGE, No. 10.

COMPILED BY J. W. SLEIGH GODDING, P.M. (*W. Brendon & Son, Ltd., Plymouth*, A.D. 1907).

BRO. GODDING has done well in writing the history of the well-known No. 10, so far as records have been discovered, for its eventful past has an interest far beyond the members of that old atelier, and though, in common with most of the Lodges which began to work very early in the eighteenth century, many of the minutes are missing, yet by most zealous researches and aided by the help of other students, the author has succeeded far beyond my expectation, when he first consulted me on the subject of such a publication.

We need histories of all the old Lodges, including those working from "time-immemorial," and others constituted during the Grand Lodge era, especially any dating from 1721 to 1729 (when the first enumeration is met with in an engraved List). It is a wonder, considering the attention that is happily being paid to such records, that we still lack histories of Nos. 2, 4 and 12, the *time-immemorial trio*. Bro. Platt's sketch of the "Friendship" No. 6 is very barren, and of Nos. 8, 14, 18, 20, 26 and 29, we are lamentably ignorant. Not a few of us were glad to welcome the interesting account of the "Royal Alpha" No. 16, by the lamented Bro. Col. Clerke, G.Sec., and quite recently the indefatigable Bro. Henry Sadler, our esteemed sub-Librarian, has favoured us with worthy volumes concerning the eventful past of the "Emulation" No. 21, and the "Globe" No. 23. There is also a charming volume, by Bro. A. F. Calvert, on the "Old King's Arms" No. 28; and Bro. Brackstone Baker's early sketch of the old No. 21 should be gratefully remembered. Now we have another to greet most warmly, viz., that of No. 10, going back to the year 1722. It is the fifth oldest on the English Register, having (presumably) been constituted on the 28th January, 1721-2 (*i.e.* 1722 N.S.). There is only one on the Roll of the previous year, though there were doubtless several formed at that period, or even before, only they failed to continue at work so long even as down to 1728-9.

The Lodge No. 10 owes its proud position entirely to the early members, who were most zealous Craftsmen, and not in any way desirous of amalgamating with an older Lodge, so as to secure a superior position. It was given the number 7 in 1728-9, then 6 in 1740, and 5 from 1755 to the blessed Union of December, 1813, when it became, and has continued to be, number 10 on the Roll of the United Grand Lodge.

Its original Certificate of Constitution, 28th January, 1721-2, signed most probably by the M.W.G.M. (His Grace the Duke of Montagu), has long been missing. In fact, not one has been preserved by any Lodge prior to 2nd February, 1725-6. There is, however, a Warrant of Confimation, of 22nd April, 1822, which is of an erroneous character, about which Bro. Godding says some strong words, which are well deserved, and there is also a Centenary Jewel Warrant of 2nd May, 1860, authorizing the members to wear a most distinctive and appropriate decoration, but attached to sky blue ribbon, not a special colour, as the members desired.

Bro. Godding suggests that the Lodge may have been working prior to 1721-2, which is very likely, as in my opinion many more assembled prior to 1717 than is generally supposed. In one of his numerous and most valuable notes, the author cites the case of a Lodge "*held for some time past at Bishopsgate Coffee House*," praying to be constituted and admitted among the regular Lodges, in confirmation of his opinion. The names of members of the Lodge in the Registers of Grand Lodge, 1723-1725 and 1731-2, are reproduced, side by side, which enables one to trace those of the earlier years, who continued on the Roll some seven years later, of whom there were nine. The Engraved Lists have also furnished material for Bro. Godding, and every other source, likely and unlikely, has been ransacked for particulars concerning the old Lodge during the period for which minutes are lacking. The numerous attendances of the Lodge at Grand Lodge (and payments to charity) are duly recorded, as copied from the official Records. The fact that Returns were not required to be made between 1732-1768 is most unfortunate for all the old Lodges whose minutes are lost for that period, but the author was in no way discouraged, and has managed to render a good account of the No. 10, through all that apparently barren term. He has so skilfully described the facts at his command, that it will come as a surprise to the ordinary reader to find that Chapter III. opens with the declaration that reliance has had to be placed on indirect evidence mainly until the year 1792, when the preserved minutes begin, and are continued almost without a break to the present day.

Many are the records I should like to quote from, but in view of there being a few copies for sale, at 10s. each nett, out of the 250 copies printed (numbered consecutively and signed by the author) it would not be fair to do so. I may state, however, that their interest is great, and will repay careful perusal by all Masonic students. The portion devoted to the revival of the Lodge (for it was all but dormant, only three members being left at the time) by the introduction of a number of distinguished brethren belonging to Oxford Lodges, but who had ceased to reside in that City or County, which is entitled "The Oxford Development, 1855-1878," is most intensely interesting even to non-members, and naturally "Our own Times, 1878-1906" come in for considerable notice, as should be the case.

I am confident that all who read this able volume will be highly gratified with the manner in which Bro. Godding has discharged the difficult task as the Historian of the Lodge, and the members especially must be greatly pleased and very grateful.

The numerous illustrations are special features of the work, and the many Tables, Lists of Members, various editions of the By-Laws, Rolls of W.M's, and Officers and other compilations, prove how diligent the author has been, to place all the information possible at the disposal of the members.

W. J. Hughan.

BRO. GOULD'S "CONCISE HISTORY."

Reviews of the English Edition of Bro. Gould's *Concise History of Freemasonry*—by Bros. E. J. Castle and Count Goblet d'Alviella—appeared in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii., pp. 120 and 230. The following review of the American Edition was written by the late Bro. W. H. Upton, and printed in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Washington, for 1904.

> The most important events in Masonic history are not always the work of Grand Lodges, or recorded in Grand Lodge proceedings, and we

have little doubt but that posterity will declare that the incident most important to Masonry which occurred in the year 1904 was the publication of a small book—"A Concise History of Freemasonry," by Robert Freke Gould. This epoch-marking book is to be contrasted, rather than compared, with all other histories of Masonry. Its author, about twenty years ago, firmly established his claim to rank as *the* Historian of Masonry, by the publication of his larger History—a work best known to American Craftsmen through an edition issued in four large volumes. But that monumental work, while a mine of correct and accurate Masonic knowledge, and while justly praised as the first *general* "history" of the Fraternity written by an *historian*, as distinguished from a romancer or a recorder of fables, was—by reason of its great bulk, the somewhat discursive literary style of its author, his habit of presenting not only his conclusions, but the evidence upon which he based those conclusions, and the absence of an index—wholly unsuited to the needs of the great mass of brethren—men who have a reasonable desire for a correct general idea of the development of our Fraternity, but neither time nor inclination to make a profound study of the subject. From all those, in a sense, objectionable features of the larger work, this "Concise" history is entirely free. In one volume, of moderate size, the long career of our ancient Fraternity is laid before the reader as clearly as a panorama; the author has employed a style that makes the book easy reading; and a good index guides the reader to any special subject in which he may be interested. Another matter which adds to the value of the smaller book is that many problems, connected with the history of our Institution, which were still unsolved when the larger work was published, have since been worked out by the industry of a school of students of whom Bro. Gould is the head; and the book before us gives the latest and best results of modern Masonic scholarship. In this respect, as well as in many others, it differs also from all other general Masonic Histories. We say "general" Masonic Histories, for a notable exception must be made in favour of some local and lodge histories and some books, of which the writings of Speth, Crawley, and Sadler are examples, which treat of but some one branch of the subject. And when compared with other general histories, the new work must be held to stand in a class by itself. It is the *only* brief history of our Fraternity which can be placed in the hands of the unlearned reader with the assurance that he may believe what he reads—that there are in it no pious fictions or old wives' tales narrated as facts. In saying this, we do not wish to be understood as implying that all of Bro. Gould's conclusions will be accepted as final. On the contrary, the "personal equation" enters into all the products of man; Bro. Gould has touched upon some questions that are still *sub judice*, and has reached some conclusions—notably in "A Digression on Degrees," and in his almost contemptuous dismissal of Speth's hypothesis as to the Cathedral Builders—which are sure to awake lively dissenting discussions from some of the leading Masonic scholars; but the merit of the book is that in nearly, if not quite, all such cases he lays the facts before his readers and lets them know that other scholars draw different conclusions from those facts. Our purpose in thus calling attention to the Concise History is to recommend its general perusal by all members of the Craft. Masonic law is based to a

very large extent upon Masonic usage; and knowledge of ancient and correct Masonic usage is only to be obtained through knowledge of the *real* history of our Fraternity. We think it not too much to say that were no man hereafter to be installed Grand Master in an American Grand Lodge—or appointed on a Correspondence Committee—who had not read *and digested* this one little book, within ten years American Masonic Jurisprudence would reach a position which it has never yet attained; most of its worst features would disappear; and many of the local, but unhistorical, peculiarities and usages which have caused friction between Grand Lodges would be abandoned by common consent. We especially recommend the book to young Masons. At the time they receive the degrees, even if at no later period in life, the great majority of Masons have considerable curiosity to know something about the history of the Institution; and would gladly read such a book as the "Concise History," if placed in their hands at that time. We, therefore, suggest to our lodges that they would be rendering Masonry a very great service were they to keep on hand half-a-dozen copies of this book, and give or sell or lend one to every newly-raised brother. We understand that lodges who thus buy the book in quantities can obtain it, bound in cloth, for about 2.50 dollars. There are two editions of the book—both copyrighted and issued with the author's sanction. One is published by Gale and Polden, Limited, 2, Amen Corner, Paternoster-row, London, E.C., England; the other by the Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Co. (Inc.), New York. As to one difference between the two editions, we concur in the opinion expressed by a writer in "The Palestine Bulletin," as follows: "The English edition contains in the way of illustrations only six full-page plates. The American publishers, probably with an honest desire to improve the book, have added upwards of 150 wood engravings and half-tones. We cannot say that we think the result upon the whole an improvement. If a judicious selection had been made of about one-third of the additional illustrations they would perhaps have done no harm, for although not as many as that could be selected that would be any ornament to the book, there are perhaps as many as that that illustrate something Masonic. But what has been done is to dump in a miscellaneous lot of cuts evidently from the publishers' stock on hand, of which two-thirds have no reference to anything in the book and one-third swear at the text. A reader's first introduction to a book is important. The publishers of this book recognize that fact. But they occupy a different point of view from ours. We think this book should have a severe and scholarly appearance, so that the reader will understand that it is that kind of a book, and approach it accordingly. But the publishers doubtless think it will sell better if it looks light and popular, and so they conceal the text by a lot of trashy cuts."

OBITUARY.

It is with regret that we have to announce the death of Brothers:—

Herbert Bradley, of Monclair, New Jersey, U.S.A. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1904.

Alfred Bumstead, of 9, Strada Mercanti, Valletta, Malta, on 18th December, 1906. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1896.

Robert Marr, of 29, Corn Exchange Chambers, London, E.C., on the 25th May, 1905. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1896.

Charles Cobham, F.S.I., of The Shrubbery, Gravesend, on the 18th January. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1900.

Colonel Sir **Charles Hughes-Hunter,** Bt., F.R.S.Edin., F.S.A.Scot., of Plas Coch, Anglesey, on the 2nd February. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1902.

Joseph Henry Bean, J.P., of Gas Works, Cairns, North Queensland, on the 23rd December, 1906. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1898.

Brandon Dansie, of 45, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate Street, London, E.C., on the 21st February. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1896.

Charles Letch Mason, of 40, Womersley Road, Crouch Hill, London, N., on the 5th March. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1887.

George W. Hall, of 1131, Arch Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A., on the 14th December, 1906. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1891.

Alex Streathern Penn, of Masonic Club, Singapore, on the 9th February. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1902.

Carl Moritz Emil Zobel, of 4, Beach Street, Penang, Straits Settlements. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1900.

E. H. Pike, of Fire Engine Station, Mile End Road, London, E., on the 17th March. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1903.

Charles Napier Jackson, of 1, Cleveland Villas, The Green, South Tottenham, London, N., on the 2nd April. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1901.

Henry William Payne Makeham, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.S.A., of 330, New Cross Road, London, S.E., on the 20th March. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1896.

B. W. Hammet, of 2, Barking Road, East Ham, London, E., on the 2nd April. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1899.

Edwin Stephens, of 36, Bridge Street, Hereford, on the 31st March. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1903.

John Dysart McCaw, M.D., F.R.C.S., of St. Levan, Wallington, Surrey. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1897.

G. Shallcrass, of 2, Gilstead Road, Singapore. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1898.

F. Trehawke Davies, of 9, Cavendish Square, London, W., on the 20th April. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1900.



Jewel of Union Lodge, Connecticut.
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Vol. XIII., 1900. The York Grand Lodge, John Lane, *W. J. Hughan*; The Chevalier Burnes, *R. F. Gould*; Prince Hall's Letter Book, *W. H. Upton*; The 31st Foot and Masonry in West Florida, *R. F. Gould*; Quatuor Coronati in Belgium, *Count Goblet d'Alviella*; Relics of the Grand Lodge at York, *T. B. Whytehead*; The Sackville Medal, *Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley*; Chivalric Freemasonry in the British Isles, *Sir Charles A. Cameron*; Inaugural Address, *E. Conder, jun.*; &c.

VOL. XIV., 1901. The Alnwick Lodge Minutes, *W. H. Rylands*; The 47th Proposition, *T. Greene, W. H. Rylands*; Military Masonry, *R. F. Gould*; The Miracle Play, *E. Conder, jun.*; The "Settegast" Grand Lodge of Germany, *G. W. Speth*; In Memoriam—G. W. Speth: Sir Walter Besant, *W. H. Rylands*; Naymus Grecus, *G. W. Speth*; Marcus Græcus Eversus, *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; Leicestershire Masonry, *E. Conder, jun.*; Remarks, &c., on the "Sloane Family," *Dr. W. Begemann*; The "Testament of Solomon," *Rev. W. E. Windle*; Antony Sayer, *A. F. Calvert*; Inaugural Address, *Gotthelf Greiner*; "Wheeler's Lodge," *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; &c.

Vol. XV., 1902. Sir Peter Lewys, *H. F. Berry*; Sir John Doyle, *R. F. Gould*; Theodore Sutton Parvin, *R. F. Gould*; Building of Culham Bridge, *W. H. Rylands*; Solomon's Seal and the Shield of David, *Rev. J. W. Horsley*; The Gormogon Medal, *G. L. Shackles*; Coins of the Grand Masters of the Order of Malta, *G. L. Shackles*; Samuel Beltz, *E. A. Ebblewhite*; Two French Documents, *W. H. Rylands*; The Wesleys and Irish Freemasonry, *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; Summer Outing, *F. J. Rebman*; Charter Incorporating the Trades of Gateshead, *W. H. Rylands*; The Reception (Initiation) of a Templar, *E. J. Castle*; Inaugural Address—Secret Societies, *E. J. Castle*; Early Irish Certificates, *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; The Old Swalwell Lodge, *J. Yarker*; Craft Guilds of Norwich, *J. C. Tingey*; &c., &c.

Vol. XVI., 1903. Some Notes on the Legends of Masonry, *W. H. Rylands*; Masonic Certificates of the Netherlands, *F. J. W. Crowe*; The Degrees of Pure and Ancient Freemasonry, *R. F. Gould*; A Curious Old Illuminated Magic Roll, *W. J. Hughan*; Order of Masonic Merit, *W. J. Hughan*; Notes on Irish Freemasonry, No. VII., *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; William of Wykeham, *E. Conder, jun.*; Three Great Masonic Lights, *R. F. Gould*; Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas Apollini, *R. F. Gould*; A French Prisoners' Lodge, *F. J. W. Crowe*; The Magic Scroll (text and facsimile); Royal Templar Certificate of 1779, *J. Yarker*; The Patent of a Russian Grand Lodge, 1815, *J. Yarker*; A Curious Carbonari Certificate, *F. J. W. Crowe*; A "Pompe Funèbre," *John T. Thorp*; Order of St. John of Jerusalem, *W. H. Rylands*; Freemasonry in Gounod's Opera, Irene the Queen of Sheba, *John T. Thorp*; The Ionic Lodge, No. 227, London, *W. John Songhurst*; Knights Templars, *F. H. Goldney*; Speth Memorial Fund; Chichester Certificates, 18th century, *John T. Thorp*; Summer Outing, June, 1903, *W. John Songhurst*; The Chevalier D'Eon, *W. J. Chetwode Crawley*; The Magic Roll, *Dr. W. Wynn Westcott*, &c.

Vol. XVII., 1904. Colours in Freemasonry, *F. J. W. Crowe*; Dr. Robert Fludd, *E. Armitage*; Minutes of an Extinct Lodge, *E. A. J. Breed*; Budrum Castle, *Admiral Sir A. H. Markham*; The Very Ancient Clermont Chapter; The High Grades in Bristol and Bath, *J. Yarker*; The "Chetwode Crawley" M.S., *W. J. Hughan*; Irish Certificates, *S. C. Bingham, W. John Songhurst*; Accounts of Re-building St. Paul's Cathedral, *Canon J. W. Horsley, Andrew Oliver*; Summer Outing, Worcester, *W. John Songhurst*; The Grand Lodge of Ireland and the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; A Glance at the Records of Two Extinct Hull Lodges, *G. L. Shackles*; Templaria et Hospitallaria, *L. de Malczovich*; Inaugural Address—The Government of the Lodge, *Canon J. W. Horsley*; Notes on Irish Freemasonry, No. VIII., *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; &c., &c.

Vol. XVIII., 1905. The Rev. James Anderson and the Earls of Buchan, *J. T. Thorp*; The "Marencourt" Cup and Ancient Square, *H. F. Berry*; The Rev. Dr. Anderson's Non-Masonic Writings, *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; Speculative Members included in Bishop Cosin's Charter incorporating the Trades of Gateshead, 1671, *St. Maur*; The Kipperah, or Bora; An Unrecorded Grand Lodge, *H. Sadler*; Origin of Masonic Knight Templary in the United Kingdom, *W. J. Hughan*; Jean Baptiste Marie Ragon, *W. J. Songhurst*; Moses Mendez, Grand Steward, *J. P. Simpson*; Mock Masonry in the Eighteenth Century, *Dr. Chetwode Crawley*; Masonic Chivalry, *J. Littleton*; Some Fresh Light on the Old Bengal Lodges, *Rev. W. K. Firminger*; A Newly Discovered Version of the Old Charges, *F. W. Levander*; An Old York Templar Charter, *J. Yarker*; The Naimus Grecus Legend, I., *E. H. Dring*; Summer Outing—Chester, *W. J. Songhurst*; Contemporary Comments on the Freemasonry of the Eighteenth Century, *Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley*; Rev. Fearon Fallows, M.A., *W. F. Lamonby*; Installation Address, *G. L. Shackles*; A Forgotten Masonic Charity, *F. J. W. Crowe*; &c., &c.

Vol. XIX., 1906. Old City Taverns and Masonry, *J. P. Simpson*; The Carolus of our Ancient MSS., *J. Yarker*; The Sirr Family and Freemasonry, *H. Sirr*; The Naimus Grecus Legend, II., *E. H. Dring*; Seals on "Antients" Grand Chapter Certificates, *J. T. Thorp*; The Lodge of Prudent Brethren, *H. Guy*; Templaria et Hospitallaria, *L. de Malczovich*; A Unique Engraved List of Lodges, "Ancients," A.D. 1753, *W. J. Hughan*; The Sea Serjeants, *W. B. Hextall*; "Demit" and Jewel of Ancient Lodge, *G. L. Shackles*; King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, *F. J. W. Crowe*; J. Morgan, and his "Phœnix Britannicus," *H. Sirr*; Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, *L. de Malczovich*; Studies in Eighteenth Century Continental (so-called) Masonry, *Rev. W. K. Firminger*; The Equilateral Triangle in Gothic Architecture, *Arthur Bowes*; Summer Outing, Shrewsbury and Ludlow, *W. John Songhurst*; Notes on the Grand Chaplains of England, *Canon Horsley*; Eighteenth Century Masonic Documents, *Archdeacon Clarke*; Gnosticism and Templary, *E. J. Castle*; An Old Engraved Apron, *St. Maur*; Notes on a Curious Certificate and Seal, *Wm. Wynn Westcott*; Arab Masonry, *John Yarker*; &c., &c.

Vol. XX., 1907. John Cole, *W. John Songhurst*; On Masonic History, *John Yarker*; Some old London Taverns and Masonry, *J. P. Simpson*; Proceedings against the Templars, 1307-11, *E. J. Castle*; A Belgian Daughter of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, *Count Goblet d'Alviella*;

In progress.

MASONIC REPRINTS.

Of these Masonic Reprints, consisting mainly of exquisite facsimiles, a few copies in each case of the following volumes are still in stock. Vols. I., II., III., IV. and VIII. are out of print.

QUATUOR CORONATORUM ANTIGRAPHA.

Volume I. (*out of print* contains:—

Facsimile and Transcript of the "Masonic Poem" MS., Bib. Reg. 17 A. 1. (*British Museum*). This MS. is the earliest document (circa 1390) in existence, in any tongue, relating to Freemasonry. It was first published in 1840 by J. Orchard Halliwell with a facsimile of four lines, and again in 1844 with a facsimile of the first page. This was at once translated into several languages, causing great interest throughout the Craft.

Facsimile and Transcript of "Urbanitatis" Cott. MS., Caligula A. II., fol. 88. (*British Museum*).

Facsimile and Transcript from **"Instructions for a Parish Priest,"** Cott. MS., Claudius A. II., fol. 127. (*British Museum*). These two old MSS. contain passages identical with some of those which appear in the "Poem."

"The Plain Dealer," No. 51, Monday, September 14th, 1724. An article on the Freemasons, concluding with the celebrated letters on the **"Gormogons."** This is reproduced from the copy presented to the Lodge by Bro. Ramsden Riley, and only one other copy is known to exist. Portions of the article were printed in "The Grand Mystery," 2nd edition, 1725.

"An Ode to the Grand Khaibar," 1726. This reproduction is also made from the copy in the Lodge Library, presented by Bro. T. B. Whytehead, no other copy being known to exist. The Khaibarites were apparently a somewhat similar Society to the Gormogons, and were equally the rivals of the Freemasons.

"A Defence of Masonry." The Free Mason's Pocket Companion, 2nd edition, 1738. (*Grand Lodge of England Library*).

"Brother Euclid's Letter to the Author." The New Book of Constitutions, . . . by James Anderson, D.D., London, . . . 1738. (*Grand Lodge of England Library*).

A Commentary on the "Masonic Poem," "Urbanitatis," and "Instructions for a Parish Priest," by Bro. R. F. Gould.

Maps and Glossary.

In Vols. II. to VI. is reproduced a series of the MS. Constitutions or "Old Charges," which fully represents the various "families" into which all known copies of these interesting documents have been classified by Dr. Begemann.

Volume II. (*out of print*) contains:—

Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Matthew Cooke MS."** Add. MS., 23198 (*British Museum*), with Commentary thereon by Bro. G. W. Speth. This MS. is believed to have been written about the beginning of the 15th century. It is next in point of interest to the "Regius MS," (Masonic Poem) published in Vol. I. and is probably equal to it in interest.

Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Landsdowne MS."** No. 98, art 48, f. 276 b. (*British Museum*). The late Mr. Bond estimated the date of this MS. at about 1600, but as it is believed to have formed part of the collection of Lord Burghley, who died A.D. 1598, its age is probably greater.

Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Harleian MS."** No. 1942. (*British Museum*). The question of the date of this MS. is all-important and has given rise to much discussion. Mr. Bond and others ascribe it to the beginning of the 17th century, though other commentators such as Bro. Gould believe that the contents are scarcely compatible with this theory.

Volume III. (*out of print*) contains:—

Facsimile of the "Harleian MS." No. 2054, fo. 22. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript. This MS. is of the 17th century and contains, besides the usual legends and laws, a curious list of payments made "to be a mason," also the Freemasons' oath in the handwriting of Randle Holme, the herald and antiquary.

Facsimile of the "Sloane MS." No. 3848. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript.

Facsimile of the "Sloane MS." No. 3323. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript. The dates of these two MSS. are 1646 and 1649 respectively.

Facsimile of the "William Watson MS." Roll. (*Masonic Library, Province of West Yorkshire, Wakefield*). With Transcript, and Commentary by Bro. C. C. Howard. For many reasons this is one of the most interesting and important in the series of "Old Charges" which has yet been discovered. It is dated 1687, and is the only one shewing signs of derivation from the celebrated "Matthew Cooke MS."

Facsimile (one page) **of the "Cama MS."** With Introduction and Transcript. This MS. is in the possession of the Lodge, and has not before been published in any form. It supplies a link long missing between the "Grand Lodge" and "Spencer" families of these old writings.

Volume IV. (*out of print*) contains:—

Facsimile of the "Grand Lodge No. 1, MS." Roll. (*Grand Lodge Library*). With Introduction and Transcript. This Roll is dated 25th December, 1583, is the oldest one extant with a date attached, presumably the third or fourth oldest known, and its text is of especial value, insomuch that in Dr. Begemann's classification it gives its name to the most important family of these documents and to the most important branch of that family.

Facsimile of the "Grand Lodge No. 2, MS." Roll. (*Grand Lodge Library*). With Introduction and Transcript. The great value of this MS. apart from its beauty, lies in the fact that it corroborates the text of the Harleian 1942 MS. (see Vol. II.), whose authority has been severely called in question by some students.

Facsimile of the "Buchanan MS." Roll. (*Grand Lodge Library*). With Introduction and Transcript. This MS. has once before been printed (in Gould's "History.") Its date would presumably be about 1670.

Facsimile of "The Beginning and First Foundation of the Most Worthy Craft of Masonry . . . Printed for Mrs. Dodd . . . 1739." With Introduction. This print is so rare that in addition to the copy in the Library of Grand Lodge, from which our facsimile is taken, only two others are known to exist, and both of these are in the U.S.A.

Facsimile (two pages) **of the "Harris No. 2 MS."** (*Bound up with a copy of the "Freemasons' Calendar for 1781," in the British Museum, Ephemerides, pp. 2493, gaa.*) With Introduction and Transcript. Although of so late a date the additions to the ordinary text presented by this version are of great interest and curiosity.

Volume V., price 10s. 6d., contains:—

Facsimile and Transcript of the Scarborough MS. Roll of the Constitutions. This MS. dates previous to 1705, and bears a beautifully coloured coat of the Masons' Arms, besides a valuable endorsement of Makings in the year 1705. It is in the possession of the Grand Lodge of Canada, and was kindly entrusted to us by the Grand Master for the purpose of reproduction.

Facsimile and Transcript of the Phillipps No. 1 MS. A beautiful MS. in two colours of the 17th century.

Facsimile (partial) and Transcript of the Phillipps No. II. MS. Very similar to the above.

Facsimile (partial) and Transcript of the Phillipps No. III. MS. Early 18th century, and has never been published in any form. The above three MSS. are now in the possession of the Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick, Cheltenham.

Volume VI., price 10s. 6d., contains:—

Facsimile of the so-called Inigo Jones MS., formerly in the library of our late Bro. Woodford, and now in the collection of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire. It is a specially beautiful MS., rubricated throughout, and has a curious frontispiece, signed Inigo Jones, and dated 1607.

Facsimile of the Wood MS. This is dated 1610, which is undoubtedly authentic. A beautifully written and rubricated MS. with marginal references, and a copious index, the latter being a unique feature in this class of documents. "Newlye Translated by J. Whytestones for John Sargensonne, 1610." It was formerly in the library of the late Bro. A. F. A. Woodford, and is now the property of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire.

Facsimile and Transcript of the Lechmere MS., 17th century, undated, the property of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire.

Volume VII., (nearly exhausted), price 10s. 6d., contains:—

A photo-lithographic facsimile of **"The New Book of Constitutions," by Dr. Anderson, 1738,** with an introduction by Bro. W. J. Hughan, P.G.D. This is one of the rarest, and to the student one of the most important books in the whole range of Masonic literature, giving as it does, the earliest account of the first twenty-one years of the Grand Lodge of England. Our facsimile is taken from the copy in the library of W. Bro. J. E. Le Feuvre, who kindly lent it for the purpose, and is an exact reproduction, and not a mere imitation in old-faced type.

Vol. VIII. (*out of print.*) **Masonic Certificates** being Notes and Illustrations (thirteen plates) descriptive of those Engraved Documents of the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter of England, from the Earliest to the Present Time, by *J. Ramsden Riley, P.M., etc.*

Volume IX., price 10s. 6d., contains the full text of a valuable and hitherto unedited MS. in the British Museum:—

"The Book of the Fundamental Constitutions and Orders of the Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas, London, 1725-1727," twenty-two pages of facsimile, and a treatise on the history and masonic importance of this Society from the pen of W.Bro. W. H. Rylands, *F.S.A.*, P.A.G.D.C., Past Master. A point of great importance is that we have in this MS. the first evidence of three separate degrees in Freemasonry, and a glimpse of the way in which Freemasonry was carried on only a few years after the foundation of the Grand Lodge by brethren imbued with the methods in vogue immediately before that event. The Society, as its name implies, was composed of musicians and lovers of music who were at the same time Freemasons, and although it was not a Lodge recognised by the Grand Lodge of England, it carried on Masonic work, apparently by the inherent right of its members, whenever they thought convenient so to do.

FACSIMILES OF THE OLD CHARGES.

FOUR ROLLS, viz, Grand Lodge Nos. 1 and 2 MS., Scarborough MS., and the Buchanan MS., as above, are also published separately, without Transcript, in the original Roll form, lithographed on vegetable vellum, and stitched in exact imitation of the originals. They are enclosed in lettered leather cylinders. **Price One Guinea each.** The edition is strictly limited to 100 of each (only a few left), and each case and roll numbered and registered.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

The Masonic Genius of Robert Burns, by *Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson*, drawing-room edition, extra illustrations	£0 5 0
Facsimile of the Regius MS. or Masonic Poem, *circa* 1390, bound in imitation of the original in the Brit. Museum	£0 12 6
Caementaria Hibernica, by *Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley*, a collection of facsimiles of early Irish Masonic Documents, with commentaries, &c., Fasciculus I. *(out of print).*	
Do., Fasciculus II., Fasciculus III., each complete in itself but only a few copies available ... each	£0 11 0
The Orientation of Temples, by *Bro. W. Simpson*, uniform in size to bind with the *Transactions*	£0 2 6
The MacNab Mas. MS., by *Wm. Watson* and *W. J. Hughan*, Reproduction and Commentary	£0 2 6
British Masonic Medals, with twelve plates of illustrations. This book is practically complete, and contains every British Masonic Medal of a commemorative character hitherto known. Each Medal is illustrated obverse and reverse, described and historically treated. The book is handsomely bound in blue cloth with gold lettering	£0 10 6
A Masonic Curriculum. A guide to a course of study in Freemasonry, by *G. W. Speth*	£0 0 6
Classified Catalogue of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge Library, Nos. 1 to 2247, bound up with original library slips ...	£0 10 6
The same without the slips	£0 5 0

All the above are carriage paid, at the prices quoted, and to be obtained only by application to the Secretary.

BINDING.

Members returning their parts to the Secretary can have them half-bound, dark blue Morocco, lettered gold, for 5s per volume. The Secretary will supply cases, as above, at 2s. 6d. per volume.

MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Outer Circle are entitled to wear a Lodge Medal, to be procured of the Secretary. Price, with ring to attach to watch guard, in bronze 4s.; in silver 5s.; silver gilt 7s. 6d.; with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel, in bronze 6s. 6d.; in silver 7s. 6d.; in silver gilt 10s. 6d.; in gold, 22 ct., £5; 18 ct., £4 4s.: all carriage paid. Brethren of the Inner Circle are informed that a special jewel is provided for their use, silver gilt, blue and red enamel, price 31s. 6d.

May 1907.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL.



BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. MSS., 18,851,
CIRCA, 1500 A.D.

SECRETARY:

W. JOHN SONGHURST, *F.C.I.S.*, A.G.D.C.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

61, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.

FRIDAY, 3rd MAY, 1907.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present—Bros. Hamon le Strange, Prov. G.M., Norfolk, W.M.; Geo. L. Shackles, I.P.M.; Canon J. W. Horsley, P.G.Ch., Chap.; E. Armitage, P.D.G.D.C., S.W.; J. P. Simpson, S. Stew., as J.W.; W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C., Treas.; W. John Songhurst, A.G.D.C., Secretary; W. M. Bywater, P.G.S.B., D.C.; J. T. Thorp, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; G. Greiner, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., as I.G.; E. J. Castle, P.D.G.Reg., P.M.; and E. L. Hawkins.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle — Bros. Thos. Cohu, P.G.St.B.; A. Y. Mayell, H. H. Montague Smith, W. Howard-Flanders, S. S. Partridge, T. Ambler, R. Mannel, I. V. Henderson, J. W. Eisenman, W. A. S. Humphries, W. B. Hextall, E. M. Searle, J. M. Prillevitz, G. J. Gissing, G. H. Luetchford, Rev. M. Rosenbaum, W. C. Cave-Browne, R. Potter, Herbert Burrows, J. Walter Hobbs, W. F. Suttaford, R. Blount Lewis, W. J. Coles, John Church, H. F. Whyman, F. J. Eedle, S. R. Baxter, H. Bernard Watson, David Flather, G. Elkington, C. E. Turnbull, Horace Nelson, J. F. H. Gilbard, W. H. Harris, A. A. Milward, J. F. Roberts, G.Std.B.; J. C. Lyell, W. C. P. Tapper, Harry Guy, F. Mella, F. W. Levander, T. Leete, B. V. Darbishire, H. Hyde, T. Cato Worsfold, H. J. Dalgleish, W. L. Smith, J. I. Moar, G. R. D. Rust, R. J. Harrison, W. R. F. Smith, J. T. Phillips, J. Pullen, A. C. Forrester, W. Mercer, H. E. Brown, M. Thomson, J. Johnson, W. Wonnacott, W. R. Poole, Sydney Meymott, S. Walshe Owen, G. Vogeler, D. Bock, J. A. Richards, Lewis Wild, G. S. King, W. G. Linsell, G. G. Lean, E. W. Derry, W. S. Lincoln, R. S. Ellis and W. Hammond.

Also the following visitors—Bros. H. P. Kottmann, Lodge de Ster in t'Oosten, Batavia; Charles H. Watson, Queen's Westminster Lodge No. 2021; W. E. Soar, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661; H. E. Waring, Anglo-Colonial Lodge No. 3175; A. W. J. Russell, Royal Albert Hall Lodge No. 2986; James Stuart, Tweed Lodge (Kelso) No 261; John H. Tyars, Staines Lodge No. 2536; and U. L. Cooke, Addiscombe Lodge No. 1556.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were received from Bros. S. T. Klein, P.M.; Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.; W. J. Hughan, P.G.D.; E. Macbean, P.M.; Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, G.Tr., Ireland; H. F. Berry; Sir A. H. Markham, P.D.G.M., Malta; T. B. Whytehead, P.G.S.B.; E. Conder, jun., P.M.; H. Sadler, G.Ty., I.G.; J. P. Rylands; W. Watson; R. F. Gould, P.G.D.; L. A. de Malczovich; F. H. Goldney, P.G.D.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.G.O., J.D.; and E. H. Dring.

One Lodge and eighty-three brethren were admitted to the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

On ballot taken, Bro. Henry Fitzpatrick Berry, I.S.O., Asst. Keeper Public Records, Ireland, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Member of Royal Irish Academy, Fellow and Member of Council of Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland, etc., etc., P.M. Trinity College Lodge No. 357 (I.C.), P.K. University Chapter R.A., residing at 51, Waterloo Road, Dublin, author of "Sir Peter Lewys, Ecclesiastic, Cathedral and Bridge Builder and his Company of Masons," "The 'Marencourt' Cup and Ancient Square," etc., was elected a joining member of the Lodge.

It was resolved, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W.:

> "That Brother Robert Archibald Shirrefs having, for twelve years, been exceptionally active in New Jersey as the Local Secretary of the Quatuor Coronati Correspondence Circle, the Lodge cannot accept his resignation of that office without putting on record its sense of the valuable service which he has rendered, and its sincere regret that he has felt it incumbent upon him to retire, and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

A vote of congratulation was passed to Bros. Archdeacon Cunningham, Thomas Fraser, Sir F. S. Graham Moon, F. Broadsmith, A. Burnett Brown, T. Whitmore Chant, W. John Songhurst, C. J. Drummond, Col. J. A. Carpenter, J. F. Roberts and Walter H. Brown, on their having received Grand Lodge honours at the Grand Festival, held on the 24th of April.

Bro. E. J. Castle, P.M., gave notice that at the next meeting he would move:

> "That after the 30th November, 1907, the entrance fee for membership of the Correspondence Circle be 21s., to include the first year's subscription, future subscriptions remaining as at present."

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. Dr. J. T. Cheves, Plymouth.

Mark Jewel, made in the West Country about fifty years ago. The "Mark" is a representation of a greyhound, in frosted silver.

By Bro. Milnes Hey, London.

Bronze Finger-Ring. This was purchased by Bro. Milnes Hey at a village near Boppard, and was said to have been found in the bed of the River Rhine. It is probably of 16th-century make, and may have belonged to a member of some German guild.



By the Lodge.

Carved Tortoiseshell Snuff-Box of French make.

R.A. Breast Jewel, made for Jno. Molony, January 4th, 1815. In the centre of the interlaced triangles is an irradiated G.

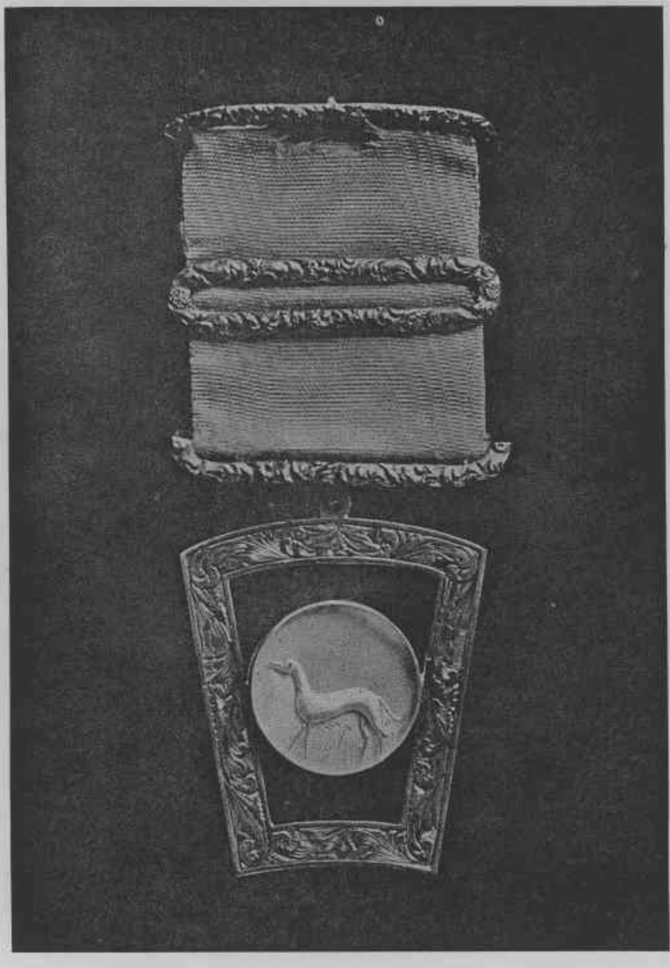
By Bro. Harry Guy, London.

Apron, probably Irish, late 18th century.

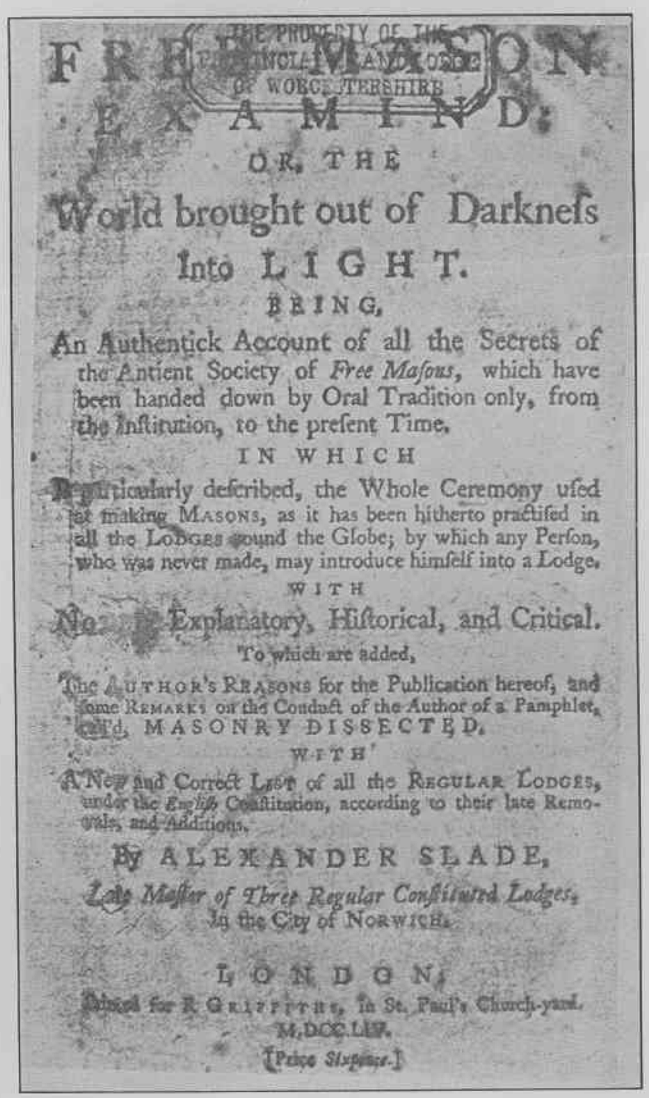
"French Prisoners'" Jewel, in stamped silver frame. The "Prince of Wales's feathers" at the back indicate the date of manufacture.

A vote of thanks was passed to those brethren who had lent objects for exhibition.

Bro. J. T. Thorp read the following paper:—



Old Mark Jewel in the possession of Bro. Dr. Cheves.



FREE-MASON
EXAMIN'D:
OR, THE
World brought out of Darkness
Into LIGHT.
BEING,
An Authentick Account of all the Secrets of the Antient Society of *Free Masons*, which have been handed down by Oral Tradition only, from the Institution, to the present Time.
IN WHICH
Is particularly described, the Whole Ceremony used at making MASONS, as it has been hitherto practised in all the LODGES round the Globe; by which any Person, who was never made, may introduce himself into a Lodge.
WITH
Notes, Explanatory, Historical, and Critical.
To which are added,
The AUTHOR'S REASONS for the Publication hereof, and some REMARKS on the Conduct of the Author of a Pamphlet, call'd, MASONRY DISSECTED.
WITH
A New and Correct LIST of all the REGULAR LODGES, under the *English* Constitution, according to their late Removals, and Additions.
By ALEXANDER SLADE,
Late Master of Three Regular Constituted Lodges,
In the City of NORWICH.
LONDON:
Printed for R. GRIFFITHS, in St. Paul's Church-yard.
M,DCC,LIV.
[Price *Sixpence*.]

Title Page of Slade's "Freemason Examin'd."

(*First Edition*, 1754.)

From the Original in the Library of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire.

FREEMASONRY PARODIED IN 1754

BY SLADE'S "FREEMASON EXAMIN'D."

BY BRO. J. T. THORP, F.R.Hist.S., *P.A.G.D.C.*

AMONG the host of spurious rituals or "exposures" which hampered and pestered Freemasonry throughout the eighteenth century, professing, as they did, to describe accurately the whole of the ritual and ceremonial of a Masonic Lodge, one publication stands out as quite separate and distinct from all others. Whilst the majority agree in many details, the later ones being probably copied from the earlier, this alone differs from the rest in every particular. It seems, therefore, desirable, as the pamphlet is rare, briefly to describe it, to endeavour to ascertain its origin, and the probable reason for its publication.

The following is the Title-page of this curious pamphlet, taken from the copy in the Library of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire, which is the only copy of the first edition I have been able to trace.

THE

FREE MASON

EXAMIN'D;

OR, THE

World brought out of Darkness

Into LIGHT.

BEING,

An Authentick Account of all the Secrets of the Antient Society of *Free Masons*, which have been handed down by Oral Tradition only, from the Institution, to the present Time,

IN WHICH

Is particularly described, the Whole Ceremony used at making MASONS, as it has been hitherto practised in all the LODGES round the Globe; by which any Person, who was never made, may introduce himself into a Lodge.

WITH

NOTES, Explanatory, Historical, and Critical.

To which are added,

The AUTHOR'S REASONS for the Publication hereof, and some REMARKS on the Conduct of the Author of a Pamphlet, call'd MASONRY DISSECTED.

WITH

A New and Correct LIST of all the REGULAR LODGES,
under the *English* Constitution, according to their
late Removals, and Additions.

By ALEXANDER SLADE,
Late Master of Three Regular Constituted Lodges,
In the City of NORWICH.

LONDON:
Printed for R. GRIFFITHS, in St. Paul's Church-yard.
M.DCC.LIV.
[Price *Sixpence.*]

Other editions followed rapidly, copies of five being still preserved, viz.:—

Second Edition, 1754, copies of which are in the British Museum and in the splendid Library of Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, of Dublin.

Fourth Edition, with additional Notes, 1754, the only copy I know of being in my own Library.

Fifth Edition, N.D., probably 1758, a copy of which is in my own Library.

Sixth Edition, N.D., probably 1758, copies being in Dr. Crawley's Library and also in my own.

Another Edition, published in 1770, was noted in the *Freemasons' Magazine* for 1859, p. 309, as "E. Stade, Freemason Examin'd, London, 1770," and Dr. Crawley thinks there was also a Dublin edition. Having collated the first, second, fourth, fifth and sixth editions, I have found them practically identical, the Notes in the later issues being somewhat fuller, and the lists of Lodges longer.

Since this paper was first prepared, about three years ago, a reprint of the Fifth Edition, bearing on the outer cover the date "1740," has been published by a second-hand bookseller of Leicester. The real date of this Fifth Edition is 1758, or later, inasmuch as the last Lodge in the list of Lodges at the end of the pamphlet is a "Lodge at Bombay, in East Indies, March 24th, 1758." The edition of this reprint, which was issued *without the list of Lodges*, consisted of one thousand copies, and having been extensively advertised, many have got into the hands of both Masons and non-Masons. As soon as I heard of the reprint, I called on the bookseller who owned the original, purchased and added it to my collection; it is the only copy of that edition I have been able to trace.

As a proof of the rarity of this pamphlet, I believe there has been, in the whole nineteen volumes of the *Transactions* of this Lodge, only one reference to this Nimrod Masonry. This was a short Note in vol. iv., p. 69, by Bro. John Yarker, on "Nimrod as Buck and Mason," in which he stated, "It is said that John Holt printed in New York, in 1768, the ritual of this Nimrod Masonry from a London copy," and briefly referred to the three degrees of the pamphlet.

Curiously enough, The Minor's Degree and The Officers Part are given *verbatim* as an appendix (p. 63-72) to "Hiram, or The Grand Master Key," 3rd edition, Dublin, *circa* 1764.

According to Bro. R. F. Gould, the spurious productions, to which I have referred, may be roughly divided into three groups, commencing in 1723, 1730 and 1755 respectively.[1]

Thus the First Group consisted of—

1. "*A Mason's Examination,*" which appeared in 1723, and is said to have caused a greater stir among the Masons than any subsequent "exposure."[2]
2. "*The Secret History of the Free-Masons,*" and
3. "*The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd,*" both of which were issued in 1724.[3]

The Second Group was composed of[4]—

4. "*The Mystery of Free-Masonry,*" and
5. "*Masonry Dissected,*" by Samuel Prichard, both of which were published in 1730.

The Third Group was much larger, and comprised[5]—

6. "*A Mason's Confession,*" 1755,
7. "*The Three Distinct Knocks,*" 1760,
8. "*A Master-Key to Free-Masonry,*" 1760,
9. "*Jachin and Boaz,*" 1762,
10. "*Hiram, or The Grand Master Key,*" 1764,
11. "*Shibboleth, or Every Man a Free-Mason,*" 1765,
12. "*Solomon in all his Glory,*" 1766,
13. "*M— B—, or the Grand Lodge Door Open'd,*" 1766,
14. "*Tubal Kain,*" *circa* 1767, and
15. "*The Free Mason Stripped Naked,*" *circa* 1769.

It was thus after the issue of the two first groups, but before the large third group appeared, that "*The Free Mason Examin'd*" was published and issued by Alexander Slade. Of this man I have not succeeded in obtaining much information. Almost all that we know of him he tells us himself, *viz.*, that he was "Late Master of Three Regular Constituted Lodges in the City of Norwich," although, according to his own statement, he was never legally initiated, It is highly probable that this statement is false, for Bro. G. W. G. Barnard, D.P.G.M. of Norfolk, informs me, that his name does not appear in the existing lists of Masters of the early Norwich Lodges, nor in any of the old minute-books, and the only reference to Slade, apart from the pamphlet, is on the print of " A Freemason Form'd out of the Materials of his Lodge, published Aug. 15, 1754, by W. Tringham, Castle Alley, Royal Exchange, price 6d., colour'd 1 shilling," which is marked " A. Slade delin," who may possibly be the same person.

I have sought in contemporary Masonic books for some reference to Alexander Slade, but absolutely without result. Both he and his " spurious ritual " had practically disappeared, when this unfortunate reprint brought him again into temporary prominence.

In the year 1754, the date of the first issue of the pamphlet, eight Lodges were in active work in the City of Norwich, viz. :—[6]

[1] *A.Q.C.*, 1903, vols. xvi., p. 35. [2] *Ibid*, p. 36. [3] *Ibid*, p. 37. [4] *Ibid*, p. 40.
[5] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xvi., p. 58. [6] *Vide* Lane's "Masonic Records," 2nd edit., 1895.

No. on List of Grand Lodge in 1754.	No. on Slade's List.	Meeting-place.	Days of Meeting.	Constituted.	
27,	19,	Three Tuns,	1st Thursday,	1724,	Erased in 1809.
131,	95,	King's Head,	Every other Thursday,	1736,	Still working.
198,	148,	Bear,	2nd and 4th Tuesday,	1747,	At Lowestoft since 1814.
199,	149,	Maid's Head,	2nd Thursday,	1748,	Erased in 1809.
205,	155,	Guild,	1st and 3rd Monday,	1750,	Erased in 1853.
207,	157,	Hole in the Wall,		1751,	Lapsed in 1805.
232,	181,	Castle and Lion,		1753,	At Harleston since 1854.
239,		Chequers,		1754,	Lapsed about 1800.

If we are disposed to accept Slade's statement, then three of these Lodges must have been honoured (?) by him presiding in them.

It is interesting to note that "M— B—," another of these "exposures," also emanated from the City of Norwich in 1766.

In his Address "To the Reader," with which the pamphlet commences, Slade, after declaring that the author of "Masonry Dissected" is quite unworthy of credit, proceeds to explain by what means he obtained the secrets of Freemasonry, having never been initiated. His father, he says, was made a Free-Mason about the year 1708, in the Lodge meeting at the *Goose and Gridiron* Ale-house in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and continued a member of that Lodge about 34 years. At his father's death, all his effects came into the possession of the son, among which, in a private drawer in a bureau, he discovered a document entitled *A Free Mason's Instruction,* which he studied and mastered. Settling soon after in the City of Norwich, an opportunity presented itself of testing his surreptitiously obtained knowledge, when he found himself accepted as a genuine Mason, received as a member of a local Lodge, and two years later was installed Master. In consequence of misfortune, of the character of which we are left in ignorance, he returned to London, where he was advised by some of his friends, who were not Masons, to publish this account of Freemasonry for a small support in his necessitous circumstances. All this is a common explanation and excuse by "Dissectors" and "Exposers," but how much truth it contains we shall probably never know.

There then follows, commencing on page 9, the professed explanation, which, following the lead of Prichard, Slade divides into three parts, viz., Part I., Call'd the Minor's Degree.; Part II., Call'd the Major's Degree; and The Officers Part, or Ceremony of Installment. All three parts consist, as in other similar professed "exposures," of catechism, a series of questions and answers as to the details of certain ceremonies, between a presiding officer and a candidate duly prompted or previously prepared.

The Officers in the working of the Lodge, as narrated and described by Slade, are six in number, viz.:—

Belus, the Master,
Sabas, the Superintendent,
Evilas, Sabathes, } the two Wardens,
Sabactas,[1] Ramus, } the two Deacons,

[1] Called "Sabactus" on p. 23.

and here there is a radical difference between this alleged "exposure," and all others which have come under my notice.

The names given to the officers of the Lodge are those of the six sons of Cush, the eldest son of Ham, and grand-son of Noah. The sons of Cush are variously named, *e.g.*, in Genesis x. and I. Chronicles i., they are called Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Sabtechah and Nimrod, while in Josephus—Ant. Bk. i., p. 34.—they are named Sabas, Evilas, Sabathes, Ragmus, Sabactas and Nimrod.

It is clear, therefore, that Slade adopted the names of his Lodge Officers from Josephus, substituting the name of Belus for Nimrod. For this he gives the following reason (p. 9):—

"*Nimrod*, which signifies a Rebel in the *Jewish* and *Chaldean* Languages, was the name given him by the Holy Family, and by *Moses*; but among his Friends in *Chaldea* he was called *Belus*, which signifies Lord; and afterwards was worshipped as a God by many Nations, under the name of *Bel*, or *Baal*, and became the *Bacchus* of the Antients, or *Bar-Chus*, the Son of *Chus*." This explanation is taken practically *verbatim* from the 1723 Book of Constitutions, p. 4.

Slade also explains (p. 23) that Belus, the youngest Brother of the six, became their Master "Because he was an active, enterprising Man, and was the first Person who proposed the Building of the Tower; he was likewise the original Projector of forming Men into Society, for which he will be always celebrated by the Masons, which is the most antient Society on Earth."

Now what do we know of Nimrod or Belus?

In Genesis x., we read, "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel [Babylon], and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Asshur [*or*, he went out into Assyria], and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."

Josephus writes thus of Nimrod and his share in the building of the Tower of Babel[1]:—

"Now the sons of Noah were three, . . . These first of all descended from the mountains into the plains, and fixed their habitation there; . . . Now the plain in which they first dwelt was called Shinar. God also commanded them to send colonies abroad for the thorough peopling of the earth, . . . but they were so ill instructed, that they did not obey God; . . . Now it was Nimrod who excited them to such an affront and contempt of God. . . . Now the multitude were very ready to follow the determination of Nimrod, . . . and they built a tower, neither sparing any pains, nor being in any degree negligent about the work; . . . When God saw that they acted so madly, . . . He caused a tumult among them, by producing in them divers languages; and causing that, through the multitude of those languages, they should not be able to understand one another. The place wherein they built the tower is now called Babylon; . . . After this they were dispersed abroad, on account of their languages, . . . But Nimrod, the son of Chus, stayed and tyrannized at Babylon."

In many of the "Old Charges," too, Nimrod is named as the earliest Builder in the world to organize workmen, and to place them under authority, subject to rules and regulations.

[1] Ant., Book i., chaps. 4, 5 and 6; Whiston's translation.

Thus in the "Grand Lodge No. 1 MS." of 1583, we read: "and at the making of the Tower of Babilon their was Massonrey made muche of. And the kyng of Babylon that heighte Nemroth was a masson himself and loved well the Crafte as yt said wth maist^rs^ of stories. And when the Cittie of Nynyvie & other Cities of the Est shoulde be made Nembroth the Kyng of Babylon sent thith^r^ fortie Massons at the Rogacon of the kyng of Nynyvie his Cossen. And when he sent them forth he gaue them A chardge on this manner that they should be trwe one to another & that they should live truely togither and that they should sve their Lorde truely for their paie so that their m^r^ maye haue woorship and all y^t^ long to him and other moe Chardges he gaue them. And this was the first tyme that eu' any Masson had any chardge of his Crafte."

This tradition was naturally introduced by Anderson into the historical portion of the first Book of Constitutions, published in 1723, while in the 1738 edition he designates Nimrod "Grand Master," and the Masons "Noachidæ," which, according to some old Traditions, was the first Name of Masons.[1] He also affirms, that the Confusion of Dialects "gave Rise to the *Masons* Faculty and universal Practice of conversing without speaking, and of knowing each other by *Signs* and *Tokens*."[2]

In "Masonry Dissected" which Slade condemns as unreliable, we are informed that "at the Building of the Tower of *Babel*, the Art and Mystery of Masonry was first introduced."[3] Indeed, in most Masonic writings of the first half of the eighteenth century, there is some reference to Nimrod and the Tower of Babel.

This continued association of Nimrod (or Belus) with the oldest traditions of Masonry, amply justified Slade in adopting him, and incorporating him and his work in the supposititious Lodge of Freemasons which he describes. It is quite clear that Slade obtained many of the details of Nimrod's work from the 1738 Book of Constitutions, a copy of which, although not a Mason, he would find no difficnlty in obtaining.

It will be well now to give a brief description of the catechism, calling attention to the special features of each part.

Part I.

Call'd the Minor's Degree.

Freemasonry began "About one hundred and fifty-four Years after *Noah's* Flood, at the building of *Babel's* Tower."

The Grand Master there was "*Nimrod*, called by Masons *Belus*."

The first Lodge was held "In a pleasant Plain of *Babylon*, called *Shinar*, on the Banks of the River *Tygris*."

The object of the Lodge was "to contrive and lay a Plan for a Building of Friendship, and also for the Building of that stupendous Edifice."

After the Confusion of Tongues, Belus assembled another Grand Lodge, and instructed his Men how to converse by Signs, etc. whereby they were capable of executing his future Designs." A note here explains that "This was what gave Rise to what is called Free-Masonry, being fifty-three years after the first Assembly or Lodge held. This Tradition is firmly believed."

The Success attending his Instructions was great, "for soon the Plain of *Shinar* became far more splendid than all other Parts, in the Magnificence of its Buildings."

[1] B. of C., 1738, p. 4. [2] B. of C., 1738, p. 6. [3] M. D., p. 3.

The first Injunctions *Belus* laid on the Masons were Silence, Secrecy and Brotherly Love. " Silence and Secrecy were enjoined us, that none but the Initiated should ever know our Art and Mystery; and Brotherly Love, that by our unparallel'd Esteem and Regard for each other's Welfare, and that of the Craft in general, our Fame might spread over the Face of the whole Earth and Waters, so that we might be remembered among the Sons of Men till Time shall be no more."

The Masons "travelled into *Assyria*, where they built several Cities, for which Reason *Belus* was called the Founder of that Monarchy: They afterwards dispersed, and multiplied over the Earth, and formed themselves into Lodges, in which they made, and instructed Masons, in the usual Manner."

Then follows this doggerel:—

" *Q.* In what Manner was you made ?
A. Tell me by what Authority
Thus strictly you examine me,
How I was made a Mason Free ?
Ex. From *Belus* great I had this Power,
Who laid the Plan of *Babel's* Tower;
Then who has such Authority
As I, who Master am to thee ?
A. Since from that mighty Man of Fame
The Pow'r you have, you justly claim;
From thee the Secret I'll not hide,
Who art my true and faithful Guide."

A catechism on the alleged ceremony of admission follows, the Candidate having been previously announced with a loud Voice, thus:—

" Here stands a Candidate for Masonry,
Who fain wou'd know our Art and Mystery:
Shew him the Light* by which we work, and then
Perhaps he'll learn the Art, like other Men.

* That is, Take him into your Care, and give him all due instructions."

The only details of the curious ceremony which need be here repeated, are, that the candidate was first stripped naked, and then " cloathed " by the Master " with the Badge of Innocence," which is described as "a loose white Garment, generally made of Holland, or some other fine Linnen, and sometimes of Silk." An oath was administered, during the taking of which the Master " held the Point of a Sword which he had in his Hand to my Throat." The Edge of the Sword was kissed to render the Oath binding, " as it was always esteemed by the Masons of old, that to swear by the Sword, was the most binding of all Obligations." The white robe was then taken off, the Candidate was "cloathed" by the Brethren, and "a white Leather Apron, to wear while at Work," was presented to him by the Master, who informed him that he " was now become a Fellow and Brother to Kings and Princes." Secrecy was enjoined, and he was told, that if importuned by his wife to reveal the secrets to her, he was to persuade her that there was " nothing more in it than a Set of Friends well met, and assembled to be merry, or tell her any Tale that is plausible."

This interrogation follows:—

" *Q.* What do you call yourself ?
A. A Minor.

Q. What is the chief Care and Business of a Minor?

A. The Minor's chief Care and Business, is to sharpen the Tools, clear the Shop from Rubbish, and sometimes to carry the Hod, &c. He is likewise to attend the Senior Brethren, to take Care that none enter but Masons, and to keep a watchful Guard all round the Lodge.

Q. Can you give me a Sign?

A. No, because Signs, Tokens and Words, we are not entrusted with, while we are in this Degree.

Q. Why so?

A. Because this is only a Degree of Probation, which all must pass thro', who are made Masons; it being necessary the Lodge should have some Trial of their Behaviour, before they are admitted into the next Degree.

Q. What Proof of their Behaviour is necessary?

A. The Proof they desire is this:
The Minor is enjoined to Secrecy
Before he can be made a Major Free;
Before he can receive the Major's Word,
He oft must guard the Lodge with flaming Sword:
He must be silent, sober, and discreet,
And to his Brethren all affectionate;
Then may he to great *Babel's* Tow'r repair,
And on him take a Major's Character.

Q. Are you desirous of knowing the Major's Secrets?

A. Yes.

Ex. Your good Behaviour alone will not obtain them.

A. By that alone they could not be obtain'd,
But I by that a Golden Signet gain'd;
Which will admit Me into that Degree,
That I may work among the Major's Free.

Q. What is that Signet?

A. A Ring.

Ex. Produce it.

A. Behold it here. [Here he shows the Ring.]

Ex. Attend my Brethren all that round me stand,
While I obey great *Belus*' dread Command,
Our Brother here, upon Examination,
Desires I'll place him in a higher Station;
A Minor's Character has well maintain'd,
And answer'd all things well; by which he's gain'd
The Signet rare, which *Belus* did ordain
For such as could the Minor's Art attain,
That they may to the Tow'r repair, and be
Receiv'd to work among the Majors Free.
'Tis then my Will and Pleasure, that he may
Begin to work, and enter into Pay."

This Note follows at the end of Part the First.

> "N.B. A Minor is always thus examined before his Admission into the Major's Degree; which Examination, if he cannot learn, he must give every Member of the Lodge, a Pair of Gloves for himself, and a Pair for his Wife, which will entitle him to the Ring before-mentioned; which he must have, it being a Warrant for his Admission; but he must not commit any Part of this to Writing, because it may be exposed, by Negligence or Accidents. [Witness this Book.]"

Some extracts from the second Part must also be given.

PART II.

Call'd the MAJOR'S DEGREE.

The points in this Degree, to which attention should be called, are the following, viz.:—

The Major's Degree was obtained by virtue of a Signet, earned by "good Behaviour, and also after a true and just Examination."

The Examination was conducted "in a secret Arbour, on the Banks of the *Tygris.*" In a Note we are informed, that "The secret Arbour is a Room joining to the Lodge; and the operative Free Masons when they are employ'd in any great Building, have a Shed near it, which they call the Arbour, here they keep their curious Tools, Utensils, &c., and likewise examine strange Brethren, here they also retire at Noon, in sultry Weather to refresh, and sometimes to instruct each other."

The Art of Masonry is "cutting Stone, according to Geometry, by means of Square, Level and Plumb, and cementing them to each other; and also the Art of Examination, by which one Mason may know another."

The Examination was conducted by Sabas, who afterwards led the Candidate "round the Tower, and then knocked at the Brazen Gate nine Times. . . . In Order that the Watchman of the Gate might know, that he had been with me round the Tower, which was nine Miles." The diameter of the Tower was three miles, its height 5146 paces. "The Passage that went to the Top, was on the Outside, and, like a Winding Stair-Case, of a very great Breadth, so that Camels and Carriages might go up and down, and turn with Ease"; 500,000 men were employed on the work for 53 years.[1] The reason this Tower was built so very extensive was "to make them a great Name, and also to save them from a second Deluge."

The Candidate was led to Belus, who charged him—

To obey the Master, Superintendent, Wardens and Deacons of the Lodge; to submit to their Directions, and do his "Daily Task with Freedom, Cheerfulness and Sobriety."

To "behave like a true Noachidæ, and instruct the younger Brethren, using all Endeavours to increase Brotherly Love."

To be cautious in his "Words and Carriage, that the most penetrating Stranger may not discover or find out, what is not proper to be intimated."

To prudently and cautiously examine strangers.

To "relieve your distressed Brethren, if it is in your Power, or else direct them how they may be relieved." To "employ them, or recommend them to be employed, always preferring a poor Brother, that is a good Man and true, before any other poor Person whatever."

[1] Some of these details are taken from Herodotus, Bk. i.

To "be a peacable Subject, and conform chearfully to the Government . . . be a good Parent, and a good Husband, loving your Wife as yourself. . . . "

The Candidate was then instructed in the Nature of Signs, Tokens and Words. Two Signs, two Tokens and two Words belong to the Major's Degree.

The first Sign is "by pointing the Fore-Finger of his Right-Hand to his Mouth, which is an Emblem of Silence."

The second Sign is "by drawing his Hand across his Mouth, which is much like the former, and likewise signifies Silence or Secrecy; but some other Traditions affirm, that this is of later Date than *Babel*, and that it took its Rise from the Story of *Sampson*, *Judges* xv., who, after he had slain a Thousand with the Jaw-Bone of an Ass, he was sore athirst, and he prayed, and behold a Spring proceeded from a Rock, called the Jaw, by reason of this Exploit; the Masons, after this, frequently used this Method of asking a Brother to drink, by drawing their Hand across their Mouth, or Under-Jaw."

The first Token "is given by shaking Hands, and, at the same Time, pressing the Fore-Finger hard into the Palm of the other's Hand."

The second Token "is likewise given by shaking Hands, and at the same Time placing the Fore-Finger on one Side the other's Wrist, and the Middle-Finger on the other."

The first Word "EUREKA, which signifies Truth, or Fidelity, is very properly used by the Masons, as a Tessera, or Watch-Word, to distinguish those they stile True and Faithful; and its often occurring amongst them, reminds them of that Secrecy they undertake to observe, and which, to do them Justice, they have so religiously preserved, even to a Proverb."

The second Word is "Philadelphia, or Brotherly Love. This their second Word, must likewise be allowed no less judiciously chosen, and doubtless has inspired and given Rise to many generous Acts of Esteem and Benevolence among them."

Belus then presented the Candidate "with the Square, Level, Plumb-Rule, and Compass."

"That we may work both regular and true,
And Virtue's Paths most ardently pursue;
For by these Tools we learn Morality,
As well as learn the Art of Masonry."

The form of the Lodge was a Circle, "Because the Foundation of the Tower was a Circle." The Brethren stood in a circle, "*Belus* the Master, and *Sabas* the Superintendent, stood diametrically opposite; *Evilas* and *Sabathes*, the two Wardens, and *Sabactas* and *Ramus*, the two Deacons, stood opposite likewise. Though Six are a sufficient number to make a Lodge; yet in Fact it is not regular, without being form'd by the Grand Master's Warrant, and the Regular Lodges are not to countenance them, 'till they make due Submission and obtain Grace."

Then follow these lines:—

"*Ex.* If thou to *Babel's* Tow'r hast been,
And hast our first Grand Master seen;
Of that same Tow'r thou had'st the Plan,
From that renown'd and mighty Man.

A. The Plan of *Babel's* Tow'r I have,
Which last of all great *Belus* gave.

Ex. Welcome loving faithful Brother,
Thou well hast answer'd all;
If we keep true to one another,
The Craft will never fall."

N.B.—" When a Mason is admitted into this Degree, a Tower is raised in the Lodge-Room, about eight Feet high, and in some of the Grand Lodges, it is really a very curious Piece of Workmanship; it is made of Wood, and though in many Pieces, can be raised in about two Hours; the Joints being made to fit with great Ease, and such Exactness that they are scarcely perceptible. A Plan of this Tower is likewise given him at the same Time."

The

Officers Part;

or

Ceremony of Installment

is very short, occupying only two pages of the pamphlet.

The principal points are these:—

The following Tools belong to the Officers. "*Belus*, the Master, wears the Compass, pendent, in a white Ribbon, round his Neck; *Sabas*, the Superintendent, wears the Square; *Evilas* and *Sabathes*, the two Wardens, wear the Level and Plumb-Rule, and *Sabactas* and *Ramus*, a twenty-four Inch-Rule in each of their Hands."

The officers were installed in the Observatory on the top of the Tower.[1] "In this Observatory the Plan of Free Masonry was laid by *Belus* only, and then he instructed his Officers in the Art, after which he assembled a general Lodge, and with the Assistance of the Officers he convey'd the Method of conversing by Signs, Tokens, &c. to the whole Assembly."

The officers have a secret word, communicated thus—

" On my two Knees he order'd me to kneel,
Before he could the secret Word reveal;
A Word to all but Officers unknown,
Because we give it when we are alone;
The Word is *Belus*, be it known to thee,
'Twas that great Man gave Birth to Masonry."

The foregoing, then, is a brief outline of this curious production, the advent of which, we may be sure, caused considerable surprise to the members of the Masonic Fraternity, even if it did not also arouse their mirth, while the uninitiated or popular world, which believed that in the "exposures" hitherto current, the whole secrets of Freemasonry had already been revealed, would perhaps begin to have a lurking suspicion that, after all, it had been duped by previous writers.

I do not propose to discuss the details of the ceremony as described in the extracts I have quoted, nor the valuable side-lights they contain. These cannot but

[1] Cf. Book of Constitutions, 1756, p. 9.

prove of considerable interest to the student of the so-called "exposures" of past times, while the many curious points of resemblance, and of difference, are full of suggestion to every thoughtful Mason. It will, I think, be more useful to endeavour to ascertain the motive which prompted its production, for which purpose consider for a moment the condition of Freemasonry at the date of its original publication, viz., 1754.

The middle of the eighteenth century was a time of great unrest among the Freemasons of England. The "Antients" Grand Lodge had just been established, and had made a good beginning, thirty-six Lodges,[1] having been constituted by the end of the year 1754. The absence abroad of Lord Byron, the Grand Master of the "Moderns," and the discontinuance of the Quarterly Communications tended still further to unsettle the Lodges, so that it causes us no surprise to find, that in the space of eleven years—1745 to 1755—no less than fifty-three Lodges [2] had, from one cause or another, been erased from the Roll. The advent of "A Mason's Examination," in 1723, had caused a great stir, and Freemasonry was, in consequence, so much discussed by Masons and others, that when Prichard published his "Masonry Dissected" in 1730, four editions were required within thirty days to satisfy the public demand, and by the year 1754 it had run to nearly twenty editions. If we accept as an axiom, that it is the demand for any article that produces a supply, then there was clearly a wide-spread interest in these publications, either because they did really contain some useful information for the members of the Fraternity, or because they professed, and were believed, to contain such, and consequently were sought out and purchased both by Masons and non-Masons, for there is nothing like a little mystery to stimulate curiosity. It is true that "Masonry Dissected" was contemptuously described by D. G. M. Blackerby "as a foolish thing not to be regarded,"[3] but nevertheless the sale of it continued, and the demand being there, the supply naturally followed. The "Scald Miserables," a body organised and directed about 1741 to 1745,[4] by a few disappointed members of the Craft, had also done their utmost to bring discredit on Freemasonry by their mock processions, which could not fail to deter many desirable recruits from joining the Fraternity. All these things combined must have tended seriously to unsettle the Brotherhood. Some Brethren would, no doubt, retire altogether, disgusted by the unenviable prominence given thereto by these attempts to crush the Society out of existence, or if that should prove impossible, so to damage its reputation, that no one with any self-respect would care to be openly associated therewith; while others, still continuing their membership, would take at best a luke-warm interest in the Society and its concerns. This was the condition of Freemasonry when, in 1754, "The Freemason Examin'd" was published by Alexander Slade.

Now, is it possible to ascertain the object and purpose of the publication of "The Freemason Examin'd"? No one would take the trouble and incur the expense of producing such a work without some definite object in view, which to his mind fully warranted the expenditure of time and money. Three hypotheses suggest themselves:—

Firstly—That the statement contained in the title-page of the pamphlet is true, and that this curious production really represented the ritual and ceremonial, if not of all, at any rate of some, Masonic Lodges actively at work in 1754. As there is no corroboration anywhere, as far as I know, of the statement referred to, and very many reasons for disputing it, I think this may be dismissed without much consideration.

[1] Vide Lane's "Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges," p. 136.
[2] Ibid, pp. 44, 45, 48.
[3] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xvi., p. 41.
[4] *A.Q.C.*, vol. viii., p. 137.

Secondly—That it was published with the express intention of bringing ridicule upon the Grand Lodge of the "Antients," by attributing its foundation to the semi-mythical period of Nimrod and the Tower of Babel. Reference has already been made in this paper to the establishment of this Grand Lodge in 1751, and to the extra-ordinary success which had attended the organisation. It is well known that this body claimed to perpetuate the "old working," which it declared the earlier Grand Lodge, designated by it the "Moderns," had discontinued. Is it not quite within the bounds of possibility, that the publication of the pamphlet was intended as a counterblast to this claim, with the express object of inducing those who became possessed of a copy, to accept it as a true and faithful exposition of the working of this recently-established Grand Lodge, and thus to bring it into ridicule on account of the claim it made to a remote antiquity?

Thirdly—That it was an ingenious and cleverly-constructed parody of the work generally practised in the Masonic Lodges of the time, with the object of misleading those into whose hands a copy of Prichard's "Masonry Dissected," or other "exposure," had fallen. As I have previously stated, about twenty editions of "Masonry Dissected" had already, by the year 1754, been issued from the Press, so that many copies of that pamphlet must have been in the possession of those who were not Masons, and who would not fail to use their surreptitiously obtained knowledge for the irritation, annoyance and hurt of the genuine members of the Fraternity. It can easily be imagined that a publication on fresh lines altogether, and differing in every detail from "Masonry Dissected," and from other productions of a similar kind, would create confusion in the minds of those who read them, and tend to cast serious doubts on the genuineness of Prichard's work. From Slade's reference to Prichard as a "sham Dissector of Free-masonry," it is clear that there was a desire thus to discredit him and his work, and to induce those who had accepted Prichard's pamphlet as a genuine revelation, to discard it for the new version, or even to throw both aside as equally unworthy of credence.

Whatever the motive, the fact remains that four editions were issued from the Press during the year 1754, indicating a considerable demand for the pamphlet; the author's object being probably thereby fully attained.

The whole object and purpose of the production of "The Freemason Examin'd" is shrouded in mystery, and I shall be pleased if this enquiry of mine should lead to some reasonable solution of the problem thus placed before us.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Thorp for his interesting paper.

Bro. W. B. HEXTALL *writes*:

The mention of Nimrod and Belus in the pre-1738 Constitutions seems to stand thus. In "*The Old Constitutions*," 1722, it is "Nemorth." In "*The Constitutions of the Freemasons*," 1723, accompanying "Nimrod the Founder of that Monarchy," (Shinar and Assyria,) is a footnote, "Nimrod, which signifies a Rebel, was the name given him by the Holy Family, and by Moses; but among his Friends in Chaldea, his proper Name was Belus, which signifies Lord; and afterwards was worshipped as a God by many Nations, under the name of Bel or Baal, and became the Bacchus of the Ancients, or Bar Chus, the Son of Chus." "*A Book of the Ancient Constitutions*," 1726, has, "the King of Babylon, the mighty Nimrod, was a Mason himself," whilst "*The Constitutions of the Free Masons*," Dublin, 1730, incorporates bodily into its text (with an immaterial

transposition of words) the above footnote of 1723. Turning from our early Craft histories, Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1154) says that the London Billingsgate was built by "Belin, a King of the Britons, about 400 B.C.," and that from him it took its name: and Stow adopts this in his "*Survey of London,*" published 1598. In 1715, John Bagford (letter in Leland's *Collectanea*) records an ancient custom followed by porters at Billingsgate, and adds, "I believe this was done in memory of some old image that formerly stood there, perhaps of Belus or Belin." In Habben's "*London Street Names,*" (1896) is the following: "Billingsgate . . . is believed to be indebted for its name to one Belin, a Saxon, evidently of some repute, although there is no direct evidence repecting him, who settled by the old Roman watergate. The descendants of himself or of a common ancestor were widely spread, having settlements at Billinge (Lancashire), Billingham (Hants), Billingshurst (Sussex), Billingley (Shropshire), Billington (Beds.), and at some half-dozen other places." If for any reason it was desired to furnish an alternative appellation for Nimrod in the 1723 Constitutions, and such was the work of London writers, then either association of ideas in minds acquainted with local tradition, or unconscious cerebration, may explain the "Belus" of our early Masonic works; and the more, as that name ranges so well with "Bel" or "Baal," with which it was bracketed.

There are fuller references to Belin and Belinus in Dr. George Oliver's "*Religious Houses formerly situated on the River Witham,*" and "*Remains of the Ancient Britons . . . . between Lincoln and Sleaford,*" both dated 1846, where he says—citing authorities, some before 1717—that Belin was the British name of their chief Diety, the Sun, and identical with Hee: there being a triad, "Hesus-Thamis-Belenus, unus tantummodo Deus;" and "Hee and Beli constitute but one character. The latter is certainly the Celtic god Belinus, mentioned by Ansonius, and expressly identified with Apollo, the solar divinity." Historically, Oliver relates of Belinus that both he and Brennus, who accomplished the sack of Rome, were the sons of Molmutius, or Dunwallo Moluncius, who flourished A.M. 3529, and "planned the four great roads in Britain, the Foss and the Hermen, the Watling and the Ikeneld streets, which were completed by Belin his son;" and that at the division of Britain between Belinus and Brennus, A.M. 3574, it was proposed that Belinus should have all England south of the Humber and Cambria, and Brennus from the Humber to Caithness in Scotland.

A fair conclusion seems to be that the names Bel, Belin, or Belinus, were ready to the hands of early Masonic historians, with enough of legendary and historic flavour attaching to account for their selection and appropriation.

Additional references to the subject of Bucks and Nimrod Masonry will be found in *A.Q.C.*, iv., 69, by Bro. John Yarker, and xii., 145, by Bro. W. H. Rylands.

Bro. W. JOHN SONGHURST *writes*:—

I am not at present prepared to accept the theory that Slade's "Freemason Examin'd" was intended as a parody of the Masonic ceremonies in use at the time of its publication. Certainly many arguments might be brought forward in favour of this view, but I fancy it may hereafter be found that the history of the building of the Tower of Babel played a prominent part in early Masonic ceremonial. There are several references here and there which appear to give some colour to the idea.

As Bro. Rylands has shown in his interesting paper on the "Bucks," (*A.Q.C.*, vol. iii., p. 140,) Nimrod was closely connected with that Society as well as with the "Society of Leeches," in the one case because he is described as a "mighty hunter," and in the other because he is stated to have brought the "vintage to perfection." In

Anderson's rhyming "History of Masonry," printed in full in the 1723 Book of Constitutions, Nimrod is given as prominent a place in Part II., as Solomon is in Part III., though it must be admitted that in another song of a later date it is stated that "he was no excellent Mason."

The degree of "Noachite, or Prussian Knight" is based upon legends connected with the Tower of Babel though the ritual of 1768 bears very little resemblance to that printed by Slade.

The Tower of Babel figures on old "tracing-boards" and jewels in such a manner as to leave little doubt that it was at some time an important symbol in Freemasonry. I therefore think it is possible that Slade's publication may contain something which if not actually in use in his day had been worked at an earlier period in some such manner as he describes.

Bro. J. C. Brookhouse *writes:—*

The very interesting paper read by Bro. Thorp upon Slade's "Freemason Examined" leads on to a further consideration beyond the "exposure" itself, for a later author has seized the matter therein contained, has attribnted the ritual to an actual society and has gone so far as to give a history, certainly rather sketchy but a history none the less, of the masonic body working the ceremonies which are thereby laid open.

Among the modern books which have at various times and with various motives professed to publish to the world our secrets, "The Mysteries of Freemasonry," by John Fellows, A.M., is one of the best known; the edition in my hands was published in London and bears date 1866. The section of interest in this connection runs from the middle of page 324 to the foot of page 327 and is headed "The order of Noachites or Chevaliers Prussian."

Mr. Fellows opens his account of this order by stating that there is reason to believe that it was instituted by the ancient Prussians and that it claims priority over that of the Freemasons of England. He continues that the ceremonies of the Noachites seem to have served in some measure as a model upon which those of Freemasonry were founded. Next there appear some extracts from Polish and Prussian history with the suggestion that the order was evidently a military organization and undoubtedly intended as a rallying point for the recovery of the civil and religious liberties of the nation, and a statement that the society was probably founded in the year 1000. A short quotation from Bernard follows:—"The Grand Master-General of the Order, whose title is Chevalier Grand Commander, is Frederick William, King of Prussia. His ancestors, for 300 years, have been protectors of this Order. The Knights were formerly known by the name of Noachites.

"The Noachites, formerly called Prussian Chevaliers, are descended from Peleg, the Grand Architect of the Tower of Babel, their origin being more ancient than that of the Masons descended from Hiram. The Knights assembled on the night of the full moon in the month of March (the vernal equinox) in a secret place, to hold their Lodges; and they cannot initiate a candidate into the mysteries of this Order unless by the light of the moon."[1]

So much for the quotation from Bernard; we return to the ingenious Mr. Fellows, whose next paragraph deserves to be set out in full.

"Great innovations have been introduced into the ceremonies of this Order. I have a copy of its ritual, which, from its antiquity and Druidical style, may be presumed

[1] This is apparently taken from *Les Plus Secrets Mystères des hauts grades de la Maçonnerie dévoilés*, &c., 1768, in which the description of the grade of *Le Noachite, ou Chevalier Prussien* is said to be translated from the German by M. de Berage.

genuine. It was reprinted from a London copy, by John Holt, New York, 1768. As a curiosity, and as bearing a relationship to the ancient mysteries, I will give an abstract of it."

Here we may pause a moment. What a magnificent thing is a well-constructed and artistic lie! A pretended *exposé* written by a probably pseudonymous author—for no trace of Slade remains—rises upon stepping stones of its dead editions to higher things, and, crossing the Atlantic, becomes a ritual of a Prussian Order of Knights presumably genuine and at any rate distinguished for its antiquity and Druidical style. The only literary episode with which I can compare this is the discovery by Mark Twain of his Jumping Frog story in the original Greek.

We next arrive at a very brief paragraph to the effect that the Order consists of two degrees, Minor and Major; the officers forming what masonically might be termed a Chapter to which other members were not admitted. This Chapter comported with the Royal Arch of Freemasonry, for there the secret word, Belus, was revealed, which, we are assured, is the same as Osiris, personated by Hiram.

At this point the historical part of the description closes, and the ritual, abridged considerably, is reached.

It opens with the Minor's Degree, and while certain quotations and answers are omitted in the abridgement every detail given accords almost verbatim with Slade's pamphlet. The question, "Are you desirous of knowing the Major's secrets," with the following questions and answers to the close of this part, appear in full, but curiously no ritual of the Major's part is added. Mr. Fellows proceeds at once to the "Ceremony of Installment of Officers," which similarly is in Slade's words so far as it goes, for it also is abridged.

If I might be allowed in conclusion to hazard a suggestion as to a possible object and purpose actuating the original publisher of the pamphlet, it would be this. Shortly before the issue of the "Freemason Examined" five separate various spurious rituals or exposures had appeared, of which all had created a stir, and more than one had run into many editions, to the no small profit of the persons concerned, demonstrating a demand for such matter. In this case the whole ritual is absolutely at variance with Masonic work, and we cannot trace any Masonic connexion in its originators—may it not have been a pure "fake," issued as an *exposé* in order to sell (a purpose it achieved, as it ran to six editions in England, in addition to one each apparently at Dublin and New York) somewhat on a par with George Psalmanasar's account, alleged to be true, but in fact fictitious, of the Isle of Formosa?

The Worshipful Master said:—

Although it is proverbially difficult to prove a negative, I am not disposed to accept Alexander Slade's statement that he presided over three Norwich Lodges. I have carefully examined all such records of the Norwich Lodges working at that date as have come down to us, and can corroborate the statement of Bro. G. W. G. Barnard, D.P.G.M., that Slade's name does not occur in any of them. These records, however, are very defective. It is possible of course that the author adopted a pseudonym, and might have served three Masterships under his real name. I therefore examined the lists to see if I could find the name of any Bro. who had been Master of three Lodges before 1754, but failed to do so. I did, however, discover two Brethren who had each served as Masters of two Lodges, viz., Bro. Thomas Craske, who was W.M. of No. 27 in 1746, and of No. 199 in 1749; and Bro. Richard Twiss, who was W.M. of No. 27 in 1748, and of No. 199 in 1751. Of Bro. Craske I know nothing further. Bro. Richard

Twiss was a Mason of some eminence, for he was twice selected by the Grand Master, Lord Byron, to represent him in the "*Deputation*" for the act of constituting two new Lodges, viz., the Union Coffee House Lodge, Norwich, in 1748, and the Angel Lodge at Yarmouth in 1751; it appears to me therefore extremely improbable that Bro. Twiss would have been the man to publish a parody of Freemasonry under a false name. I think that we may safely assume that Alexander Slade had nothing to do with Norwich, and only assumed a connection with what was then a somewhat remote province in order to disguise his real identity.

It is somewhat significant that in his enumeration of the Officers of a Lodge Slade mentions two Deacons. This seems to me to indicate that he belonged to, or at all events was familiar with the working of the "Antients," who alone at that period had Deacons as Officers of a Lodge.

I should like to ask Bro. Thorp if he can account for the date 1740, given on the outer cover of the recent reprint of Slade's pamphlet.

Bro. Canon Horsley said:—

With regard to Bro. Thorp's three hypotheses, the first I agree is not worthy of consideration. As regards the second I think that had its intention been to bring ridicule on the "Antient" Grand Lodge by extravagant historical claims, possibly an exactly contrary effect might have been produced, considering the ignorance and gullibility of Masons in the middle of the eighteenth century. His third hypothesis is of course tenable; but on the whole I incline to suggest a fourth, namely, that the brochure was a bit of pure invention prompted by pure greed. Seeing how eager and gullible the public was, as shown by the issue of four editions of another "exposure" in thirty days, Slade seems to me to have said, "*Populus vult decipi, decipiatur ergo.* There is money in this. Humbug will bring grist to the mill."

Bro. J. T. Thorp thanked the Brethren for the vote of thanks, and replied to the criticisms as follows:—

I am pleased that my Paper has been the means of calling forth some Notes, but there is still ample scope for more criticism.

Although I am still inclined to consider the production as a parody of Freemasonry, there is very much to be said in support of the theory that it was the ritual of an eighteenth century Society, established, perhaps, by some discontented "operative" Masons, in opposition to the Grand Lodge of England. That such Societies existed is well-known, and, inasmuch as the account of Nimrod and the Tower of Babel occupied a very prominent position in all old Masonic documents, and may even have been incorporated in the early rituals of the Craft, they would naturally lend themselves as a foundation for the ritual of such a Society.

The adoption of the date—1740—for the reprint is easily accounted for. The pamphlet from which the reprint was made would, if complete, have ended with a list of Lodges, occupying pages 28 to 32. This list was not reprinted, as the whole of the last leaf—pp. 31 and 32—was missing, and only a very small portion of the penultimate leaf—pp. 29 and 30—remained. The last Lodge on this small fragment was, "117, The Third Lodge, Calcutta, in East India, 1740." Hence the adoption of 1740 instead of the proper date.

With respect to "Deacons," these officers were appointed in Chester as early as 1743, although as a rule they were unknown in "Moderns" Lodges until the Union in 1813.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE TEMPLARS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND FOR HERESY, ETC., A.D. 1307-11.

TAKEN FROM THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE PERIOD.

BY BRO. E. J. CASTLE, K.C., *P.M.*

PART 2.

IN the previous part I. (see pp. 47-70) an account was given of the causes that led to the arrest of the Templars, both in England and France. It may be remembered that the English Templars were confined in the Tower of London, and in York and Leicester Castles in the country, and Dublin Castle in Ireland. For some time nothing beyond their arrests seems to have been done, until, as we have seen, the Pope sent over the Abbot of Latigniaco and the Canon of Narbonne with Bulls addressed to the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, etc., already referred to, and a copy of the questions the same as those upon which the French Templars were to be examined.[1] In France, as we have seen, torture was freely used, but in England it was not, at least until the end of the examinations, when it appears to have been applied on one or two occasions. The examination of the witnesses was regulated and controlled by the Council held by the Archbishops and Bishops in London, York, etc., and the depositions as taken down were apparently returned to these Councils and kept amongst their records, and have been printed in Wilkins' *Concilia Magna*, vol. ii., from which source the following extracts have been taken:—

London.

[2]The first examination of the Templars took place on Friday, before the feast of St. Luke, in the month of October, 1309, in the Church of Holy Trinity, before the Bishop of London and those venerable men D. by the divine permission Abbot of Latigniaco and Siccard de Vauro, Canon of Narbonne, Chaplain of My Lord Pope, &c. It appears that the Templars detained in the Tower[3] were examined, except those sick and infirm, and the articles contained in the Pope's Bull were exhibited to them in the Latin, Anglican and Gallic tongues, upon these they were to be examined and were admonished, willingly &c. to tell the full and whole truth, and then the Bishop and Inquisitors told the Templars about the citation that all Templars in the city and diocese should appear in the Bishop's hall on the next Monday. At the request of the Templars this day was changed to the next day.

[1] These questions will be given in an appendix.

[2] *Wilkins* (2) p. 334.

[3] There is a list of the names of the Templars sent to the Tower of London from the different counties. Amongst others were the Grand Master Willielmas de la More, Bro. Himbertus Blancke, Foreign Preceptor for Auvergne (Alvernia), Radulphus de Barton, Priest and Prior of the New Temple, London. It appears that Blancke, who really led the defence in England, was subsequently confined by himself in Newgate. Blancke was evidently recognised by the Inquisitors as being their real opponent, for he was not only confined alone, but the Process is said to be against him and others, and he was the only one ordered by the Bishops to be imprisoned, etc. Yet he must have had friends who thought him wronged. For it will be seen that on the death of the English Master, Moore, his pension was transferred to Blancke.

On this Tuesday, being the 21st October, there appeared before the Bishop and others Radulphus de Barton, who was the Master of the New Temple in London, Himbertus Blancke, the Preceptor of Auvergne (Alvernia), the leader of the defence in England, with several others, and William de la Moore, the Master or Preceptor of England. By these, the articles in the Bull being expounded, the same were promptly denied, upon which the Bishop and Inquisitor adjourned the proceedings, either to be held in Holy Trinity, or elsewhere, as they might consider expedient.

On the 10 Cal Nov. (23 Oct.) William Raven, one of those mentioned above, was examined upon the mode of his reception, on the next day Hugo de Tadcaster, and on the third Thomas le Chamberlain.

Wm. Raven said he was received five years before, in Coombe, in the diocese of Bath, by William de la Moore and others. He said he asked the brethren to admit him for the service of God and the blessed Virgin Mary, and to end his life in their service. He was asked if this was a firm desire and he said yes, and he was afterwards told of the hardships of the Order, and he swore obedience, not to hold property, chastity, &c., not to put violent hands on anyone, except in self defence or against the Saracens, and he had afterwards the rules read to him. Asked if after this he made any other professions, secretly or openly, he said no.

The Examiners ordered Edmund de Vesey and William de Herdly, the jailors of the brethren, that they were in no way to allow this brother, William, to be with his brethren, nor to speak with them, or any of them, lest they might guess what had been done or should be done in the matter, under the penalty of the greater excommunication.

[1]Hugo de Tadcaster said he was received at Flaxflete, Yorkshire diocese, by W. de la Moore, a little after sunrise, no secular person was present, nor was it customary for any such person to be present at the reception, and he then described the way he was received. He had been the *claviger*, and he asked to be admitted. He had the rigours of the order explained to him and he swore to keep the three principal oaths of the order and to keep the good and praiseworthy customs of the Order, &c. He said he had seen Philip de Mews, a knight, received, and he was received in the same way that he was, and in no other way were the brethren received.

Thomas le Chamberlain said he had been six years in the Order, and he said he believed the same mode of reception was used here and over the seas, &c. He said he had seen others received as he was. He said he had heard of the matter set out in the Pope's Bull for the first time two years ago. Asked if he believed these things to be true about which the Lord Pope, the Cardinals and Inquisitors had testified, he said he did not believe it.

The Examiners now determined to examine the heads of the order, and on 6 Cal Nov. (27 Oct.) Radulphus de Barton, Priest, the Master of the New Temple in London, was sworn upon the Holy Gospels, his oath is given at some length in the depositions. He was to speak the truth for himself and as principal, and all the articles were put to him one by one, and the depositions generally state that he replied to them by the word *non* only. With regard to the first, the deposition is, "asked upon the 1st Article, which begins: *Primo quod in recepcione sua, &c.*" He denied one by one the contents in all parts of the article. To the question whether the Chapters were held in daytime or at night, he answered during the day. Notwithstanding that some of the depositions were put together, as in Articles 52, 53, 54, 55, 56 and 57, he denied all their contents (*Omnia in eis contenta negavit*). He only got as far as No. 57 on the first

[1] *Ibid* p. 335.

day. It appears there were present witnesses besides the Bishop and Inquisitors, Radulphus of Canterbury, Prior of Holy Trinity, and Brother John de Wrotham, Prior of London, and Brother Peter de Kenington, Reader and Master of Sacred Theology of the Preaching Friars, and Robert de Basingstoke, of the Minor Friars.

[1]On the morrow, 27th Nov., Barton was examined on the rest of the Articles, which only numbered up to 87, as given in the proceedings in England. All these Barton explicitly denied, where they could be so answered, except he said in answer to No. 82, which stated that many of the Brethren, Knights and Priests had confessed to the Pope, he had only heard of this confession from Bernard Pelet (sent over by Philip) but, however, he believed the Brethren had so confessed as the Pope's Bull said so. When the examination on the Articles was finished, he was asked when he was received, he said 15 years ago, by Guido de Foresta, the Grand Preceptor in England, and, asked how long he had lived in London, he said 10 years, as far as he could remember, and was the custos of the Church for that period and had been preceptor for two years. He said William de la Moore was present and others, and he had been present at other receptions. He said the laity were not present. He described the mode of reception as having taken place in the usual way, and was then examined about the death of Walter Bacheler, formerly Preceptor of Ireland. He said he knew nothing except he was put in prison in fetters and died there, and he had heard that severe hardships were imposed on him, but as Chaplain he could not interfere in these matters, and being asked he said that the said Walter was not buried in the Cemetery (holy ground) because he was considered excommunicated on account of his disobedience against the Order. These depositions were taken 27th November, before the same witnesses.

On the 28th Himbertus Blancke was examined. He was asked whether all the brethren were received in the same way into the Order, he answered yes. He said he had been 37 or 38 years in the Order. He had been received by Bello-Joco (the Master who was said, being a prisoner of the Saracens, to have obtained his liberty by promising that in all future receptions the Saviour should be denied, &c.) He was asked particularly about the chapter and its secrets and gave the famous answer that they were only secrets from stupidity. Asked about the mode of his reception and the mysteries done there, he answered first that they swore to keep the secrets of the chapter and if they did the contrary they lost their religion (*i.e.* were expelled). Asked to tell the mode of his reception and the secret things done, he said they promised obedience, chastity, surrender of property, and that nothing was done there secretly that all the world might not see. Asked why then they kept them so secret. He said on account of stupidity (*dicit, quod propter stultitiam*). He was then asked about the articles one by one. He was asked about No. 29, that the Grand Master had confessed these things before his arrest and Blancke replied, if he said so he lied. And when asked about the confession alleged to have been made to the Pope and Cardinals, he said he did not know what they had confessed or what they had said, but if they had confessed these charges (*errores*) they had lied. This examination was before the same witnesses.

On the 29th Nov. William de Scotho was examined. He was a serving brother, and he described his reception and had all the articles put to him. To 29, the Master's confession before arrest, he said he did not know whether he had so confessed, and with regard to the confession to the Pope and Cardinals, No. 82, he said he knew

[1] p. 336.

nothing, but he believed the Apostolic letter which said they had confessed, stated what was true, *i.e.*, that they had confessed.

[1]Another witness, Richard de Peitevyn, was examined on the 30th Nov. He said he had never heard of any of the contents of the said articles, except from the time when Bernard Pelet brought letters to the King of England against the Templars. Asked about the Master's confession before arrest, he said he knew nothing, nor had ever heard of the matters contained in the said articles.

So universally were denials given to the articles that the depositions after this witness hardly do more than give a description of the particulars of when and where each witness was received, and then a short statement that he was interrogated about the articles, &c., without in many cases taking the trouble to give his denials.

There were 47 witnesses examined. The object of the examination was, as stated, to get an admission that the Master, before arrest, and the Master Preceptors, after arrest, had confessed these crimes, that these confessions were true, and, therefore, as there was only one mode of reception, these crimes were committed in England. Some of them avoided the trap and said they knew nothing about it, and others, as we have seen, said if they did so confess they lied. One witness evidently thought the confession meant a religious confession, for William de la Forde said, when asked about the Master's confession, he did not know that he had confessed, but they were accustomed to go to Priests to confess and not to Magistrates.

The Inquisitors had, it seems, got some information about the death of Walter Bacheler, for one of the witnesses, John de Sautre, was pressed about his death, and the way he was buried, the taking of his confession, giving him the Sacrament, of the illness of which he died, &c. De Sautre said he had been buried as any other Christian, except that he was not interred in the Cemetery but in the plateau of the London House, and was confessed by Richard Grafton, a Priest now in Cyprus, and believed he received the Sacrament, but does not know, and said that he and Radulphe de Brutus, now in the Tower, carried him out and buried him in the early morning. He was in prison, he believed, 8 weeks. Asked if he was buried in his habit he answered no. Why was he buried outside the Cemetery? Because he was considered excommunicated. Why was he? Because, he believed, on account of the statute of the community that whoever took the goods of the house and did not account for them was to be excommunicated.

This witness was also asked in what way the Order might be improved, and he gave the answer which seems to have been agreed was the one to give, that there should be a year's probation and that their receptions ought to be public.

On the 29th Jany., 1310, the Inquisitors framed a fresh set of articles[2] (24 in number) for a further examination of the Templars. All the serious charges contained in the Pope's Bull were put into the first question:—

1. Whether they knew anything about the denial of Christ, spitting on the Cross, the depravity and idolatry in the other charges imputed to them, sent in the Bull.
2. Whether they believed all the brethren received in England were good men and worthy of belief, and men who, whether from fear of the Grand Preceptor or of the order, or the hatred or grace of anyone, or from any other cause, would not deviate from the truth, and whether they wished

[1] p. 339. [2] p. 349.

to abide by their evidence (*Stare eorum testimonium*) they had each given about their receptions.

3. Whether it was the same custom and mode of receiving in England, so that one knowing the mode of receiving one or many brethren, would know the way by which all and every were received.
4. Whether he who knew the mode used in England knew that in other places.
5. Whether the Preceptors of the Order, especially the Grand Preceptor of England, received his observance from the Grand Master, and that all the brethren in England were received in the same way as the other brothers in Cyprus and in Italy and other kingdoms, provinces, and preceptories.
6. Whether the said Brethren in England or elsewhere, in the present enquiry had not concealed these observances but of their own accord confessed them.
7. Whether they did not wish to abide by their confessions.
8. Whether these observances had not been delivered by the Grand Preceptor of France or the visitor.
9. Whether when the Brethren held chapter they rang the bell and made any other sign of calling in the chapter, and did not he and all others attend.
10. Whether he had been in any chapter, and did what was commonly done.
11. Whether he knew or believed that what was done in the chapters and in the receptions and absolutions, or in other matters, was good and lawful, and well and lawfully done or that there were done there anything wrong, unlawful, heretical or vicious.
12. Whether the things done in the chapter were by statute or custom and the approbation of the Order and all and each of the brethren.
13. Whether they believed the absolutions had as much efficacy as they claimed to have.
14. Whether matters in the book of confession and absolution were true, and by the Brethren commonly approved, and whether they observed them and in what way.
15. Whether all and each believed and said that the Grand Preceptor and others had power to relax penancies enjoined by Priests for sins.
16. Whether they believed the Grand Preceptor or visitor, or other Preceptors, being laymen, had power to absolve any laymen excommunicated because he had put violent hands on a brother or lay serving brother.
17. Whether he and all and each believed any brother could absolve from the sin of perjury a serving brother when he came for discipline into the Hall and a serving brother flogged him in the name of the Father, Son, &c.
18. Whether he believed, and all &c. believed, that absolution given by the Grand Master, Visitor or Preceptor, being laymen, was sufficient to absolve without confession and absolution, laymen from mortal sins except simony and laying violent hands on the clergy.
19. Whether they commonly believed and the brethren so said that they and these priests could absolve the brethren and men from excommunication laid on them by the authority of the ordinary or delegate.

20. That De Molay, the Grand Master, and Hugo de Perant, the general visitor of the Order, had visited England and held chapters there with their own observances.

21. Whether the aforesaid Grand Master and visitor and other brethren in France and in other kingdoms kept the observance in the apostolic Bull set out, and they and all brothers those observances which had been confessed in their trial.

22. Whether there was not a common suspicion of the people against all and each of them and their profession and clandestine reception.

23. Whether the said suspicion was not about these things contained in the articles sent in the Bull set out above.

24. Whether all these things and suggestions are not manifest and notorious in England and elsewhere so that by no denial can they be concealed.

These 24 articles are given here as an example of the cross-examining process of those days. They constitute an attempt to show by inference that as there was only one way of receiving known in the Order, the same in England as in France and Cyprus, and the rules to be observed came from France to England, and that those in France had confessed they had observed the practices with which they were charged in the Pope's articles, *i.e.* abnegation, etc., then it followed that the English had done the same, and that this was confirmed by the popular suspicion. That the English Templars in addition were guilty of heresy in believing that the Preceptors, etc., being laymen, could remit and absolve and release from excommunication, etc.

The first witness called on these new articles was Peter of Oteringham, but the Inquisitors made nothing of him. On the first article he said he did not know anything. On the second he believed the Preceptors, &c., were good and worthy of belief, and he wished to abide by his evidence, &c. On the 21 articles he said he had never seen any of the matters complained of done, and if any confessed they had, they lied, as far as he understood. He said the public suspicion had not existed before the Papal Bull (in 1309), etc.

Roger Norreys, the second witness, gave similar evidence. He said that though De Molay had been in England he did not hold a chapter but a council, at which he was not present. Thirty-four witnesses were, it appears, examined on these twenty-four articles, who all gave similar evidence.

The Examiners, not content, drew up five more articles.[1] Thirty-one of the Templars were re-called and examined upon these. These last articles were very short :—

(1) What brethren they had seen received.

(2) What brethren they knew in England in the Province of Canterbury.

(3) Whether the receptions they had seen were in the same way as they had deposed.

(4) Whether the things they had deposed were observed through the Order by those whom they knew and by all and each, and

(5) Whether dead brethren were secretly buried.

The witness, Philip de Mews gave the names of those he had seen received, and brethren were not buried clandestinely but before many witnesses in the parish next the New Temple.

[1] p. 352.

John de Conggeston gave the names of those he knew, &c. He had never seen any brother buried, except those who had died in the tower. He said, however, anyone could be present and see them buried, as he had heard.

The Bishops and Examiners made another attempt to get some evidence out of the Templars. They, it seems, determined to try and prove that the Templars were heretics in believing the Master, Preceptor, &c., being laymen, could give absolution, and, in the month of June, 1310, witnesses were examined in the following form of Interrogatory.[1]

> In what way the Grand Preceptor, or other Layman president of the chapter, gave special absolution and remission to the chapter, and what words he used.

It appears thirty-nine Templars were examined, but the depositions are given very shortly thus. 22 *usque ad* 36 *testes* (names given) deposed as above.

William de la Moore, the Grand Preceptor, was first examined, and gave his version of the words used, which, however, he afterwards altered on the following day, when his deposition is :—

On this day, *i.e.* 5 Id. Junii came Brother William de la Moore, Grand Preceptor of England, before My Lords the said Inquisitors and swore that in general chapter whenever he held it, after prayer, he was accustomed to say that those who had not acknowledged their faults and who had taken any of the charitable funds of the house, could not have any part in the spiritual goods of the order. But all other sins which they had omitted to confess on account of shame, of the flesh, or the fear of the justice of the Order, from the power given to him from God and My Lord the Pope, he remitted to them as far as he could, and he said he believed he so deposed the previous day. Asked if he had discussed with anyone the way of deposing what he had, he said yes, with Brother Himbert Blancke, who told him that it was not in the way he had first deposed, but he should have said it in the way written to-day, and thus it was said in the order. Asked if he wished to keep to this deposition he said yes. The other witnesses used similar words. Moore denied that he used the sacramental words, *Absolvo vel remitto tibi in nomine Patris*, etc.

[2]The Brethren of the Midland Counties were examined in the Castle of Lincoln, sixteen witnesses were examined, the first being taken on the last day of March, 1310. Henricus de la Wole sworn, and asked about his reception, etc., said he promised obedience, chastity and the surrender of property. Up to Article 8 he separately denied their contents. From 9 to 15, he said all the matters contained in the said articles were false, etc. Asked about the Master confessing (Article 29). Did not believe he had confessed, but if he had he confessed falsely (*falsum*). As to Nos. 82—5, the confession of the Preceptors, he did not know that they had confessed, but he knew these (charges) were untrue. This evidence was repeated with little variation by all the other witnesses.

Thomas de Walkington said he did not believe the Preceptors had confessed, but if they had they did so under terror of torture and lied (*terrore tormentorum confessi sunt et mentiti*) ; his examination finished April 10th, 1310.

The Brethren at Lincoln were recalled and further examined in June, 1310, more particularly upon the words used by the President of the Chapter when he absolved the Brethren. [3]The first witness said he knew and had heard nothing of what the Master said, etc. The second witness said that the President being a layman

[1] p. 356. [2] p. 365. [3] p. 367.

(*laicus*) said if any of the Brethren had not confessed their sins, etc., "I ask God that He may remit to you and I with the authority of the Apostles Peter and Paul pardon you, and ask you to remit to me." Another witness varied the words a little. "I remit to you as much as in me is" (*et ego remitto quantum in me est*). Many of them said they did not know. John de Walkington said if any one had not confessed, etc., the President said, "may God remit them, and we remit them from the power given us by God," and he (the President) said the witness, then sent them to a Priest, being a Brother, to be absolved. And the Brother Chaplain, the general confession being made, and "God have mercy on us" said, absolved them generally, and he said he had seen a Brother receive from the Master near Belsale, and the Master flogging him, saying, "in the name of the Father," etc., and then said "God remit to you, and we remit you and go to the Priest, who will absolve you."

[1] The Templars at Lincoln it appears were brought to London and examined for the third time in the Church of St. Martin de Ludgate, London, 30th, 1311 (1310 ?) in 28 Articles. There is a remarkable alteration in these Articles from the 24 already mentioned. It appears that the Inquisitors had abandoned all hope of proving, the serious charges of the denial, etc., and the first question of the 24 was omitted and others inserted in its place directed to prove that the chapters were held secretly. These articles commence as follows:

(1) Whether when the Brethren held their Chapter they rang the bells or made other signals for calling the Brethren to the chapter.

(2) Whether the witness had been in any Chapter and did those things which other brethren commonly did there, &c., &c.

These further questions were directed to proving by inference, as before, that as there was one common mode of Reception, and the Master and Preceptors had confessed to the Pope and Inquisitors the charges about the Reception, therefore the English Templars did these things.

The witnesses generally denied and said they did not know, and in fact repeated their evidence given at Lincoln.

[2] The examination of the Templars of the Northern Counties on the articles sent by the Pope took place at York. The first witnesses were taken on the 1st May, 1310. William de Grafton, asked about the mode of his reception, gave the usual answer about promising obedience, etc., and that this was the universal way of receiving, etc. Asked about the Master's confession (No. 29). Did not know what he had confessed, but if he had (as alleged) he lied. And he gave the same reply to No. 82. As to the alleged confessions of the Preceptors, etc., he did not know what they had confessed, but if they had they lied.

The same evidence was given, with little if any variation, by the other brethren examined. The last witness of the 22 examined, Brother John of Sherton, asked about the 82-5 articles, said he did not believe that they had so confessed, unless under tortue, and if they had they lied.

[3] The Brethren were examined in Ireland in February, 1310, upon the articles sent by the Pope, which they denied, as all the other Templars in England had done. As usual, the deposition of the first witness is set out at length, but in some subsequent depositions the witnesses concur in what had already been deposed, but in others do not take the trouble to do that.

[1] p. 368. [2] p. 371. [3] p. 373.

Ricardus, the first witness, said he was received in the night at the break of day, swore obedience, etc. In answer to the articles, said neither at his reception nor after, nor ever had he denied Christ or the Crucifixion, or God or the Blessed Virgin Mary, nor was induced or asked by those who received him to do so, and so on about the other articles. Asked about the cat, he said he had never adored any cat nor knew, nor otherwise heard that any brother of the Order adored a cat. But in answer to No. 29, the Master's confession, he said he fully believed it, and in articles 82-5, Preceptors' confession, etc., said he had not heard of it except after he had been arrested, and he fully believed everything to be true which was contained in the Pope's Bull. He said he knew nothing about the heads and Idols, or who had charge of them, etc.

The last witness, however, William Kilros, the Chaplain, who had agreed with the others in their general denial of the articles, said that a great suspicion had arisen against the Order for its sudden rise and its friendship and treating with the Saracens, and he spoke of the death of Walter le Bachelor, who died in the New Temple in London, and of another Brother, whose name he said he did not know, who died in prison, where he was put for depravity.

[1]There were only two brethren examined in Scotland, and these by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, on the 15 Cal. Dec. (19th November), 1309. Both these denied everything. Walter de Clifton said he was an Englishman and a Templar. He gave the usual answers about his reception, swearing obedience, etc. He said he believed that the Grand Master, Preceptors, visitors, as well as the inferior clergy and laity could absolve the brethren from sin except homicide and violence towards the Priests, but he does not seem to say much on the other charges. He said he was alone in Scotland except the next witness, William de Middleton, from Newcastle. He does not say much about the articles except he had seen and heard the Great Master absolve the laity of the Order by these words, "By the authority of God and blessed Peter and my Lord the Pope, we absolve you from any sin," and he committed thus his vices to the brother priest of the said Order. He, however, said he believed that the case of my Lord the Pope was excepted.

OUTSIDE EVIDENCE.

The documentary evidence shows that the Inquisitors in England were to a great extent nonplussed by the persistent refusal of the Templars to admit the charges preferred against them. They tried, as stated, to prove argumentatively the illegal and impious mode of reception, by getting the witnesses to admit the alleged confessions of the Master and Preceptors in France, and that there was only one mode of reception. They now determined to take outside evidence, to collect all the scandal that envy, hatred and malice could suggest and to invite anyone who had a story to tell, even if he had heard it second or third hand, to come forward and tell it. In France and elsewhere the Templars had to meet torture and the alleged confessions of their chiefs. In England they were supposed to be judged by the statements of their enemies. Rightly or wrongly the English law in modern days repudiates hearsay evidence or statements made behind the back of the accused. This may be in some cases carried too far, but it is, perhaps, a reaction from the practice of the Star Chamber, who tried persons upon confessions and statements made in their absence, often obtained by torture or threat of it. We know the Inquisition and the Council of ten

[1] p. 380.

at Venice, etc., followed the same practice. But the intelligence of men must in all times, when their prejudices were not excited, have seen the weakness of this class of evidence, and it seems, as will be seen, to have had no effect upon the question of the guilt of the order in England. The only result of the present evidence, which, having been taken, has been preserved, is that the worst stories about the Templars have come to us from these outside witnesses. The stories are ridiculous, unworthy of belief, what someone has heard that someone else said, but they have become woven into the literature on the subject. Their origin is forgotten, the stories remain. For example [1]M. Michelet cites in a note several of these second-hand stories (Reynouard uses our word and speaks of them as *ouï-dire*), and says that these avowals (*aveux*) had been obtained without torture and that the "worst stories (*les dépositions les plus sales*) which seem to have been the result of torture are those of the English witnesses who were not submitted to it."

But this was not the case. The witnesses to these stories were not tortured it is true, but they were not Templars but volunteers, principally the Friars of the Minor order. It is said that St. Francis gave this humble title to his new order, the Franciscans, in recognition of their humble position in the Church, which they, amongst others, in the twelfth century came to reform. One can fancy their hostility to the proud Knight Templar. There seems to have been the same antagonism as later on there was between the Cavalier and Roundhead, and, still later, the Churchman and the Dissenter. The great dividing line, after all, is between those who have and those who have not, and from all time, pride and wealth and social position must produce envy in those who see no reason why they should not have these things themselves. "Down with the aristocrats" was the cry of those who wanted breeches (*sansculottes*) in the French Revolution. It was not only the Minor Friars but also the Dominicans, or preachers, who hated the Templars. Michelet says that originally they had been so closely allied that the former solicited legacies for the order of the Temple at the bedside of each dying person whom they confessed, but gradually they became their rivals and enemies. The Templars were nobles, the Dominicans were from the people (*roturiers*) and the latter hated the soldier-Monks who enjoyed the benefits of sanctity and the pomp of *la vie Militaire*.

The witnesses who were not Templars were examined in London, as seems to have been the general practice upon certain definite questions, as follows:—

(1) The witnesses are to be asked whether they know or believe the Temple brethren wished their reception, or their mode of reception, to be kept a secret (*occultum*).

(2) And if they say that is so, from what cause, proper or improper (*an honesta vel inhonesta!*), and whether on this account at any time they were suspicious of the Templars. Whether at any time they asked the brethren about their mode (of receiving), whether they refused to reveal it, whether the reception of the brethren took place at night, whether they had seen anyone received at night, &c.

The earlier depositions were dated 13 Kal Dec., 1309 (19th Nov.) and were taken, at the Church of Holy Trinity, before the Bishops, and the Inquisitors, the Abbot de Latigniaco and Siccard de Vauro. The first witnesses do not seem to help the Inquisitors much, but it will be seen that as they went on they grew more unscrupulous and did not hesitate to say the worst against the Templars.

[1] "His. de France," vol. iii., p. 134.

[1] William le Dorturer (other witnesses to the number of seventeen were sworn), Public Notary of London, said the Templars wished their receptions to be secret. He presumed rather from an improper than proper reason. Whenever he asked them why the receptions were secret they replied it was not their way (*modus*) that anyone should see their receptions, except brethren. He said the receptions were in the early morning, and he had seen those received leave at this time. And he said brethren rose in the middle of the night and held their chapters before dawn. He said he had been in two chapters near Dinestee, six years ago, and two before, to the rest of the interrogatories he either said no or he did not know.

2. Gilbertus de Brueria, clerk, replied to the 1st Question, yes, but believed it to be for a proper reason. He had seen brethren enter in daytime and at night, but did not know they were received at night, &c., but said nothing more.

3. Robert le Dorturer, Notary Public, of London, answered the first question, yes. Believed because they did improper things. He remembered Roger de Reily, now dead, being received at night, sometimes they received by night, sometimes by day. Said he had never been in a provincial chapter. This witness made charges against Guido de Forestâ.

4. Adam de Dopliner said he knew they kept the reception secret for proper reasons, said they were held in the daytime, but the chapters sometimes at night sometimes by day, to the rest he said no.

5. Rudulph de Rayndon said he knew nothing about the order or the persons of the Temple except what was good and proper.

The 6th and 7th witnesses said they knew nothing against the Templars and never had suspicions, and being asked the mode of reception, said the receptions were by day and had never seen anyone received at night. The 8th, 9th and 10th witnesses were to the same effect. The 11th, Lord John of Holyngton, Rector of the Church of St. Mary de la Strode, was asked whether the Templars committed Idolatry, denied God, &c., he said he did not know unless from rumour. Asked the date of this rumour he said he did not know. Said he did not know the mode of reception as it was secret, he believed rather from a wicked than a proper reason. Said on this account he suspected them. He said he had asked to be told the mode of reception, but they would not tell him, he said he had not seen whether the receptions were by day or night, but he said it was notorious that they were held at night. He said he believed that they served the sacraments as other priests. The other witnesses 12-17 being sworn and diligently examined said they knew nothing *jurati et diligenter interrogati responderunt se nihil scire.*[2]

[3] The following witnesses, who were not Templars, were subsequently examined as to what they could say against the order. Bro. Henry James Hibernus said, with more effect, he had heard that a Bro. Hugo, &c., had left the camp and gone to the Saracens, denying his faith, and he had heard when abroad that a Preceptor had received many with the Denial, but he did not know the name of the Preceptor or of the Brethren he received, and he observed in Cyprus that many of the order did not believe in the Sacraments of the order nor the other sacraments, and he had heard that some Templars had a brazen double-faced head in their custody, and said that it replied to all questions. He had never heard that any brother adored this head, unless it was the Preceptor and the brethren received by him, or the above-named Hugo.

[1] p. 348. [2] p. 349. [3] p. 358.

(2) Master John of Nassingham deposed that Milo of Stapleton and Adam of Everingham (Templars) told him that they and other Knights of St. Patrick, near Temple-hurst were invited to a big meeting, where many Knights were gathered for a solemn feast at which they adored a calf.

(3) John of Eure said that before the arrest of the Templars in England a bad report (*infamia*) against them arose. Brother William of the Temple was a guest of a knight, he after dinner (*post prandium*) produced a book out of his breast and handed it to the Knight's wife to read, in which she found many heresies written, as Christ was not the Son of God, nor born of a virgin, but of the wife of Joseph, after the manner of men conceived, &c., &c.

(4) William de la Forde, Rector of Crofton, York diocese, said that William de Reynbur, a Priest of Saint Augustine, had told him that he had heard the confession of Patrick of Rippon, a Templar now dead, and Patrick had confessed that being received in his shirt and breeches, he swore that he would never reveal what they did or said, and afterwards he was told to deny God and Christ whom before he had loved, which he did, he was shown the crucified image, and told that as before he honoured him he must now insult him and spit on him, which he did, and he was told to drop his breeches and bare his back to the image, which with tears he did, afterwards he was shown an image as of a calf placed on an altar, and he was told to kiss the said image and venerate it, which he did, and afterwards with his veiled eyes he kissed the brethren, but he did not know in what part. The witness was asked when he heard these things, he said after the arrest of the brethren in the City of York.

(5) Robert of Oteringham, of the Minor friars, said that near Riblestan, after thanks were given, the Chaplain of the order taunted the brethren, saying "The devil will have you," or similar words, and, hearing a disturbance between them he stood up, and, as he said, he saw the breeches of a brother of the Temple, with his face to the west and back to the altar. Asked who he was he said he did not remember, but he believed it was Brother Radulphus de Roston, brother chaplain of the Temple now at York. Asked when, he said within (*Septennium*) seven years. He said about twenty years ago, near Wetherby, he heard that the Grand Master who was there did not come to collation because he was arranging some relics which he had brought from the Holy Land and wished to show them to the brethren, and afterwards, in the depth of the night, he heard a confused clamour in the chapel, and he arose, and through the keyhole he beheld a great light from fire or candles in the chapel, and in the morning when he enquired of a Templar to what Saint they had kept so great a feast during the night, the Brother turned pale, as if stupified, and fearing that he had seen something done by them, said "Go your way and as you love me and your own life never speak of these matters to the chiefs," and he said, near Rollestone, he had seen a cross with the figure of Christ thrown on an altar, and he said to a Templar that it was improperly put there, and attempted to raise it, and the brother said "Leave the cross and go in peace."

The witnesses 6 and 7 are given as saying the same as Robert le Dorturier and others had deposed, but No. 8, John of Wednal, a Minor friar, said that he had heard it told how Robert de Basset, or Rygat, a Templar, walking in a field, was heard to say these words: "Heu, Heu that ever I was born, since it is necessary for me to deny God, etc., and ally myself with the devil." Another witness of the Minor friars told the Commissioners (*significavit nobis*) he had heard from Brother Robert of Tukenham that a Templar had a son who saw through a partition that they asked one professing

if he believed in the crucified, shewing him the figure, whom they killed upon his refusing to deny Him, but the boy, some time after, being asked if he wished to be a Templar said no, because he had seen this thing done. Saying this, he was killed by his father. Ten other witnesses were examined, but the report says that *mutatis mutandis* they say almost the same as above.

To this report there is this significant note:—

> The supicion seems to be proved that all examined in something perjured themselves, as appears from the inspection of the process.
> *Suspicio probare videtur quod omnes examinati in aliquo degeraverunt ut ex inspectione processum apparet.*

At this time Siccard de Vasno, who is now described as Cardinal of England, put in before the Commissioners the following confession:—

(22) Robert de Sancto Justo, Templar, received into the order in England, at the house at Stanford, by Bro. Himbertus, then Grand Preceptor General of England. He said he entered a chapel of the house, &c., and asked for bread and water, and the fraternity of the order (the usual form) and the Preceptor put the mantle on his back, and brought him a book and swore him to observe the customs and charities of the house. Asked about the denial of Christ and spitting on the cross, he said the preceptor asked him to spit on the cross which was there and to deny him whose figure was there, and to spit on him, and by the order of the Preceptor he denied Christ.

This apparently is the confession taken before the Inquisitors, in 1307, and was sent over, as De Gonnavilla's was, as proving the unlawful form of reception observed in England.

The 23rd witness, a Knight, said that his uncle entered the order healthy and joyfully, with his birds and dogs, and the third day following he was dead, and he suspected it was on account of the crimes he had heard of them; and that the cause of his death was he would not consent to the evil deeds perpetrated by other brethren. Adam de Heton, the 24th witness, said when he was a young secular lad all the boys cried out publictly and as a common expression one to the other, "Guard yourself from the kiss of the Templars."

The numbers 24 to 36 are wanting, but from 36 to 44 the report says that they deposed about the same as above. The 45th, William de Berney, of the order of St. Augustine, said he had heard from a Templar, whose name he did not know, but he believed a preceptor, that a brother of the Temple said "No man after death had a soul more than a dog." (46-50) same as above. (51) Roger, Rector of Godmershem, sworn, said fifteen years ago, or about, he proposed to enter the order, and consulted a brother, Stephen, who replied: "If you might be my father, and could become the Master of the whole order, I would not wish you to enter it, because we have three articles between us in our order which no one may ever know except God and the Devil, and we brethren of the order." Questioned whether he asked what these three articles were, he said yes, but the brother said it was not allowed him to say or reveal them.

(52) William, Vicar of St. Clement's, Sandwich, said fifteen years ago, or about, he heard from a lad, named John, his servant, that the latter was with another servant of a Templar, near Dinestee, where there was a chapter, and the latter said to his master he wondered why the chapters are held at night, to whom the Master replied, "Why do you ask, what is our chapter to you?" John said that whilst the brethren held their chapter the lad entered the large hall, where it was held secretly, and hid himself

under a seat, and heard, after the brethren had entered the chapter, the president tell them how they might become richer, and he saw the brethren place their girdles in a place, and, the speech being finished, the speaker retired and took one of the brethren with him, whose girdle, hid in the hall, the servant found in the morning, and took it away and showed it to his master, who killed him with his sword, and this the servant of the witness saw. Asked; if his servant were still alive, who told him this? he replied no.

The 52nd witness, Thomas Tulyet, a Carmelite, of Sandwich, said he heard from the Vicar of Sutton, near Sandwich, that a priest who once officiated for the Templars said he had been forbidden by them to use the consecrating words in the celebration of the Mass.

The 54th-68th witnesses were nearly the same as above.

[1] (69) John, a Minor Friar, being sworn, told a long story which he said he had heard from a lady, called Cacocaca, who lived in a suburb of London, near some elms, &c. Exvalettus, preceptor, told the said lady that in a provincial chapter, near Dinestee, one of the servants of the Templar, when the Templars entered the chapter got in secretly, and when the door was shut and locked by the last who entered, and the key taken to the Preceptor, the brethren arose and went into another house contiguous, and took out a black figure with shining eyes, and a cross, and the figure was put on the cross, and it was taken to the Master, who indecently kissed it, and after the kiss all the brethren spat on the cross, except one, who said "I was a wicked man in the world and for the health of my soul I entered this order, and now why should I do worse, I will not," and then they said to him, "Consult yourself and do as the order does," he said he would not, then they put him into a dungeon (*puteo*) in the middle of the house, which, being shut, the Templars began to * * * * * Asked when the woman heard this, he said it was fourteen years since she told him. Asked where, he said near London, where she kept house for Robertus Cotacota, her lord, &c.

(70) Agnes Lovekote, deposed the same as the others, dated London 16 Cal. (16th Apr.), 1311.

(71) John Wolby, Minor Friar, said that from what he heard two years ago, near Sarum, from Brother John, &c., who lived in the convent of the Sarum brothers, he believed that the things said about the Templars were not said without cause, that he had heard them say that the Court of Rome did not keep the direct way, &c., and he asserted that in a place in London, there was kept a gilded head, and there were two others in England, but the deponent did not remember the descriptions of the places, and he said this arose from a Grand Master of the Order, who had much increased the possessions of the Order, and that dying he had several preceptors called, to whom he said, if they wished to rule and be in honor, they should adore such a head, and similar words he said in presence of Simon de Haslebourne.

(72) Richard de Koofield gave evidence that a monk told the witness that a knight, Walter Bacheler, whom the monk had advised to be a Templar, on being asked how he was, and whether the order pleased him, replied that following his advice he had lost his soul by entering the order, and that the confessor of the Count W., who heard from a vicar who was formerly priest to the said Walter Bacheler, said that there was one article in their profession which ought not to be revealed to anyone.

(73) Gasperius, Chaplain of the parish of Ryde, had been in the service of the Templars for half a year, three years ago last feast of St. Martin. This witness tells a

[1] p. 362.

long story about a reception at night. It appears he said mass, but was then sent out of the Hall and the doors locked, so what they did he knew not, but the next day he saw the candidate in the habit of a Templar, and had a conversation how the secrets might be gained through a keyhole, and he was told if they were, he would have been delivered to death, nor could he escape except by becoming Templar. This witness said it was after the bad reports arose he conceived a sinister suspicion against the order, and he said the next morning he found some of the crosses had been shifted and one cross was lying on the altar.

No. 74 deposed as above. (75) Brother de Dongnyton, Minor Friar of the Convent at Sarum, said he had been with an old man who had left the Templars, and he told him as follows: With fear and in danger of death, in secular habit, he went to the Roman Court, where he told the Poenitentiary the cause of his leaving the Templars, and he told him the Poenitentiary that there were four idols in England, one in London in the Sacristry of the Temple, one near Byddesham, one near Brueram, near Lincoln, and the fourth beyond the Humber. Asked the name of this veteran, he said according to his estimation he changed his name. He, the veteran, told the witness that the Grand Master Moore introduced this misery into England and carried a large roll of gross letters, in which were written nefarious observations and adorations. This veteran said to the said brother that some Templars carried Idols in their coffers, and the witness told him that some Knight, one by the name of William, told him that he had talked with a Templar in the Holy Land, who had left the order and did not wish to return, he said, as the order did not please him, and the said knight asked him about the mode of reception, and he replied with great indignation "Make that request to the deacons, for I shall never say," &c., &c.

[1] The evidence of the witnesses, not Templars, examined in Scotland, is of the weakest description. They do not speak to facts, even from hearsay, but only express their views. Thus the first witness, Hugo Albert, of Dumfermelyn, asked about the articles in the Papal Bull, &c., said he never knew for certain, but he had heard they committed such things, that there was a sinister suspicion against them and always had been on account of the clandestine reception and the nocturnal celebration of their Chapter. He said he believed the observances and statutes were the same everywhere, and he believed this because the visitor of France (Peraudus) was accustomed to visit their order in England and the English visitor to go to Scotland, and the brethren everywhere met in Chapter and so communicated the tenets of the order, but he said he had never heard of a brother being received in Scotland, because they could not know the secret there.

The rest of the forty-one Scotch witnesses had this evidence of Hugo read to them and they agreed with it. A few added remarks of their own. (14) Robert the Chaplain of Liston said he had never known for certain, nor seen where, any Templar was buried, or that any one had died a natural death, and that, as far as they were able, they were always opposed to the Church, and on this the public voice and fame laboured. But it is not necessary to repeat their general statements, which were only what they believed or said they did.

[2] The evidence was taken before Willielmus *providentia divinâ St. Andrœ episcopus*, &c.

The evidence of the outside witnesses in Ireland was really the old argument that as the Preceptors had confessed, and the observances and statutes were the same,

[1] p. 380. [2] p. 378.

therefore those in Ireland were guilty, and this was confirmed by their clandestine reception and sworn secrecy, &c. Thus the first witness, Roger de Heton, Minor Friar, (*gardianus*), being cautioned and sworn, was asked whether he knew that the Templars (previously examined in Ireland) were guilty of heresy or of any of the charges in the Papal Bull, said he had not seen any of them commit crime. Being then asked if he thought the said brethren, or some of them, might be guilty (*Sint Culpabiles*) or have committed the crime imputed to them, said yes, in that the Grand Master and some of the Preceptors of the order had confessed the articles contained in the Bull, or the greater part of them, before the Pope or others deputed by him, as the Pope's Bull witnessed; and because the brethren themselves said that there was one mode of reception in the Temple throughout the world, and because their profession was clandestine and they swore not to reveal, &c.

The other witnesses agreed with this first one, but added details. No. 2 said he had seen a Templar at the elevation of the Sacrament bow his face to the ground, not caring to receive the host. No. 9, Richard de Babylyn, said he believed the Irish Grand Master, Henricus de Tanet, was guilty of heresy, because he was for more than a year the confidential companion and guest (*socius collateralis et contubernalis*) of the Grand Master beyond the seas, De Molay, from whom he received and obtained great distinction in horses, clothes and other apparatus, and this witness repeated the old argument, that as there was only one reception, and the Preceptors had confessed, &c., and they kept the reception secret, he firmly believed them guilty, &c.

The 26th witness said he had been at Clonfarht, when there his brother said mass before the Templars, and he helped his brother in the celebration, and he perceived at the Elevation (*Corporis Christi*), the Templars looked on the ground and did not raise their eyes nor attend to the reading of the gospel. He also said after the *Agnus Dei* he wished to give the brethren peace, and then one of the clergy of the Templars said that the Templars did not want peace (*quod fratres Templarii non curarent de pace*). From these matters he considered the Templars to be much suspected, and he believed one and all to be guilty or conscious of crime and that a great scandal, &c.

Another brother (39), Thomas de Broughton, said he had heard of the kiss on the reception, and a strong suspicion against them because of their holding chapters at night and clandestine receptions. He said he had heard many brothers were put in sacks and drowned in the sea, but he did not know for what reason, nor had he seen or known anyone so drowned. He said he had often heard it said that when they held a chapter one of them was killed in chapter, but this did not seem to be true to him, for many persons had counted the brethren going into chapter, and, on their coming out they they always found their number correct. He had seen a brother imprisoned in Cyprus, but he did not know for what cause, and a brother, whose name he did not know, broke prison and came to the House of St. John, Jerusalem, wrapped in a lintheamine, and there stopped till he left those parts, at the expense of the said Hospital, and never returned to the order of the Templars; this he knew.

The 41st witness, sworn and examined, agreed with the first witness in everything, but added that he had heard from a Knight, called Hugo, &c., what he said was commonly reported in parts beyond the sea, that the Templars practised depravity. He said that if anyone wished to leave the order, and this was known, they put a big stone round his neck and drowned him, as he had heard. He said that they trampled the cross, on Friday, under their feet, as he heard. He said if any one refused to consent to their wickedness he was put to death, as he heard, &c., and he had

heard that they did things in the same way throughout the order, and he said that it was said there (beyond the seas) that Acon and many cities and camps had been lost on account of this defect, and it was commonly said there that the Grand Master could absolve from sins though unconfessed as he heard, and that whatever the Grand Master did and ordered, under pain of death, all had to do and observe throughout the world, as he heard.

DEFENCE—ENGLISH TEMPLARS.

The Inquisitors having taken apparently all the evidence they could, it appears that the Templars in London were cited to appear before the Bishop and the French Inquisitors, the Abbot de Latigniaco and Siccard de Vauro, at the Church of Holy Trinity, on Thursday, 10 Cal. May (22nd April), 1311, to see and hear the publication of the evidence produced against them, and a copy of this evidence being asked for by those present was given by the Bishop and Inquisitors, and that week was fixed for the accused to put in all the defences and privileges upon which they wished to rely for themselves and their brethren; and subsequently the officer of London, and notaries and witnesses were sent out to the Tower of London to enquire of the Templars whether they had anything they wished to bring forward. They said they were laymen ignorant of law, and all their means of defence had been taken from them, and they had no others to give them proper Council. They said, however, they wished for themselves and their order, to put forward their faith, the religion which they kept, and the privileges given them by the Popes, and their depositions taken before the Inquisitors, so that all there might be used as wished, for the defence. And that day week, Thursday, the 3 Kal. Mar. (29th April), twenty-eight Templar witnesses, including W. Moore, the Grand Master of England, appeared with their written defence before the Inquisitors, at All Saints' Church, at Birkyngecherche. This defence was afterwards accepted by the Templars confined in Ludgate, and by Himbert Blancke, who appeared to have been confined by himself in Newgate. Perhaps that was what those in the Tower meant when they said they had been deprived of their defence.

Blancke was no doubt the leading spirit among the English Templars. Raynouard says that Moore, the Grand Master, died in the Tower. It will be seen that in the French enquiry the Templars also, were suddenly deprived of their defenders.

The Templars, both in England and France, never seemed to have fully realised their position, and the terrible nature of the charges brought against them. Did not Tacitus say that one of the children of Sejanus, being led to execution, to satisfy the cruelty of Tiberius, promised to be a good child in future. So the Templars, both in England and France, charged with the most terrible blasphemies and crimes, put forward simple statements of what they believed and generally did, winding up by asking to have the rites of the Church restored to them. They were either simple Catholics or the most profound hypocrites. The present defence, which is only the Apostles' Creed, is in the Norman French of the period, and shows how that language was becoming Anglicised. There were three languages in use, we are told, in those days, the Latin, Anglican and Gallic.

The Defence commences by addressing our honorable father of Canterbury, and says that all the Templars here assembled, and each particular person are Christians, and our Lord is Jesus Christ. Then follows the creed, in it we see *Credimus* has become *Creoms*, and *filius*, instead of softening into the French *fils*, is hardening into the Norman *fitz*, &c.

"Creoms en Dieu Pere omnipotent, qui fist ciel et terre; e en Jesus soen fiz qui fust conceu du Saint Esperit, nez de la Virgine Marie, soeffrit peine et passoun, mourut sur la croiz pour touz peechours, descendit e enferns, e la tierz jour releva de mort en vie e mounta en ciel, siet au destre soen Pere e vendra au jour de juife, juger les vifs et les morz que fu saunz commencement et serra saunz fyn; et creoms comme Seynte Eglise crets (believes) et e nous enseigne." The defence then continues that their 'religion' is founded on obedience, chastity, to live without property and to assist in the holy Land Jerusalem "a force e a poer (power) qui Dieu nous ad preste," and we deny and contradict, all and each, all manners of heresies and malvaistes, which are against the faith of Holy Church, and we pray God and by charity to you, who are in place of our apostolic Father, that we may have the rights (drettures) of Holy Church, as those who are her sons, whom we have well guarded and kept her faith and law, and our religion, which is good, proper and just, according to the ordinances and privileges which the Court of Rome has granted, confirmed and Canonized by common council, which privileges and the rule are in the said Court registered. The defence concludes by saying that if they have misunderstood anything in their examination, by ignorance, as they are nearly all laymen, they ask for the pity of the Church, "as of Him who died for us on the cross, and we pray you for God and for the salvation of your souls, that you judge us as if you would reply for yourselves and us before God, and that our examination may be read and heard before us and the people, according to the replies and language which were said before you and written on paper."

At some time or other the following report, given in the "Concilia Magnu,"[1] appears to have been drawn up. It is not dated nor addressed. It may have been sent to the Pope or to Edward, or it may have been only a draft never acted upon, but whatever it was it shows the view taken by some one who was in a position to draw up a report. It will be seen from its perusal that, like most of the documents that have come down to us, it is very misleading and not supported by the evidence. For while it is evident from the report that the attempt to prove the denial and insult alleged to be required at the Reception of Candidates had failed, yet the old argument is continued, that there was only one mode of Reception throughout the order, that the Grand Master and the Preceptors of Normandy, etc., had confessed these charges, and that the English Templars admitted that they did what the Grand Master ordered, thereby leaving the inference to be drawn that these charges were true. In doing so the report omits the strenuous denial of those examined, who said that if the Grand Master and Preceptors had confessed these things they lied. It was, as stated, a two-edged weapon. For if there was only one mode of reception, and the denial and insult did not take place in England, then the so-called confessions in France were evidently due to torture. The Report hurries over this weak spot and gets on firmer ground, when it returns as proved, the articles (24-29) which refer to the alleged practice of absolution being given by the head of a chapter, though not a Priest. The Report alleges that the Grand Preceptor in Chapter gave absolution, saying "I absolve thee or remit to thee (your sins) in the name of the Father, etc." (*Ego absolvo te vel remitto tito in nomine patres, etc.*), though the use of these sacramental words was expressly denied.

[1] p. 358.

The report is entitled

ARTICLES WHICH APPEAR PROVED AND ARE SENT WITH THE DEPOSITIONS OF SOME OF THE WITNESSES.

"We believe that you will from the Apostolic letters be able to gather (*colligere*) that the under-written facts are fully proved. First, that the Grand Master and the brethren beyond seas and the Preceptors of Normandy and Poictiers, and many other brothers, have received very many (according) to the matters which are in the enquiry contained in the Apostolic letters. Item, there is one mode of receiving brethren into the Order of the Temple throughout the world where brothers are received. Item, there is one mode of profession after the reception into the said Order. Item, that to the question whether the same observances are everywhere enjoined to the received brethren? The reply is that whatever the Grand Master with his Council orders or enacts, all the Order ought to hold and observe, and it is so observed. Item, we return to you the articles from 24 to 29[1], as proved. Item, that they believe, and it was so told to them that the Grand Master could absolve them from their sins. Item, that the visitor and the Preceptors, of whom many were laymen, could do this, or some of them. Item, that the articles are proved, that the Grand Master confessed these matters before the arrest in presence of great persons, but some say they believe themselves to be privileged (*Priviliegiators*). Item, one or two (confessed) that the Grand Preceptor gives absolution in chapter by saying I absolve thee, or remit to thee in the name of, etc. Item, that he gives general absolution from sins which they are not willing to confess on account of shame of the Flesh or fear of the Order in the name of, etc. Item, that they believed that the sins confessed in chapter for which they had received absolution they were not obliged to confess to a Priest. Item, that the brethren believed the Grand Master, Preceptor and Visitor could remit penitences imposed for sin. Item, it is to be considered whether it is possible to collect from the depositions that they are not required to confess mortal sins except in the chapter, and venal ones only (untrue) to the Priest by the words of William, Chaplain of Himbertus, and Henry and Rudolph, of Roston, priests, and Thomas de Handford, York, etc. Item, that this is the mode of reception everywhere, that the said mode is clandestine, that is, the said receptions are clandestine; no one present unless brothers. Item, that the chapters and receptions are held at night, that the mode of receiving is one of the secrets of the chapter, and they are punished if they reveal the said mode; that they swear not to reveal the mode of their receptions, is proved by seven witnesses, that they did not dare to speak of it amongst themselves by three witnesses. Item, that they swear to acquire religion, etc., by right or wrong is proved by three witnesses. Item, that they were forbidden to confess, except to their own priests, is proved by four witnesses."

The weakness of the argument, that the guilt of the English Templars is to be presumed from their admissions that there was only one way of receiving new brethren throughout the Order, and that the Master and Preceptors had confessed because it was so stated in the apostolic letters, and therefore was true, has been pointed out more than once, also that there was another interpretation to be put upon these admissions, *i.e.*, that as there was only one mode of reception, and in England it was pure and lawful, though the fact of confession, being stated by the Pope, might be true, the matter confessed was untrue—or, as many witnesses said, if the Master and Preceptors had so confessed they lied (*mentiti sunt*).

[1] Dealing with the alleged absolution.

AFTER TORTURE.

The result of the first examination of the Templars must have been very disappointing to the two French Inquisitors, the Abbe Latyniaco and that venerable man (*venerabilis vir*), Siccard de Vauro. They had been sent over to England to practically establish the Inquisition in this country, which they did for the first and last time. They were sent as experts in the gentle art of torture and the power of extracting confessions from prisoners by the rack, pulling out teeth, burning feet, or the more painful methods which Raynouard describes. But they could do nothing, as Edward would not sanction the use of these methods. The following account given in *Wilkins*[1], of the proceedings before a Provincial Council summoned by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 25th November, 1309, Monday, shows the steps these French Inquisitors and the Clergy took to make the Templars confess. At first they tried further interrogatories, as we have seen, but subsequently they asked Edward with success for leave to apply torture.

The Council for the first week discussed ecclesiastical matters. On Monday, the 2nd December, no meeting was held, but next day, Tuesday, the 3rd, the account says:—"All the Bishops and others of the Council, with whom were the two French Inquisitors, having been summoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, appeared before him and the suffragans of that province, in his room in Lambeth Palace. The depositions and statements both of the Templars and other witnesses who had been called were produced, and copies were ordered to be given to each bishop to enquire about the premises, and the meeting was adjourned to the next day, Wednesday, when the Council resolved that three Bishops, with the Inquisitors, should be sent to Edward to ask him to allow the Bishops and Inquisitors to proceed locally against the Templars in a better way (*Meliori modo*), which might appear to them to assist the enquiry as to the truth of the imputed crimes, and there were elected two lawyers (*clerici*), learned in both laws, to examine and extract all the articles which touched the King, and the articles to be sent to the General Council, as well as those for the Provincial Councils. These lawyers had associated with them six others to put the articles into legal form (*in formam juris redigendis*). On the following Sunday the Petition to the King was drawn up, and on the Tuesday all the Suffragans present and the French Inquisitors went to Edward and asked that they and other Bishops of Dioceses might proceed against the Templars according to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and that he would advise his officers of what was intended to be done."

On Wednesday, the matter no doubt having come before Edward's Council, the following reply was sent in writing:—Our officers are ordered to allow the Bishops to do and proceed against the Templar as far as it is their duty (*prout ad officum suum spectat*) so that however they do nothing against our crown or the estate of our kingdom.

Nothing was done the following Thursday or Friday, as the Clergy were summoned to Westminster on the King's business. But on the Saturday all the Templars in the different dioceses not under arrest, or who were Apostates from the Order, were cited to appear before the Inquisitors to be examined as to the Papal articles and to tell the truth.

Nothing more was done that week. The French Inquisitors, it appears, had not yet quitted London, and there were Templars in the Castles of London and York awaiting their attention. And they accordingly prepared to go to these places. And Edward wrote to his officers the letter given hereafter.

[1] Vol. 2, p. 312. This report clearly belongs to the year 1310.

In the meantime the Council had adjourned to the Tuesday after the feast of St. Matthew. On this day the Inquisitions taken in the different dioceses were read and the evidence published. The depositions already given are probably those which were brought before this Council, if so the Templars were up to this period uniform in their denial of the alleged crimes. But this denial was not what was wanted, the report says there were great discussions (*magnæ disputationes*) on account of the discrepancies found in them (*mutationes inventas*), and it was ordered that the Templars should be separated from each other and put in different places in London, and again examined on the crimes imputed to them and fresh interrogatories put to them; to see if by chance by proper confessions it was possible to elicit any truth about the charges. This was done with the Templars in London. Some were sent to the Tower, some to the four Gates. The resolution of this Council of Canterbury and London continued,

> "*If by these actions and separation the Templars were willing to confess nothing more than formerly that they should then be put to the question, which shall be carried out without mutilation or permanent injury and without violent effusion of blood.*"

This torture was to be carried out by the Bishops of London and Winchester and the French Inquisitors, and when this was done the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be informed, so that he might re-summon the Council, which was adjourned *de die in diem* until the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, 1311, upon which day all the Templars arrested in London confessed publicly to the full Council that they were so defamed by the said heretical articles that they could not legitimately purge themselves, and they asked for the mercy of God, and were ready to receive and perform any penance imposed upon them. Upon this the Council decreed

> *that they were to be separated and sent to different monasteries in England to do certain penances inflicted on them until the Apostolic See should in general Council findly determine about their position.*

This report of the proceedings of the Archbishop's Council rather implies that the Bishops had liberty to use torture given to them in December, 1309, but it appears from other documents that the date must be December 1310, the writer puts the great deliberations as taking place after the French Inquisitors went to London and York. The depositions taken at these places are inconsistent with the use of torture, they being universally denials. It is probable, therefore, that it was after the Frenchmen returned to town that application was made to Edward. This view is supported by the following letter from the Pope to Edward II.:—

> "*You have refused to allow proceedings to be taken against the persons and order (of the Temple) by the use of torture (per questiones) in the enquiry about these crimes, so that the Templars are said to refuse to speak the truth about these articles (i.e., three in the Pope's Bull denied Spitting, Depravity, &c.) Dearest Sir, we ask you (quæsimus) to consider with attentive and prudent deliberation if this accords with your honour and welfare and in the dignity of your kingdom.*"

The result was that the Templars were to be put to the question, so that, as stated, it was carried out without mutilation or permanent injury of any member or violent effusion of blood (*abseque mutilatione et debilitatione perpetuâ alicujus membri et sine violenta sanguinis effusione*).

The Pope, in his letter to the French Bishops already referred to,[1] said in effect that where there was what modern lawyers call a *primâ facie* case the Church had authority to try and discover the truth by means of torture. The difficulty is to reconcile his actions. We know he had refused to accept the confessions which the Inquisitor of Paris had obtained from the 137 tortured Templars, and said he did not believe the Templars were guilty. Yet he ordered the French Bishops to use torture, and, as we see, exerted his influence with Edward to induce him to do the same. It is difficult to reconcile his conduct, not with religion or Christianity but with the ordinary conception of what is right. He must have seen that physical pain and the mental weakness produced by the fear of being put on the rack had resulted in confessions in which he did not believe, which, in 1313, when he suppressed the order, he entirely ignored. Yet he sent his own officials over to England to show the English Bishops how to torture, and upon Edward refusing to allow it he wrote the letter given above.

There is a letter from Edward about this time; it is dated 15th December, 1309 (? 13 0). It seems to have been written in pursuance of the above resolution of the Council. It is addressed to the different gaolers:—

> " *We order you that you commit to the Priests and Inquisitors deputed by the Apostolic letters to enquire about the Master Preceptors and brethren of the order in England to do, as often as they wish, that which seems to them should be done according to the Ecclesiastical law with the Templars and their bodies.*"

Modern civilization has decreed that torture is no longer to be used, and the English law goes so far that a prisoner is not even to be questioned unless he wishes it, and no confession or statement made by a prisoner that has been induced by threats or force is to be used against him. The wisdom of the modern view, apart from questions of humanity, is shewn in the results produced in England by the permission given by Edward, there could be no better example of the failure of torture as a means of obtaining the truth. Up to this time, as we have seen, and as might be expected the English Templar, being under no fear of torture, universally denied the charges brought againt him and emphatically answered each charge in the articles sent over by the Pope either by a denial of the facts or that he knew nothing of them (*Nunquam Audivit*). As soon however, as the Bishops were able to put the witnesses to the question there was a complete change of front, in fact, all the witnesses except the Master De la Moore and Himbert Blancke, gave way and accepted a form of admission and confession which it appears the Pope had settled and arranged should be adopted. This shews that where there was no fear of being tortured the English Templars said they were innocent, but directly they (as some of them did) felt the pains of the rack, the rest like so many sheep, came forward and admitted that they were up to a certain point guilty of that which they had before denied.

The impossibility of accepting as the truth confessions under torture was appreciated even in those days by those who were not irritated by opposition.

In 1311, the Pope and his advisers ordered provincial councils to be held to determine what should be done with the Templars. We have the reports of some of these Councils, generally in favour of the Templars. In the one held at Ravenna the Bishop and his Council had the courage and boldness to take this view. Certain Templars were brought before them and examined upon the charges, evidently the same as those sent by the Pope to the English Bishops. The Archbishop then

[1] *Ante*, p. 64.

consulted his council, the Dominicans who attended as Inquisitors wished to put the Templars to the question but the others refused. No opinion however was given on that day, but on the next, the account says, "When the Fathers met again the sentence was given,"

> *the innocent to be absolved, the evil doers (nocentes) to be punished by law. Those are to be considered innocent who confessed through fear of torture if they recalled their confessions, or did not dare to do so by fear of the tortures lest fresh ones should be inflicted whilst this continued (dum id constaret).*

So far the Council at Ravenum decided about the individuals. With regard to the Order which Clement and Philip wished abolished their judgment was :—

> "*Of the Order and its property all agreed that those hereafter should be preserved for the Order if the greater part of the Order should be innocent and the wrong doers abjuring their heresy, those in the Order should inflict the needed punishment of their wickedness.*"[1]

It is to be noticed that this Council held those innocent who either withdrew confessions made under torture or who would if they had dared. It will be seen that the Council of Paris took an entirely opposite view, those who withdrew their confessions the Bishops of Paris and the Archbishop of Sens the Metropolitan sent to the stake without trial or delay as obstinate or relapsed heretics.

But to return to the English Templars. Modern authors have generally assumed that the Templars in England were not tortured, but there is distinct reference made to the cruelties imposed upon them and there were three Templars examined whose depositions seem to shew they were obtained by torture, and it is not likely that after the Pope had written to Edward to allow it, and the Council, after many deliberations had sanctioned torture that it was not inflicted, but there seems to have been a strong feeling against it, and that it was apparently confined to these three witnesses. The rest of the Templars either from fear or being induced by their friends to yield agreed to the Pope's form of confession.

Writers call this a compromise, but it is really a very one sided affair. There is an anecdote in the state papers of Cardinal Wolsey, who, referring to this form of *compromise,* spoke of a party to a suit *about a windmill,* who said he was perfectly willing to *compromise* provided he had the mill. In the end the English Templars had to admit that there had been a great scandal against them (*vehementer diffimantur*) about the articles contained in the Pope's Bull. That they were guilty of heresy in believing that the head of the Chapter, though not a priest, could give them absolution, that they could not purge themselves and that, therefore, were willing and ready to abjure these and all other heresies and depravities.

When we read the documents we see how unfairly these admissions were framed. It may have been perfectly right when a person had been accused by public rumour of heresy, etc., of which he could not prove his innocence, that he should be called upon to make a public abjuration. In our times the late Roman Archbishop called upon a somewhat free thinking Catholic to make his confession. But there was no such public condemnation in England except by the publication of the charges themselves. Edward's letters distinctly say that the charges brought over by Bernard Pelet came as a surprise, and were previously unknown in England. The Pope said that in France a great suspicion had arisen (*magna orta suspicio*), but even in France there appears to have been

[1] *Coleti Collectio Conciliorum,* vol. xiv.

no public defamation, it was rather a secret whispered in Philip's ear by the apostate Templars. In England it appears to have been unknown. It was, therefore, not right that the Templars should have to admit the "vehement defamation." So with regard to the heresy of absolution. Humbert Blancke distinctly said that words were used "as far as I can," etc., and in any case this appears to have been a matter to be corrected, not for the suppression of the order and the punishment of the individuals.

But the Pope had to be satisfied, something had to be done to show that he was right and the Templars wrong, and the latter having admitted that, they had to abjure, there were solemn spectacles held to which the citizens of London were invited, for they are named as the *populus civitatis*. The doors of old St. Paul's were thrown open, the Bishops standing within, the Templars on the steps outside huddled together, and the people around, and with bended knee and streaming eyes with folded hands they had to confess, and then being absolved they were admitted into the church.[1]

This must have been a humiliating end to the proud and haughty career of the Knight Templar to stand there as a penitent and an outcast, until by his humble submission and confession of faults he had not committed, and admissions of charges he perhaps did not understand, he was allowed entrance into the church, and had restored to him those religious offices of which he had been so long deprived. For in those days men leant upon their religion, and the Templars seem to have felt greatly being deprived of its consolation. There are several references to this feeling in the depositions. The Papal party were so far successful, but there was undoubtedly a strong feeling for the Templars. The form of the admission had been settled by the Pope, but there were those who wished to modify it and it will be seen[2] five Templars at Southwark were received upon a modified form, but the Bishop of London insisted upon the Pope's form being carried out. He appears to have been very angry; said he would no longer interfere in the affairs of the Templars, if the form as settled by the Pope was not followed.[3] Another point in favour of the Templars was taken. The form alleged that they were released from the bonds of excommunication. It was objected that except the fugitives they had not been excommunicated, etc., and the form had to be altered.

EXAMINATION IN ENGLAND AFTER TORTURE ALLOWED.

On the 9 Cal. June (24th May) 1311, Stephen de Stapelbrugge was examined by the Bishop of London, assisted by that of Chichester. The report says that this Stephen had been one of those who escaped arrest, and though cited had not appeared, and was therefore excommunicated. Being afterwards arrested at Sarum, by Edward's officers, he was taken to London. We do not know whether he was tortured or not, but he is the first to admit the Denial, Spitting, etc. He said there were two modes of reception, one lawful and good and the other contrary to the Faith, that he was received according to the first, eleven years back, and that a year after he with other brethren met in chapter at Dinestee, before Brian le Jay, their Grand Preceptor in England, and others, two of them drew their swords, and the Grand Preceptor, a cross having been fetched, said "you see this figure of the crucifixion, you are required to deny Jesus being God and man, and Mary his mother, and to spit on this cross," and Stephen, with the

[1] *Wilkins*, vol. ii., p. 392. [2] *Post.* [3] p. 390.

fear of imminent death, unless he did this, denied Christ and the blessed Mary, not with his heart but mouth[1] only, as he said, and spat with interposed hand near the cross. He said, in answer to the 2-4 Interrogatories, that he believed this to be the mode of reception everywhere, and that brethren in the second reception are thus received, and he said, in answer to the 5th, that Brian le Jay taught him that Jesus was not true God and true man. He said in England they did not adore a cat or idol that he knew, but he heard it well said that they adored a cat and idol beyond the seas. He denied the kiss, but generally made admissions. He was asked as to the second reception, at what hour it took place, he said in the dawn, between night and morning, when the chapters are clandestinely held. Asked why they denied God and the blessed Virgin, in whom they believed, he said he did not know except in an evil spirit. He said he heard it said that in each general chapter a brother was killed, more than this he did not know, and then with knees bent to the earth, eyes raised, hands folded, with tears, sighs and devout ejaculations, he asked for the pity and grace of Holy Church, and that they would give him a healthy penance, saying he did not care for the death of the body, nor any torment, but only for the health of his soul.

This confession speaks of two receptions, that brethren were first received in the lawful one and afterwards in the second, where they had to deny, etc., and he introduces the name of the Virgin Mary. These are new suggestions and apparently unknown to the French Templars or their Inquisitors. These distinctions are of some importance upon the question, whether the witnesses are saying what really occurred, or are making up a story to satisfy their examiners.

The next witness, Thomas de Tocci, also a fugitive it appeared, was examined at Lincoln, the 20th witness, upon the Papal articles, all of which he denied; even as to the Heresy he said that the defects of the rules (religion) and observancies might be absolved, but not sins. He then escaped, and he was cited to appear, and for contumacy excommunicated, but he submitted himself to the Archbishop and was examined, 7 Cal. July, (26th June,) 1311, in the Church of St. Martin's, Vintry, by the Bishops of London and Chichester, he persisted in his denials to most of the articles. He said he had heard from someone that the Grand Master had three heads hidden about in different parts of England. This witness was asked why he escaped, and his answer throws some light upon the proceedings of the Inquisitors the Pope was good enough to send over. After saying that there were young men in the order, and that in it, as in others, there were both good and bad, he was asked how and why he fled from the order, and he replied from fear of death, because the Abbot of Latigniaco, at Lincoln, when he examined the witness, asked him whether he wished to confess other matters, and when he replied he knew nothing more to say unless he spoke falsely, the Abbot placed his hand in his breast and swore, by the word of God, that he would make him confess before he escaped from his hands, as he said. Upon this, fearing, he went to the vice comte keeper of the castle, and gave him forty florins to let him go, and with his permission he left in daylight. He said he had been in the *Curia Romana*, &c., there, as well as elsewhere in France, had heard many confess a great deal about the Papal articles, and he said he had leave by letter from the Master of the Order in England to go about in secular clothes, to find out and obtain those things which might be useful to himself or the Order, and abroad and in the Roman church, and on this side, he always wore the Chlamyden of his habit under his secular dress, and wore it so then.

[1] This was the common form used by the French Templars. They were *allowed* to say "they denied with mouth not heart (*ore non mente*)" and "they spat not on but near the cross (*non supra sed juxta*)."

He said he had spoken with four brethren of the Temple, beyond seas, who had been received by Himbertus Blancke, who they told him received them with the denial and spitting, and two others who are now dead. St. Martin's Church, June, 1311.

This was the evidence given by this witness on the 7 Kal. July. Within four days, *i.e.*, on 3 Kal. (28th June), he was again brought before the two Bishops, this time in the house of the Prior of Blessed Mary of Southwark, and entirely reversed his evidence. Whether he had been tortured in the meantime we can only surmise, but the two Bishops ask for and give no explanation why, having been examined on the Saturday, he is brought before them on the Tuesday, nor why on the second occasion he reversed all he said on the first. On being sworn again, to tell the truth, &c., he said fifteen or sixteen years ago he was received by Guido de Foresta, then Grand Preceptor in England, and he says who were present. Asked about the denial, &c., he said after he was first received, when he professed the three substantials of the order, in a lawful and proper manner, he was introduced into a room of the said Master, Guido, and before him, Adam and Henricus having swords in their hands, compelled him to deny Jesus Christ, which he did with his mouth not heart[1] as he said. They tried (*nitebantur*) to compel him to deny the V.M., and to spit on her image, but he would not but kissed her feet as he said. He said the Grand Master taught them to believe in the great God and to keep the society of the good men of the order, and to do as they did. He said when he was with Brother Brian le Jay, he heard him say a hundred times that Jesus was not true God and true man, that the least hair of the beard of a Saracen was worth more than the body of him who was speaking, *i.e.*, the witness, and he said that when some poor asked for alms for the "love of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary," Brother Brianas replied, "Dame go hang with your lady," and throwing impetuously a farthing in the dirt, (*unum quadrantum in luto*); he made these poor persons grope for it, though this was in the time of cold weather. It is not necessary to follow this witness through his long deposition, which seems to have been given in answer to suggestions of the Inquisitors. He accused the Grand Master, Moore, of acquiring by right and money a great deal too much wealth, but he did not know this was acquired for the Order. He believed that brethren were received illicitly, and when they were together secretly he suspected evil rather than good took place. He gave a long rambling account of the failures of the Templars to support troops of the King and the Church against the Saracens, and that for three years he never could see the *Corpus Christi* because he was thinking of the devil, which thought he could not drive out of his mind by any prayer or otherwise by anything which he knew of. But to-day he had heard Mass with great devotion and thought of nothing except Christ, and he said that no one in the Order could save his soul as it now is, as he believed, unless it was amended, for all are guilty of the unlawful absolution, or of some other unlawful deed. Then he said, soon after his entry, Brother John de Moore said to him "are you our Brother received in the Order," and he answered it is so, and he said, "if you sit above the campanilla of St. Paul's, London, you will not be able to see more misfortune than will happen to you before you die," and another Brother told them when they were received, "you will never have a good day in the order."

It is to be noticed that this second confession follows that of the previous witness, Stephen, in some matters, but not in others. Both blame Brian le Jay, and speak of the denial of the Virgin Mary, &c., but the first has a double reception, the

[1] This was the common form used by the French Templars. They were *allowed* to say "they denied with mouth not heart (*ore non mente*)" and "they spat not on but near the cross (*non supra sed juxta*)."

second says that he was first properly received and then taken into a room and asked to deny, &c. But the curious part is that the last witness, at the close of his evidence, seems to have forgotten about the denial and spitting, and says the Brethren were culpable because of the unlawful absolution or some other deed. It seems that if the denial and insult had really occurred the enormity of the sin amounting to apostasy in its worst form, could not have been so easily overlooked.

A third witness, examined by the two Bishops of London and Chichester, on Thursday, the 1st July, 1311, at the Church of St. Martin's, Vintry (*Vineteria*). was John de Stoke, Chaplain of the Templars. He said his first reception was near Belesale, in the mode which he had elsewhere deposed to (he was the 44th and 17th witness, and had described the usual lawful receptions), and he continued after his first reception one year and eighteen days. On the day of S. Andrew, at Garwy, in the diocese of Hereford, he was called in the room of Brother James de Molay (then Grand Master of the order), present brothers John de Lugduno and John de Sancto Georgio, a stranger, in the said room, and standing outside the door were two serving brethren with swords and key (*clavis*), when De Molay sat upon his couch and he sat before him on a settee (*sedista*), the Master asked if he now professed and in what way, and the witness explained the mode and form of his reception, *i.e.*, that he promised obedience, chastity, &c. Then the Grand Master said to him we will see whether you will be obedient, and he had brought from a chapel a crucifix, and he asked the witness whose image it was, and he replied it was the image of Christ, who suffered on the cross for the redemption of the human race, to whom the Master said "you speak evil and thou errest, he was the son of a woman and because he said he was the son of God he was crucified, and it is necessary for you to deny him of whom this is the image," and the witness replied: "Let me abstain from denying my Saviour," and said the Master, "it is necessary for you to do this, otherwise I will have you put in prison (*acco*) and taken to a place where you will not find a friend, nor will anything be well for you," and there were several collected in the room near the two brethren, and the brethren assisting the Master told the witness to obey the Master or evil would befall him, and the witness asked if it was the way in the order that this should be done by everyone, and the Grand Master said yes, and the witness fearing that death was imminent denied the crucifixion "with his mouth, not heart" (*ore non mente*), as he said. He said he was not to reveal the secrets of the chapter, and that he believed the Grand Master spoke the truth about the way of receiving and the denial. He was asked in what the Grand Master said he was to believe when he had denied Christ, he replied in the Great God omnipotent, who created heaven and earth, and not in the crucifixion. He replied as to the other articles he did not know much, and prostrate on the ground, with hands joined, he asked pardon and submitted himself to the authority of the Church.

These confessions having been made, the two brothers, Stephen de Stapelbrugge and Thomas de Tocci, were again brought before Robert, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and first made to abjure their heresies and sign their confessions, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church. The account, as given in *Wilkin's Concilia*,[1] is headed:—

To the praise and glory of the name of the Most High Father, &c., to the confusion of heretics and the corroboration of the faithful Christians, this public instrument is written upon the reconciliation of heretics penitent and returning to the orthodox faith, &c., &c.

This document recites that on the 27th June, 1311, Stephen de Stapelbrugge came before the Archbishop and his Council, and, having had explained to him, word by

[1] p. 388.

word, in the language he understood, as he said, namely, the French language, the denial of Christ and the Virgin Mary, His Mother, the spitting on the cross and the heresies and errors confessed by him to the Archbishop, as more fully set out in his deposition, he, Stephen, affirmed in full council, and before the people of the city introduced for this purpose, all the matters stated to have been deposed by him to be true, and that he would always persevere in this confession, and had persevered up to the present, and confessing humbly his error with bended knee and folded hands, and with very many tears, &c., asked for the mercy of Holy Mother Church, offering himself as ready to be absolved from all the heresies confessed by him, and to abjure all others and all errors deviating from the Catholic faith, and as ready to fulfil faithfully any penance enjoined upon him, and the Book of the Gospels being placed in his hands, he abjured the said heresies in this manner.

"I brother Stephen de Stapelbrugge on being personally before the Lord Robert Archbishop, say that all and singular the things which before the Bishops of London and Chichester, I being sworn and confessed, and which word by word in a language intelligible to me have been read over to me (*recitatæ sunt*) were and are true, and in this confession of truth I persevere. In which matters so confessed I confess myself to have erred, and I ask with a contrite and humble heart absolution and penance for them, and I abjure the aforesaid heresies and all others under whatever name, and I promise that I will keep pure the faith which the Roman Church holds and teaches, and that heretics and their followers, as far as in my power, I will pursue, and both them and their supporters and receptors and rash benefactors, without any fraud or delay, I will make known to the Church and priest; and the penance which on account of my fault is inflicted, I will faithfully perform and perfectly fulfil, as far as human weakness permits, and I wish and concede that if from this hour it happens that I relapse in the above error, or other of any heresy, however known (*censeatur*), by erring much in any article an essential either of the faith or of the sacraments, or by believing or adhering to the faith of heretics or from the faith, I may *ipso facto* be held excommunicated, and manifested a perjurer and heretic, and I so judge myself (*et talem me ego judicio*) so that without further notice the sentence for the penalty of perjury, of relapse and manifest heresy may be inflicted on me." Subsequently the aforesaid brother, Stephen, swore on the Holy Gospels touched with his hand, to obey the commands of the Church and the said Council.

[1]Thomas Tocci made the same abjuration, except that he abjured those things which he alone confessed, and afterwards all other heresies, and, as Stephen had done, with the Gospels in his hands, and afterwards they both, in place of signature, made their mark on the document of their abjuration (*schedula abjurationis*).

Then the Archbishop, with his own authority and that of the whole Council of the Bishop of London, granted the aforesaid Stephen and Thomas absolution and reconciliation, in the presence of a notary, in these words, "By the authority of God, of the blessed Mary, of blessed Thomas the Martyr, our patron, and of all the Saints, male and female (*sanctorum atque sanctarum*) given to us, as well as by the authority of the present councils, we grant you as those separated from the Church by the denial of faith, and now converted to the faith; to be reunited in the unity of the Church, reserving to ourselves and the Council the infliction of penance for these deeds. And because they were both penitent he wished the Bishop of Chichester to absolve them, which Bishop, in full canonicals, with twelve priests in robes assisting him were stationed in the west

[1] p. 389.

door of the Cathedral, and the penitents without the door with bended knee, prostrate on the steps, bowed humbly in prayer, the people of the City and the Councils standing around, and the psalm *miserere mei deus* said from the beginning to the end, and with the prayer and speech subscribed, absolved the said penitents and reconciled them to the unity of the Church under this form.

> *In the name &c. Because we find brother Stephen by your confessions you have denied Jesus and the blessed Virgin Mary, and spat near the cross, and because moved by better councils you wish as you assert to return with good heart and new faith to the unity of Holy Mother Church, and have abjured the premises and all heresies according to the form of the Church. By the authority of this Council we release you from the fetters of excommunication, by which you are bound, and we reconcile you to the unity of the Church, if you return to it with your heart and will observe its commands, &c.* There was a similar absolution of Thomas.
>
> This was followed by psalms and prayers.

On Saturday, 5 nones of July, John de Stoke went through similar ceremonies, his confession was read over to him in the language he understood, and he persevered in it, and with bended knee asked for pardon, and he repeated that he had denied Jesus Christ in his reception, but with mouth not heart, &c., &c., and was absolved and reconciled.

But whatever inducements may have led these three witnesses to the confession that on their reception they had denied, &c., whether from torture or the fear of it, the Grand Master Willielmas de Moore and Humbert Blancke subsequently both refused to confess, not the denial of which indeed they were never accused, but even the illegal absolution.

It seems that the Archbishop and the Council were led to believe that the Grand Master would confess at least the alleged absolution, and after Stoke was absolved Moore was sent for and strongly exhorted to abjure the heresy of which he was accused and convicted by his own and the brethren's confessions, viz., the absolution given by himself in chapter, from which he could not purge himself, and to submit himself to the ordinances of the Church, but he replied that he had never committed such heresies, nor would he abjure crimes which he had never committed (*nec volebat abjurare crimina quae ipse nunquam commisit*) and he was sent back to the place from which he came, the Tower, where Raynouard says he died.

[1] After this on the following Tuesday (2 non. July) a number of the brethren were brought before the Council as being strongly accused of heresy by the articles in the Papal bull, and because they had greatly erred about the sacrament of penitence, believing that a lay brother specially after the holding of Chapter could absolve other brethren, etc., and they were informed that if they wished pertinaciously to defend their error they would be considered heretics, and by the necessity of law, as they could not purge themselves of these charges, it was necessary for them to abjure these heresies with which they were accused, and especially the said error and all heresies, and they replied they were ready to abjure these and all other heresies before the Archbishop and his Council now and whenever they were called upon, and with bended knee they asked pardon and submitted to the ordinance of the Church in which they had been received. On Tuesday 7 id July several other brethren came before the Bishops of London and Chichester, and after the statement was made to them about the unlawful

[1] p. 390.

absolution and the grave accusation by the articles in the Papal Bulls they replied that they had only recently been received in the Order, and they were never in chapters held by the Grand Master nor in the secret dealings (*secretis tractatibus*) of the order, but they were ready to abjure these and all other heresies.

As already stated there appears to have been some slackness on the part of a vice-council in not making the penitents use the proper words, and the Bishop of London threatened to retire and to abstain from interfering in the matters of the Templars if there was any departure from the words required by the Pope. It appears that this vice-council had absolved five brethren at Southwark.

It also appears that fifteen brethren were absolved, though they confessed nothing except that they had been strongly accused and the impossibility of being purged.

There were a considerable number of brethren who came forward. Their confessions seem to have taken this form. That they had erred about the absolution, that they had been strongly accused of the crimes of negation and spitting, they did not say they were guilty but that they could not purge themselves, which apparently meant could not prove their innocence, and, therefore, they abjured these and all other heresies and sought to be reconciled, etc., etc. This was the form of compromise under which all the brethren seem to have been absolved except the three first, the five at Southwark and the Grand Master, and, as will be seen, Himbert Blanke.

[1] As stated, there was a further objection raised by some of the Council to the words releasing the absolved Templars from the fetters of excommunication when no such sentence had been given against them unless they were fautores or fugitives, as Stapelbrugge and De Tocci were, and the words used were modified by adding, "If you are held bound by any chain," etc.

[2] Subsequently fifty other brethren were absolved in the same way. The account properly here ends, though it appears there were further notes, either written or to be written, which have not come down to us.

> For the writer adds, *if any one wishes to be better informed about the diligence of the Bishops, their different orders, the care they took, and the progress of the trial, which is too long to narrate, or desires with eager mind to enquire more diligently about the arrest and the separation of the persons, the visitors of the Gaolers and the removal of them and of the houses for the more faithful, keeping the Templars apart, the localities of the different Hospices, the exhortations and warnings addressed to the secular officials by the Mayor and Lieutenant of the City of London, the ordinance to raise money for expenses, the ways to procure the brethren to discover the truth, invented and thought out sometimes by the bishops personally, sometimes by the lawyers, also how often severe and cruel lay persons inflicted torture, &c., &c., these things in the Schedules and adjoining writings now remaining to us may be found more fully underwritten.*

The writer adds :—No order was made against the Grand Master on account of the Papal reservation (The Pope was he said at this time going to take the cases of the chiefs of the Templars himself, as a fact he did nothing of the kind), but Himbert Blanke was brought before the Council several times and diligently examined, &c., but he persisted in his denials, saying he would not confess errors he had never committed (*dicens se nolle errores quos ipse nunquam commisit abjurare*).

[1] p. 392. [2] p. 393.

The Council, however, did not order execution to be done on his body, but he was to be bound by double irons and shut up in the vilest prison, and there to be kept until otherwise ordered, and from time to time visited to see if he wished to confess anything further.

Himbert Blanke was the only one beside the English Grand Master, William Moore, who refused the Bishops' compromise, and he was, as we see, sent to prison, but his case was not so bad as some of the French Templars, who appear either to have been bricked up in a space made in a wall (*in incisionie muri*) or to have suffered the prison *forte et dure*, when a prisoner was not left to starve, but there was a small opening left in which food was placed, when this was not taken away for forty-eight hours the opening was closed.[1]

There is some reason to think that Himbert Blanke did not remain for ever in his prison. Edward II. may have been a weak King, but his sympathies were with the Templars, and it was only from reverence for the Pope's express will that he consented to the torture and persecution of the English Templars, and we find in 3 *Rymer*, 472, the following ordinance of Edward II., addressed to the Hospitalers of St. John, Jerusalem, whom the Pope had insisted should be the heirs of the property of the Templars. After reciting a previous order that each Templar was to receive 4 pence a day, and William Moore, the English Grand Master, two shillings a day, these two shillings, William Moore being then dead, the King assigned to Himbertus Blanke. On the requisition of Louis of Claremont the King ordered that having pious compassion to their miserable state, and having no wish to defraud them, "We order you to pay each Templar 4^d^. a day and Himbert Blanke 2 shillings out of the property of the Templars, satisfying them and the arrears of their allowances from the time that this property of the Templars came into your hand," and the King said that they were to do this so that it was no longer his duty to provide any other remedy for the Templars.

No one can read the account of what took place in England without recognising that the charges of heresy, blasphemy, depravity, &c., were given up. And the only charge relied on was that Laymen gave absolution. To those who believe that this power was given with the keys to Peter, and those who possess Apostolic succession alone inherit it, this usurpation of authority may be a great sin, but even they would hardly compare it with the denial and spitting on the Cross alleged to have been part of the Reception, not to mention the crimes against humanity. Of these the Bishops it is clear exonerated the Templars in England. We now have to see what was proved against these unhappy Knights in France.

[1] It is difficult to conceive the cruelty of those days, but one learns with surprise from those who visited Lassa that there are Monks there who voluntarily submit to this form of incarceration. For a few years at first, then for a longer period, and finally, these Monks permanently enter a kind of cell or cave closed by a stone slab, and the author describes an interview with the Abbot in a yard surrounded by these Monks, as if they were rabbits in hutches, only even the latter have light and air.

St. John's Day in Harvest.

MONDAY, 24th JUNE, 1907.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, London, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Hamon le Strange, W.M.; E. J. Castle, P.M., as I.P.M.; E. Armitage, S.W.; J. P. Simpson, as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, Secretary; H. Sadler, I.G.; W. Watson, Steward; R. F. Gould, P.M.; G. Greiner, P.M.; E. L. Hawkins and E. H. Dring.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. H. Montague Smith, Count Dembski, A. D. Cox, Arthur Baines, Thomas Cohu, W. H. Harris, George E. Denny, Alfred S. Gedge, J. W. Eisenman, A. Bianchi, L. A. Engel, G. C. Williams, Percy A. Legge, S. R. Baxter, C. Griffiths, Harry Guy, F. G. Mordaunt, J. Leach Barrett, P. Garrick, Arthur G. Gillott, W. Burton, John Church, W. F. Lamonby, W. Leonard Smith, H. Hyde, W. F. Keddall, A. H. Pitcher, H. C. Price, A. A. A. Murray, G. Cruesemann, B. Pflug, H. King, W. Wonnacott, G. H. Brown, F. W. Levander, H. S. Beaman, E. H. McGrath, Albert Henning, J. Walter Hobbs, E. Cruesemann, W. D. Smith, W. M. Chambers, Chas. J. R. Tijou, E. H. Buckeridge, H. N. James, D. Bock, W. W. Mangles, H. Lovegrove, J. T. Phillips, James M. Small, S. R. Clarke, Thomas Leete, C. F. Silberbauer, J. I. Moar, Sidney Meymott, R. J. Harrison, F. Mella, G. H. Luetchford, Harry Tipper, James J. Cooper, Robert A. Gowan, Nevil Maskelyne, J. Proctor Watson, Lawrence Mayfield, G. Vogeler, R. J. Hatfield, S. Walshe Owen, F. R. Taylor and A. Y. Mayell.

Also the following visitors:—Bros. E. P. Hooper, Meridian Lodge No. 1469, Cape Colony; Charles Aubert, Mornington Lodge No. 1672; T. Vincent Smith, Guardian Lodge No. 2625; E. A. Williams, Chislehurst Lodge No. 1531; Roland Y. Mayell, All Soul's Lodge No. 170; H. Langcross, Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232; and T. S. A. Evans, Prudent Brethren Lodge No. 145.

One Lodge and seventy Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Apologies for non-attendance were received from Bros. E. Macbean, Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, T. B. Whytehead, Admiral Sir A. H. Markham, L. A. de Malczovich, W. H. Rylands, F. J. W. Crowe, F. H. Goldney, G. L. Shackles and J. T. Thorp.

It was unanimously resolved: "That after the 30th November, 1907, the entrance fee for Members of the Correspondence Circle be twenty-one shillings, to include the first year's subscription; future subscriptions remaining at ten shillings and sixpence as as present."

The Secretary called attention to the following

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. R. Pearce Couch, Penzance.

Certificate, issued by the Grand Lodge of Ireland on 16th July, 1823, to Bro. William Robinson, Lodge No. 788, Carncastle.

Clearance Certificate, issued to same Brother on 25th July, 1824, by Lodge No. 788, Carncastle. The certificate states that the Brother "being preivously a master mason and having with Skill fortitude and valour withstood all the trials attending his admission he then duly and regularly in the body of Said Lodge passed the Chair received the degrees of Excellent Superexcellent and royallarch mason and that he has uniformly and regularly conducted himself with propriety and as Such we recomend him to all royal Arch Masons round the Globe."

By Bro. B. Matveieff, London.

Old leather Apron, with emblems, etc., hand-painted. Circular flap, edged with indented silk ribbon.

By Bro. F. H. Goldney, Camberley.

Apron, hand-painted on linen, edged with two rows of silk fringe (steel-blue and red).

Sash (or Collar) orange-coloured silk with emblems hand-painted. It seems probable that these are not Masonic, but were worn by a Member of the Orange Society.

By Bro. Benno Loewy, New York.

Electro-type of gold Jewel, stated to have been worn in the middle of the sixteenth century by Cornelius de Vriendt during the building of Antwerp Cathedral, but from the style and workmanship it seems probable that the original was not made until about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Bro. Count Goblet d'Alviella writes as follows:—"The Cathedral of Antwerp was begun in 1382 and not "completed until 1592. The Direction of the Works remained for several generations in the hands of "the De Vriendt family:—Floris de Vriendt, 1476; Johannis de Vriendt, 1500; Cornelis de Vriendt, "the elder, 1488-1538. As architect of the Cathedral he was a juror and a dean of the Vier "Ghekroonde (see *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiii., p. 78). His epitaph in the Church of the Récollets at Antwerp "runs thus:—

'Hier leet begrave Cornelis de Vrint Alia Floris steehouder sterf A° 1538 de 17 Septembr. ende 'syn huysvrouwe Margriete Goos, sterf A° 1577 de 11 Octobr.'

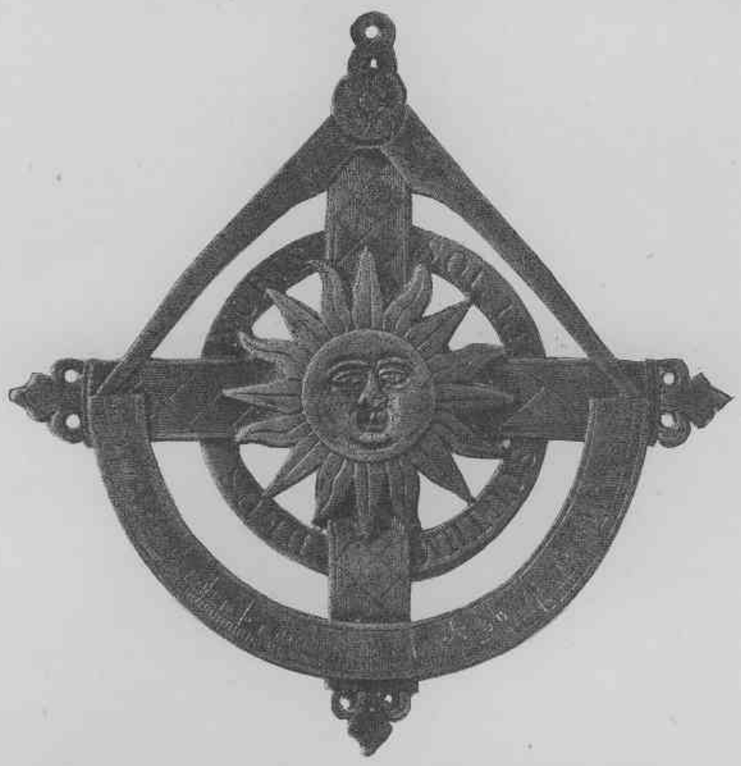
"His badge of office should be invaluable. But the authenticity ought to be well established. I agree "with you that this jewel cannot be older than the beginning of the nineteenth century or the end of "the eighteenth. It might belong to any organization of Heredom or of R ∴ + ∴" *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. J. P. Davies, Secunderabad.

Irish P.M. Jewel, stamped silver Star and silk Sash, not yet identified. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. R. F. Cuthbert, Witney.

Pocket Handkerchief, with a number of Masonic emblems. On a coffin are printed "J.D., 5830," which are probably meant to indicate the name of the maker and date of manufacture.



Jewel said to have been worn by Cornelius de Vriendt
at the building of Antwerp Cathedral (1550-1577).
From an electrotype presented to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge
by Bro. Benno Loewy, of New York.



Engraved Jewel, from the collection of the late Bro. C. Kupferschmidt—
now in the possession of Bro. J. M. Hamm.



Mark Certificate issued in 1856 by the Albany Lodge No. 176, Newport, Isle of Wight. From the original in the possession of Bro. F. W. Levander.



At Margate in the Isle of Thanet, KENT, is Erected by

James Mitchener:

COMMODIOUS MACHINES for BATHING in the SEA.

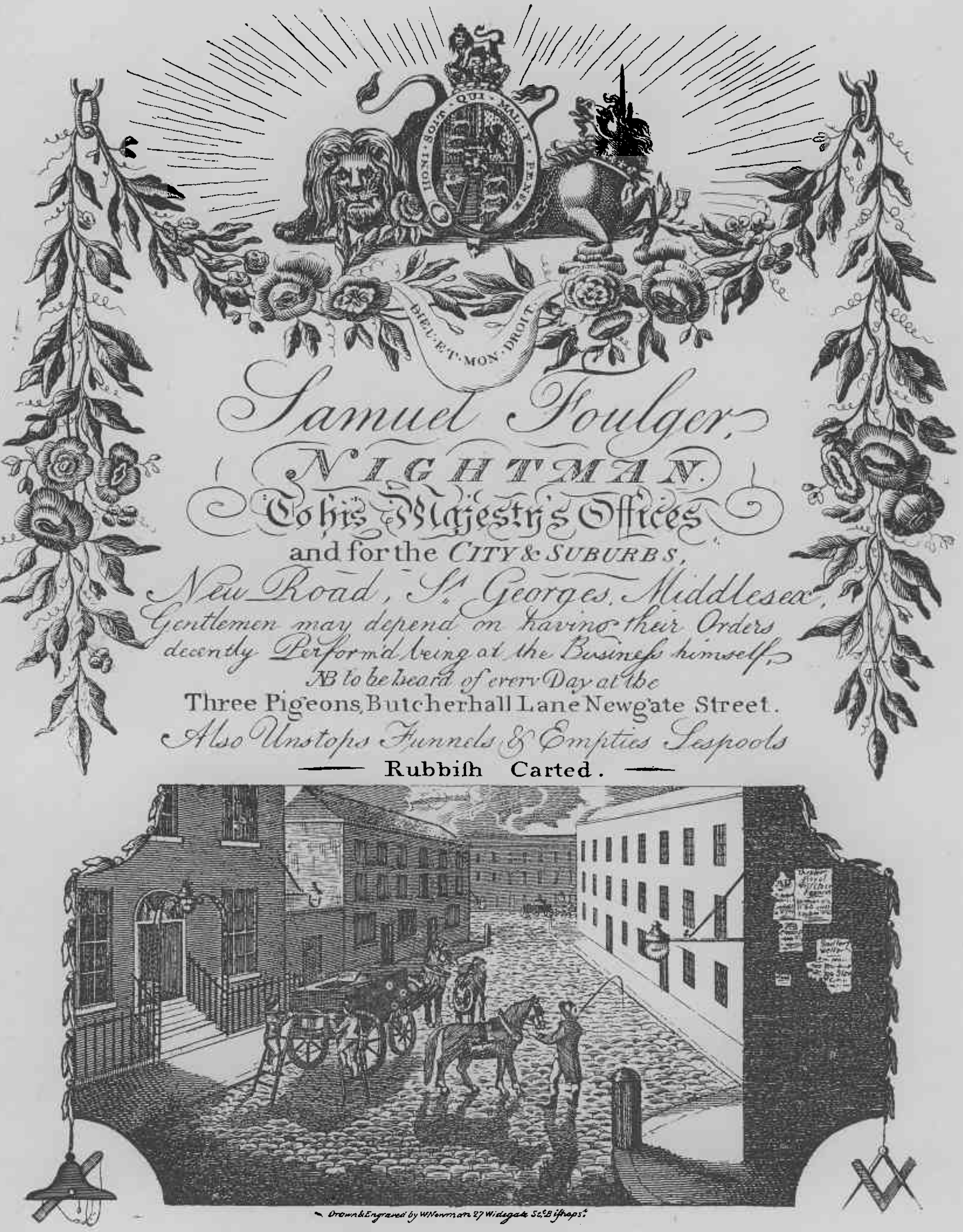
Where the Nobility, Gentry & others, who are pleased to Favour him may depend on all possible Care with a proper Guide for the Ladies, & himself for the Gentlemen. & their Favours thankfully acknowledg'd by

Their most Obedient & humble Servants

James Mitchener

Trade Bill" used by James Mitchener, Margate, in 1768.

From the original in the Quatuor Coronati Library.



"Trade Bill" used by Samuel Foulger in 1807.
From the original in the Quatuor Coronati Library.

By Bro. J. M. HAMM, London.

Engraved MEDAL, formerly belonging to the late Bro. C. Kupferschmidt.

By Bro. H. HYDE, Leytonstone.

Small BROOCH, " French prisoners' " work.

Old SEAL, with square and compasses in the mounting.

By Bro. C. C. CASLER, Port Huron, Mich.

SOUVENIR BADGE of the Grand Chapter and Grand Council held at Port Huron on 21st May, 1907. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. HARRY GUY, London.

JEWEL of P.M. under the Grand Lodge of the " Ancients."

By Bro. F. W. LEVANDER, London.

" Irish " MARK CERTIFICATE in cypher. The following is a translation :—

"To all Mark Masons.
" Be faithful to your Obligations.

"This is to certify that our Brother Henry Charles Levander was duly enrolled according to the " ancient custom peculiar to this Order.

"Albany Lodge, Newport, I.W.			
"M.O., W. W. Way	[on cube]	176	No. 118
		Ancient	
"Sec., George Wyatt,			
		Order of	90
"5856.			
		Mark Masons.	
			Geo. Wyatt.
			f."

From this it will be seen that the degree was conferred under the assumed authority of the Craft warrant held by the Albany Lodge No. 176, at Newport, I.W. The Mark Lodge seems to have maintained its independence until the year 1893, when it came under the Grand Mark Lodge of England. Bro. H. C. Levander subsequently joined a Mark Lodge in London, and was registered as having been originally admitted under the *Irish* Constitution. It will be noticed that the cypher reads from right to left.

By the SECRETARY.

Engraved Masonic " TRADE BILLS " :

(*a.*) James Mitchener's Bathing Establishment at Margate, 1768.

(*b.*) Samuel Foulger, "Nightman to his Majesty's offices and for the City and Suburbs, New Road, St. George's, Middlesex," 1807.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Exhibitors and to those who had kindly presented objects to the Lodge Museum.

Bro. CHAS. J. R. TIJOU read the following paper :—

NOTES ON THE METAL WORK OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON, AND JEAN TIJOU'S DESIGNS AND IRONWORK THEREIN.

BY BRO. CHAS. J. R. TIJOU, P.G.Std.B. & P.A.G.P. Eng.

AN interesting address on the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral was read in this Lodge, three years since, by our Bro. Canon Horsley, Past Grand Chaplain of England, and, incidentally, he referred to the subject of this paper, in the preparation of which I am indebted to the Rev. Minor Canon Besley, Librarian of St. Paul's, to Mr. Emerton, Sub-Librarian, for his personal attention, and to other friends.

I do not propose to trace the various Churches erected on the present site since the first in A.D. 610, but to commence from the re-building of the present Cathedral. I may, however, remark that the first Christian Church dedicated to St. Paul was built by King Ethelbert, A.D. 610. This was destroyed by fire, in 961, and re-built. Twenty-six years later the new Church was also burnt down, as was its successor in 1087. Bishop Maurice then conceived the idea of building a large Cathedral, 690 feet long, 130 feet wide, with a spire 520 feet high, which was ultimately carried out with some modifications. The Great Fire of 1666 caused its destruction and the consequent re-building of the last of the series, which it is hoped may exist for many generations to come.

It will be remembered that Canon Horsley had examined a document described as "MS. a/c of the re-building the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul, London—From September 1666 (when the Old Church was destroyed by the dreadful fire) to 29th September, 1700." This MS. is in the Library of Lambeth Palace, and is a summary of the original monthly accounts in the Cathedral Library, all of which are signed by Sir Christopher Wren.

	£	s.	d.
Referring to the Metal Work of the Cathedral, it appears that the *Preparatory* work for Smiths, including window bars, cramps, stocks and bolts, gudgeons, battering irons and "Plummery" cost	111	19	00
For the *New* work, ordinary iron and labor	4953	11	00
Fine ironwork of gates, window ornaments, Choristers desks & "pannells & Organ Skreen"	5004	10	00
Totalling	£10,070	00	00

	£	s.	d.
For "Plummers" & the cost of cutting & taking down old lead & pipes was only	£24	1	1
but for "skreening washing & sifting rubbish for recovery of old lead & for refining same," (the weight of which was over 227 tons)	532	0	$10\frac{3}{4}$
The cost of lead, "sodder" & labor amounted to ...	6900	0	0

The day laborers' payments for digging for melted lead & carrying it to Plummery, & for carrying iron & other mat[ls] to Store-vaults &c. was 3519 0 0

During the period referred to, the amount expended on bells and incidentals connected therewith, was only £517. A small bell, to call the workmen together, cost £7, while £510 accounts for the one large bell "Great Tom of Westminster," which was originally known as the "Edward" Bell, and at the time of its purchase, in 1700, was in the Clock Tower at the entrance to the New Palace, Westminster, but this tower being in a ruinous state, William III. gave the bell to the poor of St. Margaret's, Westminster, the Churchwardens of which parish forthwith sold it to the Cathedral authorities for £305. On this purchase "commissions," illicit or otherwise, do not figure largely, for the expenses in treating for the purchase amounted to 17s. 6d. only, while 15s. 10d. accounts for "discovery of bell-metal stolen." The bell was sold by the Churchwardens at 10d. per lb., and in ascertaining its weight—84 cwt., a large iron beam was broken, which cost the purchasers £15 for making it good. The clapper for the bell cost £6. For re-casting the bell Wightman, the bell-founder, was paid £97, which included 1¼ cwt. of additional metal. This bell now weighs 85cwt. 3qrs. 21bs. Its diameter is 6½ft. and total height 6ft. 1in., including the canons.

The two quarter bells for the Clock were cast in 1707, the greater bell weighing 24¾cwt. and the lesser 12½cwt., which were purchased at 14d. per lb. Previously St. Paul's had never boasted more than one bell, but that one was of exceptionally good tone and was praised by Chaucer in his "Canterbury Tales."

Turning to the ironwork of the present Cathedral the first entry appears in November 1691, as follows:—

"To Mons. Tijoue ffor the Ironworke of two windows ffor	
"ye Choire, viz[t]. ffor 34[c]. 1[q]. 20[lb]. at 6[d].	96 08 00
"ffor 45 foot runing of the Groteske bars	13 10 00
"ffor workmanshippe of y[e] two Scrowles in y[e] keys	06 00 00

"Sep. 17, 1695.[1] (signed) "Rece[d]
"Witness "J. Tijou."
F. Widdows"

and later on

"ffor carridge of ye Iron work for two windows in y[e] Choire	
"from Hampton Court to y[e] Church"	00 03 00

It does not appear where this work was wrought, but as in most instances the entries state from Hampton Court, presumably the Foundry was there.

Many similar entries appear covering nearly the whole of the windows, most of which were Tijou's work.

(I note that old Iron was valuable at this time for it realized 12s. cwt.)

"To John Tijoue ffor iron worke of the Rayles of Two	
"Staire cases	40 00 00
and "ffor two little windows in ye s[d] Staire	20 00 00
also "ffor 12 paire hinges ffor Choire 14/- each" and "48	
steel handles ffor the drawing seats in the Choire 5/- each"	

A number of "Groteske Pannels" were supplied for the Choire, measuring over 150 feet superficial, at 40s. per foot.

[1] This date refers to the time of payment, nearly four years after the work was completed.

"Ye Iron Screene under ye organ case in ye Choire, 221ft. super," was supplied by Tijou under a contract at £2 per foot.

Hopton, a joiner, was paid "ffor gluing of boards for Mr. Tijoue to draw "ye Iron screene upon and also for Mr. Gibbons, a model ffor seats in Choire "and ye Altar, and ye Deans seat" and Roger Davis for "Preparing y^e^ "Lime Tree for Mr. Gibbons to carve for ye Choire, 30^s^/-"

Tijou was paid £525 for 8 windows supplied in Jan. 1700,	
The windows themselves costing	412 08 06
"8 scrowles for top of windows	40 00 00
"and for 364 fete ornaments in ye double barrs of ye same	72 16 00

In 1706

"To John Tijoue for the ironworke of the round staire case "in the South West Tower.	
"For Raile & pannelling to the Staircase & Window at "22^s^/6^d^ per foot	156 18 0
"For Ironworke in the Watch dore and other Ornaments "at 36^s^ per foot	146 0 0
"For 135f^t^ r^ng^ of pannells at £2 4 0	297 0 0
"15 Pillasters at £7 9 0	111 15 0
"For the Altar Raile by agreement	260 0 0

In 1708

"For Copper Work for N.W. Tower:—	
"4 Scrolles, 8^c^. at 3/- per lb.	135 0 0
"Mold Plinth & Scrolls 5^c^. at 4/- lb.	122 0 0
"Iron work therein	17 0 0
To Plumber for Lead for Cap of Dome and work on same being 3303^c^. at 15/- with some extraordinary work amounted to £2541.	
Robinson & Smith received for the Round balcony of Lantern	300 0 0
Langley Bradley, Clockmaker, provided a large Quarter Clock, going 8 days, as per agreement	300 0 0
and "For a canvass bedd stuffed with Oakam and Sawed "with strong thread line to receive the Clock weights"	2 5 0
£97 was paid to Andrew Niblett, Copper Smith, for 5 brass plates for Dome, planished and polished, the middle one 4^ft^. diam., ½ inch thick, weighing 5^c^. 3^q^. at 3/- lb.	
Drilling and filing 2064 holes in same at 12^d^ each	103 4 0

In 1710

"To Robert Trevet, Engraver, "for drawing in perspective, "outside view of the Church and inside view of the Choire "when ye Q^n^ L^ds^ and Commons were there and engraving "same on copper plates	£300
Niblett, Copper Smith, provided "a Brass plate with grove "let into marble paving for sliding Fence before Organ" costing	£51

"To John Rawley for 3 very large horizontal Dials with "minutes and diagonal minutes, Equation table with pierced "and graved cocks	£200
Iron Hinges for the Great West, North and South gates, weighing 18^{c}. at $10\frac{1}{2}^{d}$ lb. amounting to	£91

The Iron gates for the Choir and elsewhere in the interior of the Cathedral were designed and wrought by Jéan Tijou, and Wren was able to see that work successfully finished. Starkie Gardiner describes these as being "exquisitely rich and transparent" and they are usually considered to be the finest wrought ironwork in England.

In reference to this work the following entries appear amongst many others :—

	£ s. d.
"To John Tijoue Smith ffor a paire of great Gates at y^{e} "West side of y^{e} South Portico with a Wicket framed of "strong iron with ornaments and points on y^{e} top	160 00 00
"ffor two desks for y^{e} Choristers, 9 foot long, each containing "26 pannills, 16 inches square, weight in both 6^{c}. and ffor "4 brackets for y^{e} same $contain^{g}$ about 24 foot $supf^{l}$ 8^{c}. 2^{q}. "by agreement	265 00 00"

	£ s. d.
"To John Tijoue Smith ffor Two great Gates on y^{e} North "and South side of ye East end of ye Choire $cont^{g}$ 384 foot "in both superficiall at 40^{s} ℘ foot	708 00 00
"ffor two little round windows looking into the staire cases "on y^{e} north and south sides at ye east end of the Choire at "£5 each	10 00 00
"ffor ye great Gates on ye outside of y^{e} Church leading to "ye east side of ye south portico and a wicket in y^{e} middle "of it fframed with strong iron and ornaments	160 00 00
"Ironwork for 6 windows in y^{e} north & south Crosses of "ye Doors at 6^{d} lb.	276 10 00
"ffor 200 f^{t} of ornaments in y^{e} s^{d} windows at 4^{s}. ℘ f^{t}. run	40 00 00
"ffor the two little gates joyning to y^{e} screen $cont^{g}$ in both "210 f^{t}. at 40/- ℘ f^{t}	420 00 00
	£1614 10 00

Paid
Aug 29. 99.

Received
J. Tijou.[1]

The high iron railings, which, as some of us may remember, entirely surrounded St. Paul's, were cast by Tijou at Lamberhurst, in Sussex, and believed to have been the last iron-work of any magnitude, cast or wrought, in that county. Opinions are very divided as to the suitability or otherwise of these high railings, which weighed 200 tons and cost £11,000.

[1] The name "Tijoue" in the books is no doubt so spelt owing to the flourish at end of the signature, thus:



According to Miss Phillimore, Wren, who doubtless intended to employ Tijou and have a low graceful railing which would throw up the height and solid grandeur of the Cathedral, was overruled, and it was imprisoned by a high, heavy, clumsy fence, the gates of which were sedulously closed. Wren desired that this railing should be made of hammered iron, but the Commissioners determined that it should be high and made of cast iron. If Wren had had his way, doubtless some of Tijou's finest work would have been executed for this railing.

Millman (*Annals of St. Paul's*, 1869), describes this as a clumsy, heavy, misplaced fence, absolutely concealing the vestibule, the noble flight of steps and the majestic doors, but on the other hand Malcolm (*St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1893), describes the Churchyard as "enclosed by a very rich and extremely strong railing of iron," and this view was held by Bro. Lovegrove (on the occasion of Bro. Horsley's address), when the former referred to Tijou's "fine castings of the massive railings, which are so superior to the meagre railings of our own time." This is specially referred to by Sir Wm. Dugdale, Garter, in his "*History of St. Paul's Cathedral.*"

The western portion of this railing, together with the gates at that end, were sold in 1874, and the railing was bought by Mr. J. B. Hogarth, Iron Merchant of Bow, who sold it for Toronto, but the vessel being wrecked, the iron was nearly all lost, the small portion salved being now preserved in Canada.

"40^{m}. Double-Leaf Gold for East end of ye Choire at £7 per "m. and 22^{m}. thin-leafe gold at £4 per m. were purchased "from Mr. Deputy John Moore, Gold-beater, and labour in "guilding organ pipes with 19^{m}. of gold at £3 10. 0." cost	£66 10 00

Many lots of gold leaf were supplied by him.

About a century ago my grandfather, Michael Tijou, who was a Carver and Gilder, and Picture Dealer in Greek Street, Soho, gilded the ball and cross on the dome on more than one occasion, but time does not permit my doing more than make a passing reference to the later work done by members of my family.

The well-known Grinling Gibbons appears in the abstracts, not only as lending money at six per cent., but as an expert Carver.

He was paid £795 19s. 10d. "ffor Carving done in ye Choire inside, and "carving about ye Bishops throne back of Choire fronts & ye Great organ "Case, including 8 Statute Angells at £20 each."

He was also paid £120 "ffor carving a Basrelieve on ye North Pediment "being 18ft long and 9ft high with two angells 8 foot figgures 18 inches "thicke with a Lyon & Unicorne and ye Kinges Armes and Crowne" and for "Grotesque enrichments round Windows in Women's gallery," £197.

"To Caius Gabriel Cibber ffor carving ye South Ffrontis- "piece being a great Phenix 18 foot long and 9 foot high	100 00 00
"Ffor a modell of a relieve with two ffigures and Emblems "for ye said front	10 00 00
"ffor a model for ye Phenix	06 00 00
"ffor three models of Antique Lucerns for ye pinnacles	06 00 00

It may be interesting to recall some items, which I have noted during my examination of the full accounts in the Cathedral Library :—

In 1692 "Plummers" were paid as much as 3s. per day, very much more than the Stone Masons and other mechanics; this no doubt was owing to the great demand for them after the Great Fire.

Place bricks costs 17/- per thousand and wood burnt stock bricks 28/- per thousand.

Five cwt. of "Sodder" was required for great pipes at 9d. per lb., and "ffor a half-crown cock £00 02s. 6d.," nothing extra being added to this as was usual in many items, such as "Payed one guiney 01 05 00

A charge appears "ffor mending a pair of Lewisses for Mr. "Rawlins Worke and ffor sharping 2 crows att both ends" 00 02 00

Two "plaits" for a crabb cost 2/6

The price of lead at this time was 15s. 6d. per cwt., but 12s. per cwt. was allowed by the contractor for old lead. Over 35 cwt. was used for "bottom of peers in ye Morning Prayer Chappell." A pair of "Dufftailes" cost 3d. and "ffor fiting and tagging a book 02^d.," thus showing how minutely and carefully the accounts were kept. The ironwork for a new sett of carriage wheels cost £15 02s. 05d. weighing nearly 10 cwt. at 3½d. lb. A pint of ink cost 6d. and 4d. was spent "ffor Pounce." Ropes figured for large sums. "Capsterne" ropes frequently cost £15 each, weighing 6 cwt. at 5½d. lb.

"Two new engines to water the work with and ffor lether "and canvesse pipes belonging to ye same £100"

Some expensive stone work cost £508 18s. 06d. "for work-"ing setting and carving 174 feet of the Mutells and "cornice withall enrichments in ye same at 58^s. 06^d. p foot "run, tunnage included."

"ffor carving 2 larges ffestoones over ye windows in y^e "steeple with Heads and Palmes at £32 each and "carving ffaces at £15 each and cherubim heads at 20^s/-."

"Masoning & setting ye Great Tribune over ye West end "of Chappell." £100

"Grate nailes, halfe crowne and Twenty penny nailes" are frequently bought at 4d. per lb.

"ffor 6lb. of Glew" at 8d. lb.

"Iron work for a paire of Hinde Wheels for the stone "carridge 4^c 2^q 11^lb at 3½ represents £07 10 02½

"ffor 54 foot Oak in two pieces for a beame and plaite ffor "ye side Isle at 3/6 Cut Dy-Square (*sic*) cost 09 09 00

"A Watering Pott for ye Choire 04^s.

I note that in those days watchmen alone were not considered a sufficient guard, for, although the charge for them amounted to £707, a further item of £63 was allowed for "keeping great dogs for security of stores" and for the "Ratcatcher's allowance."

The cost of a "chaine ffor the dog 9ft. long" was 9/- and another "ffor the ffox 2^s/-." 5/- being charged every month for food for dogs to assist 10 watchmen who were paid 8^d. per night.

	£	s.	d.
"Glasse plates of Christall for sashes of Organ Case 2ft. 1in "× 1f. 9in" cost 30/- each and amounted to	103	0	0
"3 pairs of hinges for Quire Particion"	04	13	11

	£	s.	d.
"ffor Use of old Sailcloth for 2 months to cover ye carved work in ye choire"	11	0	0
"ffor a large fire shovell for the Plummery	00	05	00

The Auditor's remuneration "ffor" examining and stating accounts of building, including three abstracts, to be transmitted into Exchequer was ½d. in the £ on total outlay.

The following appears in March, 1691-2:—

"Paid by Lawrence Spencer in attendance upon ye affaire relating to ye
"Citie of Londons proposal to ye Parlement ffor sixpences out of ye imposi-
"tion upon Coales ffor reliefe of the Orphans of the sd Citie vizt

	£	s.	d.
"Paid Mr Allen, Mr Jodrel and Mr Stedman for solliciting ye "affaire	13	07	00
"Given to servants	00	10	00
"Spent atte Westminster and other places at severall times:			
"ffor dinners and ffor wateridges	03	04	07
"ffor writing 2 peticons	00	07	06
"ffor printing peticons and cases	01	16	00
"ffor two retayning ffees to Sr Charles Porter and Mr Ward, "4 guineys	04	06	00
"Spent at sevrall meetings with Mr Serjt Topham	08	00	00
"Presented [not *paid*][1] to Mr. Serjt Topham	26	17	06
"Given to Mr Serjt Tophams man	01	01	06
"To Wm. Middleton, Sollicitor, for solliciting of business	10	00	00

An assistant to Mr. Oliver in measuring of Masons' Work was paid at rate of 10s. per day, a very liberal rate compared with the salary paid to the Clerk of Works, Mr. Lawrence Spencer, who only received £8 6s. 8d. per month

"ffor his attendance in the worke ffor receiving of moneys and paying
"ye same for materialls and Workmen's Wages, for keeping and making
"up these accounts and double engrossing ye same and for attending the
"Come."

The Assistant Surveyor received 20d. per diem for copying designs, etc.

Various gifts or "tips" appear, such as

	£	s.	d.
"Given to the Bp. of Londons Gentn at ye signing of an "Indenture for ye Dean & Chapter, ½ guiney	00	11	00
"To Mr. Allen, the Sollicitor, a guiney	01	10	00
"To the Archbishop's Secretary, a guiney	01	10	00
"To 3 of the Archbishops Gents, a guiney & ½	02	05	00
"To 2 of the Archbishops Gents, a guiney	01	10	00

It will be seen that all these items are charged more than the sums paid and it is curious how they passed the Auditor.

"1706

	£	s.	d.
"Paid to Mr. Atto, Genl, for his advice on the state of ye "houses on north side of Church	5	7	6
"To same for perusing ye Deputacoñ	2	3	0

[1] In theory, then as now, Barristers are not supposed to be *paid* for their services.

An item appears

"Women for Washing the Choire agst Queen's coming."

Also

"Curing great dog of ye mange, 5s."

Some bad stone was noted

"Cutting out 1647 ft. Portland at 16d.	109 16 0
"Masoning new 1647 ft. at 16d.	109 16 0

On Portland stone there was

"Duty to Queen and Island, 12d. tun."

Charles Hopson, a Master Joiner, who was employed for several years, received for

	£	s.	d.
"Time and stuff making doors	1061	0	0
"For his care for 4 years	100	0	0
"For Litany desk in Choire	29	14	2

Hopson was originally described "Mr.," afterwards "Esqre," and in above and other entries "Sir," so presumably he received the honour of knighthood, but his pay throughout was 3s. per day for wages, and he usually attended only 4 days monthly.

1006 ft. black iron marble over-plus was sold at 5s. 6d. per foot, and used at Marlborough House.

	£	s.	d.
An old pensioner appears regularly in the monthly accounts			
"ffor Old Peter Barns his monthly allowance	00	06	06
but at last comes "Given toward the charge of burying Old "Peter Barns"	01	00	00
and followed by "Paid ye Widdow Barns her husbands "allowance for this month	00	06	06

"Their Mjsties" appear to have occasionally given a Buck to the officers which cost the Building Fund as under:

	£	s.	d.
"Paid ffor Warrant ffor a buck	00	11	00
"Given to the Keeper	01	00	00
"To M^{r}. Olivers man expended in going for the buck and "carridge	00	12	00
"Paid for dressing the dinner and for wine as per bill	07	02	06
"Paid the Cook for making 2 Venison patties	01	00	00
	10	05	06

On another occasion the buck cost for wine, beer and dressing and "given to ye servants that waited" 18/^{s}-	£7 02 02
"Spent with Mr. Oliver and others at passing the books of "a/ct for a dinner	01 10 00
"Ffor printing 50 copies of Their Maties Commission for "re-building this Cathedral"	04 04 00

I must not touch upon the dangerous subject of Politics, but I may remark that the "Peers" in those days were not treated better than some people of

modern times would desire, there being an entry "ffor clearing ye Peers in ye Isle of Portland" and again "Labourer ffor rubbing ye Peers in the Choire with gritte" 12^{s}. 09^{d}.

Numerous entries appear of moneys borrowed from Wren and various Contractors at 6 per cent. interest, although a sum of £1000 was borrowed for 8 years at 5 per cent.

Two reames of writing paper cost £1 4s. 0d. John Hudson, a laborer, was paid 3s. per week for "clearing the shaving out of the carvers and joyners work in the "Choire and for looking after their candles."

Marble pillars under the organ cost £52 10s. 0d. each, and nearly £1000 was spent on marble paving stones at 3s. 9d. These pillars are now inside the south door.

Father Bernard Smith, organ maker, received for organ £1600.

Short weight and inferior quality of coins accounted for considerable sums, one entry being:—

"Laurence Spencer for losse by 746 guineas and ½ at 8s. "being received at 30s. each and paid away again at 22s. each	298 12 00
"Loss by 13 broad pieces at 8s.	5 04 00
"Coll^{r} Pierce for so much lesse than received for by order of "the Lords	47 16 07
	£351 12 07

A payment was made to Sr C^{r} Wren as follows:—

	£ s. d.
"To being allowed for his trouble and paines in a journey "to Portland and surveying and directing at ye Quarries "these 12 days	30 00 00
"Mr. Strong's assistance about ye same	12 00 00
"Coach hire & expenses of the whole journey	50 07 05
Totalling	£92 07 05

On another occasion Mr. Strong and others took a "journey to Portland to view Ruines there" by order of Wren at a cost of £69 05s. 04d.

Wren received £200 "for his expences in large Imperiall paper pencills letters "and postage for 25 yeares at £8 per yeare."

"Paid towards damages sustained by ye slidding of ye wages at Portland "£80."

Still further items for refreshing the inner man appear, such as

	£ s. d.
"Mrs. Shaw's bill for a Dinner at passing ye Books of Acc^{t}	04 02 04
"Dinner at settling ye prices of ye Masons & Joyners work "in ye Chappell	03 05 09
"Dinner at casting up ye said bills	00 15 03

According to Malcolm, a curious mode of preservation of the most elevated portion of the Cathedral was adopted by making it a receptacle for fragments of the bodies of Saints who were to plead in silent prayer for the safety of the building.

"His Grace ye Duke of Newcastle" having given 50 trees, the carriage of same cost 20s. per day for 20 days, "requiring a double Teame of Cattle."

	£ s. d.
Candles cost 5s. 8d. per doz., and "a Chaldron of Coales for ye watchmen"	01 05 00

"Masoning and carving 4 Incense pots upon the Peers of the south ascent at £30 a piece" accounted for £120 and "4 double ffestoons with 8 Cherubim heads" upon the pedestals cost £13 each.

An item shows "ffor links candelles and making good Church Bucketts lent at ye fire and ffor wine and beer."

The books of account are very carefully and clearly written up, and the sums owing and paid to each person are signed for by each, but in cases where persons cannot write, they appear to make marks, such as "R" for Richard Howes, and "H W," Hugh Webb. The letter "M" appears frequently as a mark for receipt of money. These accounts and receipts are made out and signed in duplicate, and are countersigned almost every month, "Cr Wren" and "John Oliver."

Bro. Henry Lovegrove, P.G.S.B., proposed a vote of thanks to Bro. Tijou for his interesting paper, and thought that Bro. Tijou must be proud to be descended from the great John Tijou, who was so successful in preparing the smiths' work for the great Cathedral of St. Paul. It is well to say a few words on the difficulties which presented themselves. It must be remembered that prior to the great fire there stood on the site a glorious Gothic fane. How beautiful it was can be seen by those who care to go to one of the large libraries and study the engravings by Hollar in Dugdale's "Monasticon."

When Tijou began his work, it is likely that he had a very large share in the design, as very little work in either cast or wrought iron in the Italian style had been made in England, although there was plenty in the Gothic style which had grown up in the country for several centuries.

If, as Bro. Tijou surmises, the general smiths' work was executed at Hampton Court, it was probably brought up by barges to Paul's Wharf, as several authorities give the place of the casting of the iron railing as Lamberhurst in Sussex.

It is possible that the large enclosing railings would have been better if they had been a foot or two less in height, but nobody can deny that they are fine specimens of cast iron, and the whole of the ironwork is very creditable considering the disadvantages which I have previously mentioned.

We must all regret that Sir Christopher Wren was overruled by the committee, and the world lost the constant pleasure of a fine wrought iron enclosure to the Cathedral.

The proposition was seconded by Bro. James M. Small, who mentioned that some of the old cast iron railings are in the possession of a gentleman in Scotland. Bro. E. L. Hawkins referred to others preserved in the Museum at Hastings.

Comments were also made by Bros. W. Wonnacott, E. Armitage, P.Dep.G.D.C., E. H. Dring and A. A. Murray.

TEMPLARIA ET HOSPITALLARIA.

THOUGHTS ON THE ORDERS OF THE TEMPLE AND HOSPITAL IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, IN CONNECTION WITH ESOTERIC MATTER OF VARIOUS KINDS.

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(*Continued from Vol. xix., pp.* 73-89.)

CHAPTER I.

THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN CONNECTION WITH THE ORDERS OF THE TEMPLE AND HOSPITAL.

(*Conclusion.*)

NOW we must turn to certain matters connected with the Teutonic Order which are undoubtedly of an esoteric character, and therefore of signal importance from our present standpoint.

If we review, even superficially, the organisation and the rituals of the Teutonic Order we are at once struck by the prominent part played by the number *seven*, which forms an exact equivalent of number *eight* in the Order of St. John. It is well known that the eight points of the Maltese cross are said to be emblematical of the eight *Langues* into which the order was divided. This, however, is only an exoteric explanation, really a *filius ante patrem.* To any student of occult or esoteric matters there can be no doubt that the eight points of the cross of Malta really symbolised something entirely different, and that the eight *Langues* were established in course of time in order to correspond with the esoteric or mystical number eight of the Order. This then is an instance of confusion of cause and effect, for in course of time the Order of St. John became possessed of a number of new countries beyond the original eight, but no ninth, tenth, etc., *Langues* were ever created. On the contrary, the new acquisitions were simply incorporated with one or other of the eight existing *Langues.* Thus, kingdoms which had never formed part or portion of the German Empire (for example, Denmark, Hungary and Poland), were incorporated with the *Langue* of Germany just because it was desired not to make any alteration in the sacred number eight which had to be maintained at all costs.

A somewhat similar procedure may be noted in connection with the Teutonic Order in reference to the number seven which appears to have contained some sacred mystical and esoteric meaning. It formed the basis of divisions and sub-divisions in the organisation of the Order, and as we shall hereafter see, also played a prominent part in the rituals.

According to the ancient traditions, as well as to a very old *matricula* of the Teutonic Order, the vast territory possessed by the Knights during the first period of its history was divided into seven districts which were symbolically known as "The seven pillars of the Teutonic House of St. Mary." In process of time, some of these pillars were shaken and fell to the ground (especially so those which stood in the Holy Land), but their places were taken by others, and thus the number seven was always maintained, the names alone being varied.

We find also that the chief dignitaries of the whole Order, who will be more particularly referred to in the course of this Chapter, were likewise seven in number and they also were called the "seven pillars."[1] Furthermore, each Province, Bailliwick, and House of the Teutonic Order had dignitaries bearing the same or similar appellations, seven in number. A full Convent or House of Teutonic Knights[2] consisted of at least twelve knights (often twenty-four, or even more), though they always commenced with the number seven. It is worth while to remember that the first detachment of Teutonic Knights sent by the Great Master Herman von Salza, under the command of Herman Balk for the conquest of Prussia consisted of only seven knights, and in all probability this was not accidental, but was arranged purposely in pursuance of some custom or usage of the Order. Other sources mention 20 knights, which with the addition of the Provincial Master made $21 = 3 \times 7$.

In the rituals and other writings of the Order reference is made to the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven Christian virtues, etc., and they also may be designated as seven pillars.

It has already been stated that the whole Order was spoken of as the "Teutonic House of St. Mary at Jerusalem," long after the first Hospital or Teutonic House at the Holy City and also the first chivalric Teutonic House at Acre had been lost. Besides that, every Convent of the Order wherever situated was called "Teutonic House" (*Das deutsche Haus*). It was an old saying with the Order, "The Teutonic House rests upon seven pillars," and it will be seen that the saying was intended to convey a double sense, the one material and the other spiritual, but each being true and adequate.

It has already been mentioned in the historical part of this Chapter that at the beginning of the sixteenth century after the loss of Prussia, the territory of the Order comprised twelve bailliwicks, and the further loss of the bailliwick of Utrecht which had been the twelfth, reduced the number to eleven. Prior to that period Prussia and Livonia had also belonged to the Teutonic Knights, and it may be useful if I here give some additional information in reference to Livonia, the original home of the Order of the Sword-bearers.

The natives of Livonia or Liveland, and the adjoining countries, viz., Curonia (Curland, Courland) Esthonia (Esthland) and Semigallia were entirely pagan, even during the second half of the twelfth century, when for the first time Christian missionaries were sent there. Albrecht, the first Christian Bishop in Livonia, was a very active and energetic man. He founded the city of Riga about A.D. 1200, and with a view of spreading the Gospel of Christ among the Northern nations, and of defending the Christian Church already established there, he founded (1201-1206) the chivalric Order which was at first called "Brethren of the Militia of Christ," or more briefly, "Brethren of Christ." Pope Innocent III. confirmed the Order and recommended the

[1] Exactly the same procedure was adopted with the Order of St. John, the chiefs or *baillis conventuels* of the eight languages residing at headquarters being called "*les huit pilliers.*"

[2] The Knights Templar would say a Preceptory.

members to adopt the Constitutions of the Knights Templar as a model. For the same reason he conferred upon them a habit, namely, a white mantle with two cross-hilted *red* swords in saltire, with a red star above. Thenceforward the Order took the name of the "Swordbearers" (*Ordo gladiferorum* afterwards *ensiferorum in Livoniâ*).

Bishop Albrecht gave them a full third part of his possessions as freehold property and promised them a third part of all he might acquire thereafter. Livonia, Courland, and Esthland were conquered by the Knights about 1220, but on the death of Bishop Albrecht, which occurred in 1229, the Order found itself too weak to maintain the territories against the attacks of the natives who were unwilling to bear the yoke of the Order and of the Christian religion. For this reason the Swordbearers opened negotiations with the Teutonic Knights (who, as will be remembered, had about this time settled in the neighbouring Prussia), with a view to effect a Union of the two Orders. Strange to say, the Teutonic Knights at first refused, and it was only by the intervention of Pope Gregory IX. that the Union was effected in 1237. The centre of the Order of the Swordbearers had been at first the Castle of Wenden (also the burial-place of all their Masters), but later on it was moved to Riga. In consequence of the Union, Livonia became a province of the Teutonic Order, or rather of the combined Orders of Teutonic Knights and Swordbearers. The Great Masters of the Teutonic Order appointed a Provincial Master for Livonia, Esthland was given up to Denmark, and the peace of the countries thus secured. The Emperor Frederick II. endeavoured by all means to strengthen the power of the Teutonic Knights, and conferred Livonia upon them as a fief, a measure which caused much grief and bitterness among the Swordbearers. After the flourishing period of the fourteenth century the Teutonic Knights were compelled to act on the defensive and in consequence the Great Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen, who desired the assistance of the Livonians against his assailants, renounced his rights over Livonia in favour of the Livonian Master, Johann von Mengden, called Osthof, 1459, and thus the Livonian Master became an independent Prince who ruled Livonia with sovereign rights. Finally the Great Master Albrecht von Brandenburg, for similar reasons resigned all the rights of the Teutonic Order over the Livonian Order in favour of the then Master, Walter von Plettenberg, A.D. 1521, and in this manner the Livonian Order became again quite independent of the Teutonic Order, with the right of free election of their own Masters. The Emperor Charles V. conferred the rank of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire upon Walter and his successors in office with a seat and vote in the Imperial Diet, and from this time forward freely its elected chiefs were styled "Prince Masters of Livonia." It was about this time that the "Reformation" spread into Livonia, Courland and Semigallia.

The Prince Masters had, however, much to suffer from outside attacks especially from Russia, and in the end the last Prince Master, Gotthard Kettler, who had embraced the Evangelical religion, not being able to hold the country against the repeated attacks of Russia, determined to imitate the example set by Albrecht von Brandenburg, and in the year 1561 he freely resigned his dignity as Prince Master and gave up Livonia (in the strict sense) to the Crown of Poland receiving at the same time Courland and Semigallia as secular dukedoms, and as fiefs of the Polish Crown. He thus became founder of the ducal reigning house of those two countries. Notwithstanding this the lands were eventually in the eighteenth century taken by Russia and now form the so-called Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire.

From a Templar point of view the habit and badge granted to the Sword-bearers are very noteworthy and clearly show that they were designed on the Templar pattern.

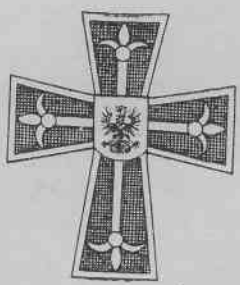
They bear a great resemblance to the Templar mantle and red cross, and the two crossed swords and the Star have also a special significance from a Templar point of view.

Now to return to the twelve bailliwicks of the Teutonic Order. If we add to them Prussia and Livonia which had at one time each formed a separate Province or Bailliwick (these terms being almost identical in those days) we have during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries 14 bailliwicks or provinces of the Order, *i.e.* 2 × 7.

As all coincidences are not accidental, the following particulars may also be noted.



(1) The oldest heraldic device of the Order was a triangular shield, *argent*, with a plain cross, *sable*. The plain cross may be also described as a combination of a *pale* and *fess* each of which consists of two lines. This gives four lines and with the three sides of the shield, = 7,



(2) The full cross of the Order as used by the Great Masters and afterwards by the great and German Masters consists of

(*a*) the black cross *pattée* showing 8 points,

(*b*) the gold or silver cross of King John of Jerusalem, adorned with the 4 *fleurs-de-lys* of King Louis of France each of which having three points give a total of 12.

(*c*) Last but not least the centre shield with the single-headed Imperial eagle = 1

Thus we have 8 + 12 + 1 = 21 = 3 × 7.

Besides *seven* as the chief number, other odd numbers were of significance. As we shall see hereafter when giving a description of the badges of the Order the neck cross of the professed Knights (not the "cross of profession" or breast-cross) is surmounted by a knight's helmet (enamelled blue) with seven gold bars, bearing a plume of white ostrich feathers alternately white and black (or two black between three white). Other examples of the emblematical use of seven and other odd numbers will be noted in due course.

In connection with the above it may be interesting to say something about the Castle of Marienburg, which was the residence of the Great Masters of the Order and *the* Teutonic House *par excellence* for a very considerable number of years, including the most flourishing period of the Order. The Castle, and particularly that part known as the Great Master's Palace, was (and since its complete restoration is,) one of the finest specimens of German Gothic architecture of the fourteenth century. It is noteworthy that the symbolism of the Order may be found displayed there in a very marked manner and for this reason I desire to speak of it at this point. When the Great Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen was compelled to leave the Marienburg for ever, and the Castle came into the possession of Poland, a long period of decay set in for the noble building which once had witnessed so much splendour and glory. At this time it became first a Polish Royal Castle, later on it was given to the Jesuits who erected (between the Upper and Middle Castle) a monastery in the tasteless style which may be called "Jesuitic style," if indeed it can be called a style at all. During this period, artisans, Jewish traders, etc., took up their abode at the "forecastle," and thus the building gradually became neglected and disfigured. Then, too, the Jesuit fathers wanted the crypts for the burial of the members of their own Order and they therefore impiously removed to some unknown spot the coffins and remains of the Great Masters and knights who had been interred there for eternal rest.

In the year 1644, the roof of the upper castle was destroyed by fire, and as more than 160 years passed without any attempt at repair, this portion of the castle naturally fell into ruins. In consequence of the first division of Poland in 1772, the Marienburg passed to the kingdom of Prussia, but still nothing was done for St. Mary's castle. That great soldier, King Frederick the Great, had as little taste for architecture as he had for the German language and literature. He called the castle "a huge heap of stones," and caused it to be transformed into military barracks, and in order to adapt it to this purpose, the high Gothic vaulted halls were, by a transverse ceiling, divided into two stories, containing about one hundred small cells. Many of the fine Gothic windows were filled up with brickwork, and then pierced with small holes. What vandalism! Under King Frederick William III., portions of the castle were used as granaries, and during the Napoleonic wars, one of the most beautiful halls was used first as a *manège*, then as a military *lazzaretto*, while another part served as a smithy! These works of destruction reached their pitch about the year 1803. Then came a turn for the better, due to the manly appeal of a literary man, Max von Schenkendorf. In 1804, a Royal Order was issued for preserving the castle, and in 1806, the repair of the roof was commenced. In consequence of the French wars and the great misery entailed thereby, the work was again stopped, and all remained as it was for another long period. It was not until the year 1818 that the dropped thread was again picked up, and it was only in our days (especially in 1872, 1881 and 1894) that serious measures were taken, a special fund being raised for the purpose of preserving the building, and of restoring it to its original form, in a manner worthy of its great historical past. When at last the work was finished, the restoration was celebrated on the 5th June, 1902, amid much pomp and mediævalism, in tho presence of the Emperor and King William II., many other Royal personages and a most distinguished assembly including guests from foreign countries, among them being representatives of the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and of the still existing Austrian and Dutch branches of the Teutonic Order.

There are some points in the construction of the castle which are well worth special attention. I must premise that there are three distinct parts in the castle, namely :—

1. The fore-part or fore-castle (*Vorburg*).
2. The upper castle (*Hochschloss*), a gloomy mediæval structure forming the older part of the building. It was the stronghold of the first Provincial Masters before the Great Masters took up their residence there.
3. The middle castle (*Mittelschloss*) erected by the Great Masters just between the fore and upper castles. The west wing of the middle castle is the Great Master's Palace, the most beautiful part of the entire structure.

The Great Master's Palace contains, amongst other apartments, the Great Hall (*der grosse Remter*). It was not used as a banqueting hall, but as a kind of parlour or drawing-room for the use of distinguished guests of the Great Master. Its ceiling is supported by *three* pillars, from the capitals of which spring richly ornamented ribs towering heavenwards, recalling in an effective manner the branches of the palm-trees of the Holy Land, and form a most beautiful pointed vaulted ceiling. Both here as in other places which I shall presently describe, the impression is a magnificent one. It is as if heaven stooped to earth and both were harmoniously blended. The number of these

pillars may be emblematical of the Holy Trinity, as well as of the three classes of the Order, etc. The Hall also contains 14 ($= 2 \times 7$) splendid Gothic windows, 8 on one side and 6 on the other. This hall was connected by a small staircase with the private apartments of the Great Master,[1] namely, his single-windowed bedroom, a bathing room, a private chapel with a portable camp-altar, and two (winter and summer) *Remters.*

The Great Master's *Summer Remter*, a kind of small drawing-room, is likewise a most splendid apartment with windows opening on three sides. It is supported by one solitary slender shaft of granite, from the capital of which similar "palm-branches" spread upwards and form the vaulted ceiling. This *one* pillar is symbolical of the Great Master himself, who stands quite alone in sublime isolation supported only by his own strength and virtue, and upon whom rests the whole structure of the Order symbolised here by the ceiling and roof. I will not describe the other portions of the Great Master's Palace, nor the Middle Castle, as they are of less importance to us than the foregoing, but I will now turn to the Upper Castle, once the residence of the Provincial Masters, which later on contained the lodgings of the Commander of the House (*Haus-Komthur*), the Treasurer and other Great Officers of the Order. There is also the Church of the Convent with the so-called Golden Gate. Close by, and separated from it by one wall only, is the Chapter House. As the Great Master Werner von Orselen was murdered at the Golden Gate, his successors in that office did not use that gate, but passed directly from the Chapter House, through a small doorway opened for the purpose in the separating wall, into their projecting stall in the Church. In the neighbourhood of the church were the dormitories or sleeping rooms of the Knights. A niche on the outside of the church is worthy of notice, for in it is placed a picture of the Holy Virgin, eight metres in height, dating from the fourteenth century if not earlier, and looking out over the open landscape like the colossal statue of Pallas Athene on the Acropolis of Athens.

The most remarkable apartment of the upper castle, however, is the *Convent's Remter*, or great banqueting hall of the knights, not to be confounded with the *Great Remter* of the Great Master's Palace. It is adorned with *seven* great pillars, palm-like and very similar in architecture to those mentioned above, supporting the pointed vaults of the ceiling. Adjoining it is a parlour with again *three* pillars as in the Great *Remter.* It is obvious that the number of pillars is not accidental, but arranged for a purpose. The seven pillars of the Convent's *Remter* are emblematical of the seven symbolical pillars on which the Teutonic House rested, by which, as will be remembered, seven districts, or the seven great dignitaries, or seven virtues, etc., were understood. It is interesting to note that if we add the number of pillars in the two three-pillared halls to the solitary pillar symbolical of the Great Master, we again have another set of seven.

On the whole it may be asserted without exaggeration that the Castle of Marienburg is a magnificent architectural expression of the spirit, high ideals and symbolism of the Teutonic Order.

It may be convenient here to mention a few of the customs of the Teutonic knights. They are worthy of notice and some of them, at all events, furnish interesting analogies with Templar usages and customs. Those of my readers who are acquainted with the *Regula Trecensis* or Rule of Troyes, and other Templar statutes of later date, will at once see the close resemblance they bear to them.

[1] Only the Great Master was allowed more than two special apartments.

I have mentioned already that only the Great Master enjoyed the privilege of having more than two private apartments for his own special use. After the murder of Werner von Orselen, 1330, it was enacted that one knight was always, night and day, to be in attendance upon the Great Master, and to accompany him everywhere.

Besides the Great Master, only the Great Dignitaries had private apartments for their personal use, but even they had only two rooms each, a larger and a smaller one. Adjoining the Treasurer's apartment was the so-called "Silver Chamber," wherein was deposited the treasure (*Tressel*) and the general cash of the Order. The other knights had no special private apartments. They dined together in one hall, but at three different tables. The first was called the "table of Commanders" (*Gebietiger-Tafel*). At the Marienburg Castle, the Great Master sat at this table with the Great Dignitaries and other Commanders. In other places it was occupied by the Chief Dignitary and his staff. The second table was called the table of the Convent (*Convents-Tafel*). At it the knights and priests took their places. The third one was the "table of youngsters" (*Jungen-Tisch*). This was for the use of the novices and of the higher servants in the respective Houses. As in the monasteries generally, every meal began and ended with solemn prayer. During the meal, no one was permitted to talk, all were enjoined to keep silence and to listen to the religious lectures which were delivered to them. Of course the fasting precepts of the Roman Catholic Church were rigorously observed. The Knights also slept in company the same as the Templars. The bedrooms were lighted all night long. The members lay on hard beds, feather-beds being permitted only for the sick and wounded. From the time of going to bed until the first morning service, all private conversation was strictly forbidden under religious penalties. Moreover, the poor knights had but little nightly rest as they were not allowed to sleep longer than three hours at a stretch. At the end of that period, they were compelled to get up and go to church at the usual canonical hours, and only after having chanted the prescribed prayers, were they allowed to return to the bedchambers and rest for three more hours. The sick and wounded, and those coming from a long journey, could, however, obtain dispensation from the chief Officer of the House. The knights went to church clad with the black-crossed white mantles and the feet shod with shoes, *i.e.*, not with boots, and, as it seems, without swords. Here the monastical side of the Order is prominent. The doors of the common dormitories were not to be locked or bolted. Nor was anyone permitted to possess any box, case or repository which could be locked up.[1]

I must now make some additional remarks on the organization of the Teutonic Order. It was of course subject from time to time to many changes arising out of varying conditions and circumstances, and thus presents a long line of evolution. Every student of mediæval history will know that in the middle ages practically nothing was fixed beforehand. Institutions rose into being and developed according to the conditions of surrounding life. It was only very much later, when the institutions had grown into complicated organisms that customs already established and regulations handed down orally were put down into writing. This was so with States, Municipalities, and different corporations, and equally so with the Chivalric Orders. As for the Teutonic Order we know very little of the details of its organisation at the earliest period of its existence. The *essentials* we can learn from the Papal *breve* of confirmation of 1091, and from some old statutes of the Order confirmed by the Pope A.D. 1099, and

[1] Compare with this regulation, Rule 40 of the *Regula Trecensis*, "*Sacculus et mala cum firmaturâ non conceduntur.*" Rules 8, 9, 17, 18 of the Rule of Troyes may also be compared with the above regulations, and I may say that very many of the regulations of the Teutonic Order clearly show the Templar pattern, which it will be well to bear in mind.

they have already been referred to in the earlier part of this chapter. It is but natural that as long as the Order was poor and insignificant, its organisation was very simple. In all likelihood there was no need for many rules to be drawn up in writing. At the head of the Order stood the Master, afterwards called the Great Master, with his staff of Office-bearers at the headquarters. The different Houses or Convents, which were so many fortified castles, were at the same time governed by Commanders (*Comthure, Gebietiger*) with corresponding Office-bearers. The more the Order increased in numbers and in wealth, the more complicated became its organisation. But through nearly the whole of the middle ages everything was in a continual state of fluctuation and evolution. The first codification of the Statutes and Rules of the Order took place not earlier than the fifteenth century, A.D. 1442. Others followed in 1606 and 1801. The oldest division of the extensive possessions of the Order seems to have been into seven large regions or districts called the "seven pillars" on which the Teutonic House of St. Mary rested, as already mentioned.

The whole of the immense territory was in course of time divided into larger and smaller parts and portions as necessitated by special circumstances. Larger districts were called Provinces or Bailliwicks, in older times both terms being nearly synonymous. All was at that time indistinct and indefinite. Afterwards when the Order had grown great and powerful, large districts, even whole countries, were called Provinces, and were ruled by Provincial Masters (*Land-Meister*). These Provinces being oftentimes too large to be governed easily from one centre, were again sub-divided into smaller parts, now called Bailliwicks (*Balleien*) headed by Provincial Commanders (*Land-Comthure*). After the sixteenth century the whole territory of the Order was divided into Bailliwicks only. Mergentheim with the estates belonging to it formed "The Great and Teutonic Mastership of Mergentheim." Subordinate to the Bailliwicks were Commanderies (*Comthureien*), presided over by Commanders (*Comthure, Gebietiger*) which consisted of one or more Houses or Convents and other bodies or lands, with similar offices having different appellations, such as Prefectures (*Ämter, Vogteien*).

At the flourishing period of the Order, the fourteenth century and again in the fifteenth, the Order was governed by the following *seven* chief dignitaries or "pillars":—

(1) The Great Master (*Hochmeister*) elected by the Chapter General for life and who could be deprived of his dignity only for quite special and extraordinary causes. Next in rank came

(2) the Provincial Master of Germany, in short the German Master (*Deutschmeister*), residing not at headquarters but at different times in different towns in Germany, *e.g.*, Marburg, Frankfurt-on-the-Main. As the most powerful Provincial Master he represented to some extent the whole chivalry of the Order face to face with the Grand Master and the Central Government. He may be considered the highest *constitutional* factor in the aristocratic republic of the Order. When the Great Masters were eager to increase and extend their power at the expense of the knights' rights and privileges, in other words, when they endeavoured to establish a monarchical and military absolutism, they met with the most determined opposition on the part of the *Deutschmeister* who acted on behalf of the knights and withstood the onset of weakening tendencies coming from the Great Master. Next in power, rank, and authority was

(3) The Grand Commander, or Grand Preceptor (*Grosscomthur*). He was the vice-gerent of the Great Master when the latter was absent from headquarters or when prevented by serious illness from exercising his powers. In case of death of the Great Master the whole government of the Order devolved upon the Grand Commander as Regent until a new Great Master was elected. He had also the highest superintendence over all the property and the provisions of the Order and was chief comptroller of the Treasurer. Next came

(4) The Marshal (*Marschall*) who was the Chief Commander of the Army and had charge of all military matters.

(5) The Hospitaller (*Spittler*) having superintendence of the hospitals and charities.

(6) The Draper (*Trappierer*) who had charge of the clothing department. He had to distribute garments amongst the members, provide them with arms, equipments and all neccssary munitions of war. He had also the supervision of the kitchen and cellar.

(7) The Treasurer (*Tressler*) who had the charge of receipts and expenditure, managed the treasure (*Tressel*) of the Order, being controlled by the Grand Commander.

Besides the "seven pillars" there were other dignitaries at headquarters. Amongst them were prominent the Commanders of Council (*Rathsgebietiger*). They were generally *six* in number forming the special Council of the Great Master with whom they formed another *heptad* or a body of *seven.* All these dignitaries formed the staff and Chapter of the Great Master.

Then came the Provincial Masters and Provincial Commanders. Each had a staff of similar office-bearers, as well as Commanders of Councils, at his side, and these formed his Chapter and Council.

So also every Commander of a Commandery was, according to the size of his Commandery, assisted by a number of office-bearers, the Draper never being omitted. If the Commandery happened to be large, there was a special Commander of the House (*Haus-Comthur*) in addition to the Commander himself.

The highest legislative assembly and representation of the whole Order was the Chapter General, consisting of all the dignitaries (greater and lesser) of the Order, and of all Provincial Masters and Provincial Commanders. They alone had the power of electing the Great Master. Originally all power was vested in the Chapter General, the Great Master and his Chapter exercising only the executive power. After the fourteenth century the power of the Great Master was, by degrees, increased, and that of the Chapter General lessened, yet still the Great Master never exercised absolute power, but was always controlled and restricted by the Chapter General. In like manner the Provincial Masters and Provincial Commanders convoked Provincial Chapters, and the simple Commanders Chapters of their Commanderies, Convents or Houses. Every dignitary or office-bearer was strictly responsible for his actions to his superior and to his particular assembly. Those who had charge of money were bound to give account of their management to their respective superior authorities. In case of neglect of their official duties, deposition and punishment awaited them.

These were the main features of the organisation of the Order of Teutonic Knights until the first decades of the sixteenth century, when those great changes already

described, which had taken place in the heart of the Order, entailed a considerable alteration in the organisation also. It will be evident from the above relation that a close resemblance existed between the organisation and customs of the Teutonic Order and those of its model, the Knights of the Temple, and we shall notice the same resemblance in connection with the rituals.

In consequence of the loss of Prussia and most of the Italian estates, the offices of Great Master and of German and Italian Provincial Masters were united in one person, and Mergentheim in Franconia became the centre of the Order. The "*Hoch-und Deutschmeister*" was an ecclesiastical prince of the Holy Roman Empire, with rank immediately after the Archbishops, but preceding the Bishops. The estates of Mergentheim were formed into a special principality (*the Hoch-und Deutschmeisterthum of Mergentheim*), in which the Great and German Master exercised sovereign rights, as he did also in nearly all Commanderies of the Bailliwicks of Franconia. He bore also the title of "Lord (*Herr*) of Freudenthal and Eulenburg." The central Government was, at this period, exercised by the Council of State and Conference of the Order, consisting of five members. Under it were ranged the princely offices or *dicasteria*, which comprised the Governor, the House Commander, the Draper, the Chancellor, twenty secular and five ecclesiastic Councillors of Government, and ten Councillors of the Excheouer and other offices.

The Provincial Commanders of the Bailliwick of Alsace-Burgundy, and that of Coblenz, were also immediate States of the Holy Roman Empire, and had seats and votes in the Imperial Diet. The other Provincial Commanders, however, were subject to the Princes in whose territories their Bailliwicks were situated. Though the Order was still powerful and rich in real estate at the period under consideration, it was no longer a great political power, and its original object having been lost, without a new one being substituted, it slowly came to the level of a mere charitable institution or asylum for the comfortable maintenance of younger sons of princes and noble families. As there was no necessity for them to engage in warfare, the manly and knightly virtues which had been the distinguishing characteristics of their predecessors gradually vanished from among them. The knights reaped the benefit of very rich revenues, and as they led a lazy life of luxury, it was but a logical result that the strict morality and the monastic and ascetic manner of life of by-gone days were replaced by immoral and frivolous conduct. The Teutonic Knight, who, according to the old statutes of his Order, was not allowed to kiss even his mother or sister (thus copying Rule 72 of the Templar *Regula Trecensis*), became a notorious "smell-smock," and his scandalous conduct was proverbial. It became a by-word, "Married men and fathers of daughters, bolt your doors against the white mantles." And another proverb was, "Wanton like a Teutonic gentleman."

The process of decay continued through several centuries. It was a slow death, and when the time of crisis was at hand, the Order, which had, in fact, outlived itself, was no longer able to withstand the onset, and completely broke down. Some few sparks of light were, however, still discernible even during this dark period. Religious tolerance was not generally met with at the time, but to some extent it may be observed in the Teutonic Order. On the whole the Order remained Roman Catholic, and thus it is interesting to find that (quite apart from the twelfth bailliwick which had totally severed from the Order, and after 1619 held no intercourse whatever with the centre, but continued to exist as an independent Order of secular Protestant Knights) the Roman Catholic Order did not object to receive Protestant nobles into the Order in such Bailliwicks and subordinate Commanderies as were situated in Protestant countries. These Protestant

Knights of the Teutonic Order were permitted to marry, whilst the Roman Catholic Knights were to remain bachelors. Thus it came to pass that, as time went on, the three Bailliwicks of Thuringia, Hessia and Saxony became more and more Protestant, and in the end consisted almost exclusively of Protestant Knights, who nevertheless recognised the authority of, and were fully recognised by, the Roman Catholic centre, and sent representatives to the General Chapters of the Order.

One of the most important parts of the Statutes was that referring to the qualifications required in candidates for Knighthood in the Order. According to the first Statutes of the Order confirmed by the Pope in 1099, all members of the Teutonic Order (knights, priests and half-brethren) were to be *freeborn and of German blood.* The candidate for Knighthood was, with a view to his military vocation, to be in possession of a number of physical qualities; for example, he was to be of sound constitution, without disease, fit for the toil and hardship of his knightly career. On the other hand, he was required to have certain moral qualifications, that is to say, he was to be free from any other obligation, not to be married or betrothed, not to have great debts nor powerful enemies, and not to belong to any other Order. All these closely, almost literally, resemble the corresponding Statutes of the Templars. Besides these personal qualities the candidate was to be qualified for secular Knighthood. This entailed proofs of ancestry. In Germany the honour of secular Knighthood was originally reserved to men of noble birth, descended from noble-born grand-parents, paternal and maternal, *i.e.*, the so-called four ancestors. This was called, being "of knightly birth," (*ritterbürtig, militaris*). The terms, "*milites aut militares*"—"knights or of knightly birth" very often occur in cœval Latin documents. In later times, however, Emperors and Kings claimed and exercised the right of conferring secular Knighthood upon other men of merit, not so qualified by birth. First *free birth only* was required, which made a great difference, as burghers and other freeborn people could obtain the honour of Knighthood. Still later, sovereigns claimed the right of nobilitating and knighting whomsoever they pleased without regard to descent or other conditions of life. It is noteworthy that while this evolution was going on in a liberal and enlightened sense, a current in just the opposite direction can be traced in the ecclesiastical chivalric Orders, and similar institutions and corporations, especially in the high chapters of noble Canons and Canonesses. These most aristocratic and exclusive institutions made the requirements of noble descent for their candidates more and more severe. The easier it became to obtain simple and secular Knighthood, the more difficult was made the admission to a noble and knightly Order, institution or body. Lastly, even the right of taking part in a tournament was limited to those of legitimate descent from sixteen noble-born ancestors. This meant that the aspirant was bound to prove that the grandparents of his own grandparents, paternal and maternal, that is to say, his own sixteen great grandparents were nobly-born. This was called "nobility admissible to tournament" (*Turnierfähiger Adel*), or "entitled to admission to a noble chapter" (*Stiftsmässiger Adel*), and these stringent rules were adopted by nearly all chivalric Orders and other noble bodies. One reason for their doing so was to restrict competition, and to render the chances of admission as difficult as possible. Originally knightly birth (*Ritterbürtigkeit*) and the right of tournament (*Turnier-fähigkeit*) meant the same thing, that is descent from four noble ancestors. Later on the former meant four and the latter sixteen ancestors. Indeed, nowhere more than in Germany was such great importance laid upon proofs of ancestry, and no dispensation could be granted in this respect. This was undoubtedly another reason why eventually all life died out from these aristocratic corporations, and they became mere petrifactions.

The Teutonic Order, indeed, went one step further in this direction, as the knights found in course of time that even the proof of sixteen ancestors was too easy, and they added one generation more, and required thirty-two ancestors. Later on, however, this was again reduced to sixteen ancestors, and thus it remained with the Austrian branch of the Teutonic Knights, as well as with the Roman Catholic Order of St. John or Knights of Malta, and other chivalric Orders and Institutions. The Dutch branch of the Teutonic Knights contented itself with four noble ancestors, that is, the paternal and maternal grand-parents. The most severe measure, however, with regard to ancestry, was taken by the Bavarian Order of the Knights of St. George, as they required thirty-four ancestors, that is to say, thirty-two ancestors and the proof of descent of the paternal and maternal chief ancestors from noble parents. This is the most rigorous and difficult proof of ancestry ever required, yet even this was given by a great number of gentlemen, and even by some who belonged to the lesser nobility.[1] It is also characteristic of the chivalric Orders in Germany and of German aristocratic notions, how very rigorous they were with respect to legitimate birth, quite apart from the proofs of ancestry. In this respect the Latin nations were far more liberal minded, and there we find that gentlemen of illegitimate birth but otherwise able to prove their ancestry were admitted to the Chivalric Orders. Thus, for instance, in France the Duc de Vendôme who was a natural son of King Henry IV., not only joined the Order of Malta, but became one of its great dignitaries. In the eighteenth century, the Chevalier d'Orléans, a natural son of a Duke of Orléans, was Great Prior of France in the Order of Malta. In the sixteenth century, we find in Spain that Don Fernando de Toledo, who was a natural son of the ill-famed Duke of Alba, joined the Order of St. John (or Malta) and became a Prior. And it is equally well-known that, in the seventeenth century, Henry Fitz-James, a natural son of James II. of Great Britain, was appointed Grand Prior by the Grand Master of Malta. Many other similar cases might be cited. An especially interesting one is the following. Augustus the Strong, Prince Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, had a son by a Polish countess of most ancient family. This son desired to join the Order of Malta, but in spite of his most illustrious ancestry and the mighty protection of his royal father, it was quite impossible for him to be created a Knight of Malta in the *Langue* of Germany; but they did not object to the young man being created a Knight in another *Langue* of the Maltese Order. Thus he repaired to Castile, where they received him with open arms, and gladly dubbed him a Knight of the Order of Malta. On his return he was fully recognised as a brother Knight by the Knights of the German *Langue*. He was known by the name of Chevalier de Saxe. He mostly lived at Dresden, where he died in 1774. But the poor Chevalier was not allowed to rest even after his death. His nephew, Prince Charles of Saxony and Duke of Courland, a grandson of Augustus the Strong, (by the way he was a Mason and a member of the Strict Observance Rite), desired to have some conversation with this uncle on an important matter, and the well-known Masonic impostor, John George Schrepfer, undertook the difficult task of causing the spirit of the Chevalier to appear in the presence of Prince Charles and the most distinguished society of Dresden, an event which created much sensation and excitement in the aristocratic and Masonic world of Saxony and Germany in general. With this I close my relation about the organization of the old Teutonic Order. I have dwelt upon it at some length, but it seemed useful to show the close resemblance between it and the Order of the Temple, a very important point to which I shall revert in due time.

[1] Since 1871, however, this rigorous proof of ancestry has been reduced to eight ancestors.

I shall now turn to the organization of the reconstructed Austrian branch of the Teutonic Order based upon the Imperial patent of 1840, with some alterations of later date. Though this branch pretends to be the lineal and legitimate offspring and continuation of the old Teutonic Order the claim is open to discussion. Still it may be admitted that it is in some way connected with the old Order, though perhaps by very slight threads. Being anxious to frame its statutes on the ancient statutes of the Order, and having secured the archives of the old Order, it undoubtedly possesses the merit of having on the whole maintained the old usages and customs, and especially the ancient rituals of the Order. The headquarters of this branch is at the Teutonic House at Vienna (*Singerstrasse*), very near to St. Stephen's Cathedral. The head of the Order is always a member of the ruling house, an Imperial Prince, Archduke of Austria and Royal Prince of Hungary, who now bears the time-honoured title of "*Hoch-und Deutschmeister*." Strictly speaking, this is a misnomer and to some extent a *contradictio in adjecto*, as the estates of this branch, comprising only two Bailliwicks, are situated in Austria (the Order does not exist in Hungary), hence "Provincial, or Grand Master of Austria" would be a sufficient title, because the title "*Hoch-und Deutschmeister*" suggests possessions in different countries, and especially in Germany, whilst the Order has really no possessions at all in Germany or anywhere outside Austria.

It is very noteworthy and characteristic that whilst, since 1840, the chiefs of the Order, namely, the Archdukes Maximilian and William, have been in Imperial patents styled *Hoch-und Deutschmeister*, on the other hand the same Princes and the Archduke Anthony also, in other equally official and semi-official records (as for instance in the annual editions of the "*K.K. Hof-und Staatshandbuch* and of the Almanac of Gotha) are described as "Grand Masters (*Grossmeister*) of the Teutonic Order *in Austria*," that is to say, the title conferred by the Emperor Francis on his brother, the Archduke Anthony, is attributed to this Prince as well as to his two successors in office.

Though Vienna is the centre and headquarters of the Order, the Great and German Master is not bound to reside there. This is even now the case, as H.I.H. the present *Hoch-und Deutschmeister* resides at Innsbruck in the Tyrol.

When the *Hoch-und Deutschmeister* becomes advanced in age another younger Archduke and Royal Prince joins the Order, who is elected "Coadjutor," and on the death of the *Hoch-und Deutschmeister* is formally elected his successor, the election having to be confirmed by the Sovereign. The possessions of the Order form two bailliwicks: (1) that of Austria (in the strict sense of the term), and (2), that "on the river Thees (Etsch) and in the mountains." The bailliwicks are presided over by Provincial Commanders (*Landcomthure*) or Governors (*Statthalter*).

The members of the Order are composed of (1) Knights, (2) Ecclesiastics, including (*a*) priests and (*b*) nuns. Originally, apart from the ecclesiastics, there were only professed knights, *i.e.*, full members of the Order who had taken the vows. It was not until modern times that the dignity of honorary knights was created. To return to the professed knights, they again include the following classes:—

(1) First in rank are the Grand Capitularies (*Gross-capitulare*), four to six in number, who correspond in rank to the Knights Grand Cross of other Orders. Next to them comes

(2) One Grand Commander or Preceptor (*Grosscomthur*), which dignity was re-established in the year 1872. He is the *Adlatus* of the Grand Master.

(3) The two Provincial Commanders or Governors of the two Bailliwicks.

(4) The Commander of Council (*Rathsgebietiger*) of the Great and German Mastership.

(5) The Commanders of Council of the two Bailliwicks.

(6) The Hospitaller (*Spittler*).

(7) About 16 commanders, and

(8) The simple professed knights.

It should be mentioned that several of the above dignities may be held by one and the same person, thus a Grand Capitulary or the Commander of Council may also hold some special Commanderies, and enjoy the revenue thereof.

Aspirants desirous of joining the Order as professed knights are subject to a noviciate of one year, at the end of which they may take the vows and be dubbed professed knights. No one is admitted to the noviciate of the Order until he has produced full proofs of ancestry in sixteen quarterings. These are most rigorously examined, and only approved if found strictly in order. Besides descent, certain personal qualities are required in the candidate, which I will not now enumerate, as they will be referred to again in connection with the rituals. In former times all the sixteen ancestors and their families were to be of German blood. Now this is only necessary with the male chief lineage of the paternal family. Hence it follows that noblemen not belonging to the German nobility are absolutely excluded from full membership. Candidates must also be members of the Roman Catholic Church, and after expiration of the year of noviciate they obtain the four lesser ecclesiastical consecrations, prior to their being admitted to the vows, namely, the three Monastic vows of chastity (celibacy) poverty and obedience, and the knightly vows. Accordingly the professed knights must remain life-long bachelors. In former times the professed knights took the so-called *solemn* vows from which as a rule no dispensation was granted, though there were some few exceptions when professed knights, even Great Masters, were dispensed from their vows, and were permitted to return to the world and to marry. It was due to the efforts of the *Hoch-und Deutschmeister*, Archduke William (1863-1894) that a papal *breve* was issued in 1886, by virtue of which the knights of the Order thenceforth are only to take the simple vows from which they can easily be dispensed by the Pope on application, the solemn vows no longer being required. For all that the knights are still styled "professed knights," and they are allowed to retain such titles of nobility as they held before joining the Order.

For the sake of comparison I may state this is not so with the Roman Catholic Order of St. John or Knights of Malta. There the candidates when admitted to the Order first take the simple vows, and are called Knights of Justice, retaining their secular titles of nobility. For instance, "Guido, Count of Thun and Hohenstein, Knight of Justice of the Order of Malta." These simple vows are renewed by the Knight of Justice for ten years on the anniversaries of his first taking them. During these ten years he may apply for dispensation, and on obtaining it may return to the world and marry. If on the contrary, after the expiration of the ten years he decides to remain a member of the Order, he at the tenth anniversary takes the solemn vows, binding himself to the Order until death. It is only then that he is called "professed knight." He then drops his inherited secular title of nobility, obtaining in its stead the honourable prefix, "frater" (*fra. frà.*). Thus the above-named knight would, as a professed knight, be styled "Fra. Guido von Thun und Hohenstein," followed by any rank held in the Order. One sees the difference in this respect between the Teutonic and the Roman Catholic Maltese Knights.

It is worthy of remark that it is even now a rule that the details of the statutes and all matters referring to the internal affairs of the Order are strictly to be kept secret by the members. This was so formerly also with the rituals of Reception and other ceremonies, usages and customs of the Order. The Receptions were held in the presence of the professed knights and priests of the Order, all other persons being excluded. It was likewise due to the Archduke William that an alteration took place in this respect. Since the second half of the nineteenth century the Reception of candidates, as well as the Enthronement of a Great Master, are no longer performed in secret, but may be witnessed by outsiders, such as the relatives and friends of the candidates and other invited distinguished guests. This is important for every friend and student of chivalric and Templar matters, whose gratitude is certainly due to the late Prince for his action, because it is my conviction that the Teutonic ritual of Reception, which was thus made known to the outside world only about forty years ago, forms a full justification for our Templar ritual, as I hope to prove later on.

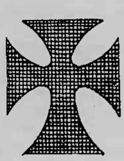
The Archduke William was in many respects a great reformer of the Order, and in consequence of his efforts the Austrian Order greatly increased in public esteem and importance. I omit full explanation of the very useful reforms initiated by his Imperial and Royal Highness with regard to the Sanitary service of the Order and other notable charities, as they are not connected with the present subject, but I feel compelled to refer to them briefly. Another innovation was effected by the Archduke in 1865, when the hitherto unknown grade of Honorary Knight of the Teutonic Order was created. The candidates are subject to the same proofs of ancestry as the professed knights, and the paternal family must belong to the German nobility. They must also be and remain Roman Catholics, otherwise they forfeit their membership as honorary knights. They are, however, secular persons, and may marry, but they have no votes nor any effective rights in the government of the Order. They pay a very high fee of honour and also annual fees towards the hospital fund. They obtain also a diploma, signed by the *Hoch-und Deutschmeister*, and have the right of wearing a special cross and a special uniform, but not the cross of profession, nor the full mediæval robes of the Order, which include the white mantle with the black cross.

Still another innovation took place in 1871. The Archduke wished to gather together persons belonging to the Austrian and Hungarian nobility, both male and female, in order to make them take part in the voluntary sanitary service of the Order in case of war, and with a view to this end, a special institution was called into being styled "Marians" (*Marianer*). In ancient times this appellation was synonymous with that of a professed knight of the Teutonic Order, but of course this does not now hold good. These members have only to prove *nobility* (Austrian or Hungarian) and in exceptional cases noble person of foreign states are likewise eligible. No proofs of ancestry are required, thus, persons who have been nobilitated are able to get the Cross. Originally they were to be Roman Catholics but in 1880 it was enacted that nobles (ladies and gentlemen) belonging to any Christian confession could be admitted. They have to pay a moderate annual fee towards the hospital fund, and foreigners are called upon to pay a fee of honour at their admission. They wear a special cross which will be described later. It must be particularly noted that these "Marians" are not knights nor members of the Teutonic Order. They are simple "possessors of the Cross of St. Mary of the Teutonic Order," in other words they possess a decoration which the Great Master of the Teutonic Order is entitled to bestow. They form a special institution or body which is connected with the Teutonic Order only through the person of the Great Master, who is chief of both bodies.

So much for the organization of the reconstructed Austrian branch of the Teutonic Order, as at present existing. I have already spoken of the Protestant branch or Bailliwick of Utrecht, which is in existence in the Netherlands.

A cursory review of the facts just pointed out makes it obvious how widely the organisation of the Austrian branch differs from that of the ancient Order of Teutonic knights. It is desirable to state this fact because it seems to meet one argument which is often brought forward by opponents of the British Orders of the Temple and Hospital with regard to the vexed question of their continuity. Some say, if the present British Orders were the lineal decendants of the old Orders of the Temple and Hospital of St. John, they must needs have retained their organization and even their terminology, in every point. As this is not the case or is only partly so, the inference may be drawn that they are not descended from the old Orders and that there is not any connection between the old Orders and the new. Now by the Austrian branch of the Teutonic Order, an instance is given of an Order which at all events is linked in some degree with the old Teutonic Order, which indeed claims to be an actual continuation thereof, and is desirous of maintaining as far as possible all points and particulars which may connect it with the old Order. It has notwithstanding been obliged to alter very many points of the old organisation, this being the natural result of altered circumstances, because every institution which is not absolutely petrified and dead, but is still a living organism, is subject to constant development and evolution. The same may be noticed in the Roman Catholic Order of Malta, the present organisation of which also differs in many points from that of the old Order. And this rule may likewise be applied to the British Orders of the Temple and Hospital when comparing or connecting them with the two great mediæval Orders of the same names, quite apart from other very important matters.

I will now give a short description of the different crosses and of the clothing as now used by the Austrian branch of the Teutonic Knights. The fundamental type of the distinctive cross of the Teutonic Order was always a black cross *pattée*, the lower limb being generally somewhat longer than the other three. In ancient times this point however was not always strictly observed, but with the present Austrian branch the use of this form is strictly enforced, and all crosses are so shaped. The chief rules are the following. All professed members of the Order (knights and priests) of whatever additional rank, are to wear two crosses, viz.;



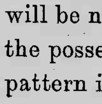
(1) The cross of profession or breast-cross. It is worn on the left breast without any ring or ribbon, being attached by a pin at the back. It is the distinctive badge of a professed member of the Order. The cross of profession is of an ancient pattern. It is a very broad cross enamelled black, with a broad silver bordure with a simple engraved ornamentation, beaded edges on the inner and outer sides.

(2) The neck-cross, worn round the neck on a black watered silk ribbon. It is likewise a cross *pattée* with the lower limb prolonged, but it is somewhat smaller and of much more slender, modern, and elegant shape than the old-fashioned breast-cross. The neck-cross is also enamelled black, but has a narrow white enamelled bordure, the same being edged with gold on the inner and outer sides. On the upper branch or arm of the cross is placed (in the case of the knight) a knight's helmet, enamelled blue, garnished with gold, lined red, with

a vizor of *seven* golden bars, and adorned with a golden chain going round the neck, with a golden cross suspended therefrom. The top of the helmet is surmounted by a plume of *five* ostrich feathers, two black between three white (all edged and quilled *or*). The middle feather has a small golden ring attached to it, through which passes another bigger flat ring in the form of a snake by means of which the cross is suspended to the black ribbon which is drawn together in front by a moveable *coulant* (gold) shewing a panoply or trophy, in embossed work.

The neck-crosses of the Grand Capitularies (grand crosses) differ only in size from those of the commanders and knights. The honorary knights are entitled to wear the same neck-cross as the professed knights, but without the golden *coulant*, and they are not permitted to wear the cross of profession, nor the full costume of the professed knights, which includes the white mantle with a black cross. The neck-cross of the priests is the same as that of the knights, except that an urn takes the place of the helmet. The urn is striped obliquely or bendways by crooked lines in *seven* stripes, black and white, edged gold. To the urn are attached the two rings by which the cross is suspended from three black silk cords or strings (instead of the ribbon as worn by the knights) which are fastened around the neck. The nuns of the Order have a similar but smaller cross, without the urn, suspended round the neck by one black silk cord only. The priests wear the breast-cross also, but the nuns only wear the neck-cross. The cross of St. Mary, which is worn by the humble Marians, is a very much smaller silver Teutonic cross of the same form, enamelled black, with a narrow border enamelled white, edged silver. The centre of the cross is occupied by a circular disc, in white enamel, shewing an equilateral cross *patent* in red enamel. The disc is surrounded by a black silver-edged border, with the words in silver "ORDO TEUT. HUMANITATI." On the reverse is a similar black-bordered white disc, with the date of foundation in black, 1871. On the upper arm of the cross are two silver rings by which it is attached to a silk ribbon, edged white and black, the centre of the ribbon being ribbed white and black perpendicularly to the edges. The ribbon is folded "*en sautoir*," or rather in a triangular shape, and the cross is worn on the left breast. A special distinction is the neck-cross of St. Mary, which is attached to a ribbon of similar pattern. This neck-cross is somewhat larger, and the ribbon rather wider. It will be noted that in the case of the cross of St. Mary, which is a separate institution, the possessor not being a member of the chivalric Teutonic Order, a ribbon of special pattern is used, and not the usual black of the Teutonic Order.

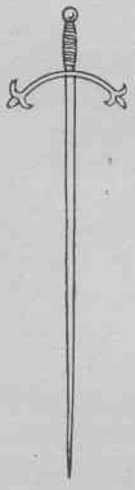
The *Hoch-und Deutschmeister* and his Coadjutor also wear two crosses, *i.e.*, breast-cross and neck-cross, but they are both of a special design and also larger than those of the other knights. The breast-cross has a silver border like that of the knights, but in this case it is richly ornamented with sprigs of laurel. The four limbs of the cross, which are black enamelled and very broad, are charged with a rich gold cross, adorned at the points with gold fleur-de-lis. The centre of the cross is occupied by an escutcheon, in the shape of the so-called French shield, pointed at the bottom, *or*, with the single-headed old German Imperial eagle displayed, and crowned, *sable* (claws empty). As in the case of the breast-cross of the knights, this has neither ring nor ribbon, but is attached to the left breast by a pin at back. The neck-cross of the Great and German Master is somewhat smaller than the breast-cross, but larger than the neck-crosses of the other knights. It is slender and elegant in shape, black-enamelled with a white-enamelled



border, on both sides edged gold. The four arms are charged with a simple gold cross *flory*, and in the centre is a small escutcheon shaped like the so-called Spanish shield, with semi-circular bottom, and the eagle un-crowned. It is noteworthy that the whole style of neck-cross and its parts entirely differs from that of the breast-cross. The Great Master's neck-cross, moreover, has neither a helmet nor an urn, but only a round black knob with gold arabesques, surmounted by a black ring, to which is attached an oblong flat ring through which goes the black watered silk ribbon, without the *coulant* which is worn by the professed knights.



As for the costume, which underwent slight alterations in nearly every decade, it consisted, and still consists, chiefly of the following pieces:—A short tunic, formerly white, with a large black cross *pattée* in front reaching to the girdle. White tights. High top-boots with gold or silver spurs. Round the waist the tunic is girdled by the black sword-belt. The sword, with silver mountings, is of the form called "Teutonic sword, *i.e.*, a cross-hilted straight blade with the guards bent downwards in nearly semi-circular shape, the points of the silver guards ending in fleur-de-lys. The black hilt is adorned with a small silver Teutonic cross *pattée* having the long lower limb. The sheath is black, with upper band and foot of silver. More recently, however, the stately white tunic and tights have been replaced by a tunic and knee-breeches of black velvet. The most essential part of the costume of the professed knights is, of course, the long white mantle, with the large black Teutonic cross *pattée* on the left side. The knights wear black gloves with cuffs and black broad-brimmed hats trimmed with silver, and adorned with a black and a white ostrich feather. This is the full costume of the Order worn by the professed knights on festival occasions of the Order. Besides that they have a uniform of modern fashion, for, say, court occasions, and the like. It consists chiefly of white pantaloons, and a white tunic with black velvet facings, trimmed with silver. A plumed chapeau and a modern (straight) sword.



A similar uniform is permitted for the honorary knights also, but they are not entitled to wear the full costume of the Order, and they are especially debarred from wearing the white mantle with the black cross, this being the especial privilege of the professed members. The priests of the Teutonic Order wear the usual black cassock of the Roman Catholic secular priests (they not being monks), but on festival occasions they wear the black-crossed white mantle over it.

The costume of the *Hoch-und Deutschmeister* is much the same as that of the professed knights. His tunic, however, is made of white silk, with a large black cross *pattée* reaching from neck to girdle in the whole length and breadth of breast. Both this cross and that of the mantle are richly embroided in gold, with the cross *flory* and the escutcheon, *or*, with the eagle, *sable*. In these simple but stately costumes the knights, as they appear on solemn occasions, headed by the august *Hoch-und Deutschmeister*, present a very good and dignified appearance, well worthy of the great historic past of the Order.

As the above regulations of the Teutonic Order bear much resemblance to the Roman Catholic Order of St. John (Knights of Malta), I will give a short account of these also. This is the more advisable as I am now writing not only on the Order of the Temple but also on that of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and I therefore desire to avail myself of every opportunity which may present itself for adding

information on the Order of St. John. Those of my readers who are interested in the present organization of the Roman Catholic Order of Malta, will doubtless remember a short article of mine in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiv., pp. 168-171, and I am anxious to supplement this with the following particulars.

I must premise that within the Roman Catholic Order of St. John of Jerusalem (otherwise called Knights of Malta) there are the following gradations of rank :—The Grand Master, now residing at Rome; the Grand Priors, chiefs of the four Grand Priories, still in existence, viz., three in Italy (Rome, Naples and Venice), and one the Great Priory of Bohemia and Austria with head quarters at Prague. Besides the Grand Priories there are associations of Knights in different parts of the continent headed by simple presidents. Next come the "Venerable Baillis" or "Grand Crosses." The Grand Master and Grand Priors must first have been appointed *Baillis*, and they retain the title of *Bailli* even after having been elected to the post of Grand Master or Grand Prior. Then come the "Honorary Baillis and Grand Crosses," and the "Ladies of Honorary Grand Cross" (*Baillis et grands croix d'honneur et dévotion, et dames grands croix, etc.*) who, however, are not full members of the Order. Then follow Commanders, the Professed Knights, the Knights of Justice, the Honorary Knights (*chevaliers d'honneur et de dévotion*), Ladies of Devotion, the Knights of Grace, the *Donates* of the Order who are again (1) *Donates* of Justice or of first class, and (2) *Donates* of Honour or of second class. A special class comprises Priests of the Order.

The fundamental type of the different crosses used in the Order is of course the eight-pointed cross of Malta. And, as in the Teutonic Order, here also the chief rule is that professed members of the Order (knights and priests) are to wear the cross of profession on the left breast. This cross is an eight-pointed white cross of Malta, two inches in diameter without any other addition. It is uncrowned and the angles are empty. Originally the cross of profession was (and in some Grand Priories is even now) made of fine white linen, and is sewn on the coat of the member, whether on the habit of the Order (tunic of knight or cassock of priest), or on whatever kind of uniform, military or civilian, the person may be entitled to wear. Civilians even wear it on evening dress. Of late it has become customary, especially in some Great Priories, to have the cross of profession (like the other crosses which we shall refer to at once) made of gold, white-enamelled, edged gold. But in this case it is a simple Maltese cross without any other ornamentation, and is worn without ring or ribbon, being attached to the breast by means of a pin at back. The priests of the Order always wear the linen cross on the left breast of their black cassocks.

Besides this cross, the Professed Knights wear a neck-cross which is also an eight-pointed Maltese cross two inches in diameter, but is always of gold, enamelled in white, and edged with gold. Moreover, it is surmounted by a crown of highly ornamented form, but too large, and out of all proportion to the cross. The four angles are always adorned with a heraldic device, which in the case of the three Italian Grand Priories consists of the French fleur-de-lis, and in the case of the Grand Priory of Bohemia and Austria of the double-headed Austrian Imperial eagle, displayed, gold. This, however, differs from the usual Imperial eagle by having the claws empty and the two heads crowned, with one closed crown. In the case of the Professed Knights, the crown of the neck-cross is surmounted by a *coulant* in the form of a panoply consisting of a breastplate (with a tiny Maltese cross on the left breast), a barred and crowned helmet adorned with a plume of three feathers, a sword, spears, halberds, banners, quivers of arrows, etc., all in gold. By means of this *coulant* the neck-cross is attached to the black watered silk ribbon, by which it is worn round the neck. The

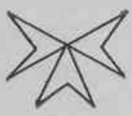
Knights of Justice and also the Honorary Knights wear the same cross, but of course not the white cross of profession. To the panoply may be added "the distinction of Jerusalem," *i.e.*, a small escutcheon of red enamel, with a plain cross in white enamel, these being the original arms of the Order of St. John when in the Holy Land. This small shield means a tax of 500 florins to be paid by the wearer towards the Hospital fund of the Order. In the case of the Knights of Grace, possessors of the ecclesiastical cross (which is granted to some of the priests), *Donates* of Justice, and Ladies of Honour and Devotion, the panoply is omitted and its place is taken by a bow of gold ribbon with the pointed ends falling downwards. The distinction of Jerusalem, however, may be added if the wearer is willing to pay the tax or fee of honour. The neck-crosses of the Commanders, Professed Knights, Knights of Justice, Honour and Grace, the ecclesiastical cross, and that of *Donates* of Justice, are of the same dimensions and have the same ornamentation. The cross of the Ladies of Honour and Devotion is somewhat smaller (one inch and a half), and is worn attached to a bow of black silk ribbon above the left breast, and that of the *Donates* of second class or Honorary *Donates* is of about the same dimensions. It has the crown and the four eagles in the corners, but is carried by a small ring from a black ribbon, *en sautoir* on left breast.

On the other hand, the neck-cross of the Baillis (Grand Crosses) is larger in size than those of the professed Knights and other members, measuring two inches and a half in diameter, apart from the big crown and panoply which measure about three inches, as also in the case of the Knights.

A few other points must also be noted. The *Baillis* (Grand Crosses) cover the ribbon of their neck-cross with another ribbon of black silk or cloth embroidered in gold with two sprigs of thorns entwined, in memory of the crown of thorns of Our Lord. Besides the neck-cross and the breast-cross or cross of profession, the Baillis wear a sash or Grand Cordon of black silk from right shoulder to left hip, adorned at the bottom with another Maltese cross in linen. This is the third cross of the Baillis. The Ladies of the Grand Cross of Honour and Devotion, however, who do not wear the neckcross, wear the white enamelled Grand Cross pendant from the Grand Cordon. The priests who are in possession of the ecclesiastical cross wear it round the neck on a crimson watered silk ribbon. The Honorary *Baillis* and Grand Crosses who are not Professed Knights wear the neck-cross of the *Baillis* and the Grand Cordon, but not the cross of profession. This is quite logical, but now comes a very deplorable contradiction. Sovereigns and Princes of the Blood Royal, if decorated with the Grand Cross of Honour, are permitted to add to the neck-cross of *Baillis* and the Grand Cordon, the cross of profession also. This is *illogical*, as the cross of profession is the distinctive mark of a Professed Knight, not even the Knights of Justice being entitled to it until they attain the rank of Professed Knight, *i.e.*, after ten years standing, and yet there are cases in which it is worn by Emperors, Kings and Princes who are not professed members of the Order. It must be remarked also that all the crosses of



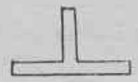
Donates (first and second classes) have only the side branches and the lower branch of white enamel, the upper branch being of polished gold. The *Donates* of Justice or first class wear a neck-cross of this kind, and they are also permitted to wear a breast-cross (with a pin) of three limbs only, the upper one being absent altogether. This kind of breast-cross may



be worn also by such Knights of Grace who have been *Donates* of Justice and have been promoted to the rank of Knights of Grace. The *Donates* of the second class wear only the small cross described above on the ribbon *en sautoir*. They do not wear either a neck-cross, or strictly speaking,



even a breast-cross. With reference to the very strange mutilated breast cross of the *Donates* of Justice, consisting of three limbs only, which may be described as a Maltese Tau Cross, and is *not* allowed to be worn in the shape of the figure which in French Heraldry is called a "*pairle*," I beg to mention that just the reverse took place with the half-brethren of the Teutonic Order of older times, who were permitted to wear a half black cross on the white tunic, but here the lower limb was missing so that the cross had exactly the shape of what we Masonically call a level.



The Roman Catholic Knights of Malta wear a uniform of modern pattern, consisting of white pantaloons, a red tunic with facings of black velvet and trimmed with gold, and with gold epaulettes and gold buttons (with Maltese crosses), a short straight sword and a *chapeau* with plumes. The full costume of the Order as worn by the Professed Knights consists of white tights and high boots with gold spurs, an old-fashioned red tunic (*sopraveste*) which formerly, (even as late as the seventies), was adorned with a plain white cross extending from collar to girdle. According to a later regulation it is adorned with the eight-pointed white cross of Malta. Above it is worn the long black velvet mantle with a large eight-pointed Maltese cross in white satin on the left shoulder. Cross-hilted swords with gilt mountings (with a small white enamelled Maltese cross on the hilt), black broad-brimmed hat, trimmed gold, with black and white ostrich feathers, white gloves.

A few words on the Heraldry of the Order. In earlier times the Professed Knights quartered their arms with the arms of the Order, that is to say, the first and fourth field of the quartered arms contained the arms of the Order, *gules*, a plain cross *argent*, the second and third field containing the family arms of the knight. Later on the eight-pointed Cross of Malta was charged with the arms of the family, and the whole was sometimes surrounded by a rosary with a small Maltese cross pendant; the motto of the Order was, and still is, "*Pro fide.*"[1] This achievement, viz., the Cross of Malta charged with the arms of a family, is now used by the Knights of Justice and Honorary Knights. Again, later on, it became customary for the *Professed* Knights to assume in the shield of their family arms :—a chief, *gules*, with a plain cross, *argent*. This is even at the present time the distinctive mark of a Professed Knight of Malta. The large cross of Malta charged with the family arms borne by them as Knights of Justice is retained, only the shield is now differenced by the chief. The whole may be surrounded by the ribbon and cross of the Order.

In a similar manner the Teutonic Knights quartered their arms, the first and forth field being *argent*, with a plain cross, *sable*; the second and third the family arms. The *Hoch-und Deutschmeister* quartered his arms with the full adorned cross (with cross *flory* and escutcheon with eagle), then again in the first and fourth field, *argent*, appeared the simple plain cross, *sable*; in the second and third the family arms. Sometimes a large *Hoch-und Deutschmeister's* cross was charged with the arms of the family. All this however is no longer in use. The *Hoch-und Deutschmeister* now simply charges his family shield with the cross of the *Hoch-und Deutschmeister*. The shield is surmounted by a helmet and the whole is placed beneath a cloak *purple*, doubled *ermine* and surmounted by a princely crown.

After this digression I return to our chief subject, and will give an account of the Rituals of the Teutonic Order, as now practiced by the Austrian branch. They are unquestionably of ancient origin. It may be conceded that they were not originally,

[1] Compare the heraldry of the French *Ordre du Temple.*

and not always, what they are at present, being undoubtedly the result of a long course of evolution. It would be extremely difficult if not altogether impossible to state at what time they took the present definite form. Most probably the original was a somewhat simple ceremony which developed more and more as time went on. It may be conceded also that in long course of time not only additions, but alterations, and later on omissions were made. It is highly probable they contained in former periods a great deal of esoteric matter, but when the true meaning thereof was no longer intelligible to the then living generations, they were either omitted or modified according to the ideas and notions of the reformers of those later days.

But even as they appear to-day they are a most precious and valuable relic of ancient times, a highly interesting specimen of a true mediæval esoteric ritual. Portions are no doubt of very great antiquity, and the whole is therefore of great interest to every student of the history of the civilisation of the middle ages. The fact must not be lost sight of that for centuries the rituals were strictly kept secret from all outsiders and in this manner have been handed down from a very early period to the present day. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the secret was unveiled to the eyes of the public. And here arises the question, whether previous to their being made public, portions of doubtful or uncertain esoteric meaning were not again omitted and abolished. Even in their present shape they still contain a great deal of esoteric matter intelligible to and valuable for the initiated as well as for the student, especially for him who seeks to know about mediæval ritual and symbolism. Therefore they are of paramount importance for every knight of the Temple and student of Templar matters. It is possible that the esoteric portions still preserved were not abolished, either out of piety or because their esoteric nature and original meaning was not suspected.

Analogies may be cited from many other sides. It is well known to every expert in such matters that we owe the preservation of esoteric rituals in general just to such facts. If the true explanation of certain ceremonies was lost, another one was invented, but the ceremonies as a whole were maintained, faithfully handed down, and thus preserved from oblivion. As for the Teutonic Order it will be remembered that the veil which covered the rituals was removed, but this was only an exception to the general rule prevailing in the Order even now, that all matters referring to the Order are to be most strictly kept secret from every one not belonging to the Order. Thus the statutes, and usages, and the archives of the Order may still contain treasures of an esoteric nature.

In the following I shall give first a description of the ritual of Initiation or Reception into the Order, also a short account of the ceremony of Enthronement of the Great and German Master, and afterwards make some remarks on certain portions of the ritual. Finally, I shall draw inferences therefrom with regard to Templarism in general, and to some open questions in the field of the investigation of Templar matters in particular.

THE RITUALS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.

The applicant for the dignity of knighthood of the Teutonic Order who must be of full age (*i.e.*, 24 years according to Continental ideas) has to produce proofs of ancestry (16 quarterings), which are most rigorously examined, and if found correct in all points are approved of and confirmed. Two noblemen of high standing, the sponsors of the applicant, must declare their willingness to take an oath on (or swear to) the correctness of the proofs of ancestry in the presence of the Great and German Master

and Chapter. They are, therefore, called the "swearers" (*die Aufschwörer*). A strict inquiry is instituted into the character and personal qualities of the applicant, which having proved satisfactory, he is admitted to the noviciate. After the expiration of the regular term of one year of the noviciate the day is fixed for his solemn reception into the Order as a Professed Knight. Prior to that, the Novice receives the four lesser ecclesiastical Orders (*Ordines minores*).

The Initiation takes place at a solemn Chapter of Reception (*Receptionscapitel*), generally held at the Teutonic House at Vienna. It consists of two distinct parts, the first of which the "profession" takes place in the Chapter House; the second in the Chapel of the Order, the latter again comprising two portions, the "accolade, or dubbing," and the "consecration."

A sufficient time before the hour appointed the candidate appears in the anteroom of the Chapter House, wearing a black costume of old pattern, doublet and knee-breeches (black velvet) stockings (black silk), shoes with silver buckles, a short mantle or cape round the shoulders, a suitable cap or *baret* on his head, but without sword or cross. He is accompanied by his two sponsors or swearers, and by two esquires. Then the Priests and Professed Knights, all in full costumes of the Order, the Honorary Knights in their uniforms, and a number of carefully selected and specially invited distinguished visitors, among them the next relations of the Candidate. Lastly, the officials of the Order and the domestics of the Great and German Master. Finally arrives the Great and German Master himself, wearing the full costume of his exalted position, and he is accompanied to the Chapter House by the professed members. Here he assumes the throne, the others their stalls. Then at the command of the Master the other assembled personages are admitted and take their respective places. This being done all rise, and the Master opens the Chapter of Reception. First of all *seven Paternosters* and *seven Ave Marias* are repeated for receiving the *seven* gifts of the Holy Ghost. Next, the Master calls on the officiating priest, saying, "Since according to laudable usage, an exhortation is to be given at the beginning of the Chapter, therefore you, Priest of the Order, will perform it."[1] The exhortation being finished, the two Sponsors or Swearers lay the confirmed proof of ancestry upon the table of the Chapter and then conduct the candidate to the foot of the throne and say, "Most Reverend and Most Serene Lord Great and German Master, and Reverend Chapter. We, the Swearers of the Candidate for Knighthood here present do hereby hand over the proof of ancestry, graciously approved, and declare ourselves to be willing and ready to confirm the correctness thereof with oath and knightly word (or to swear to the correctness thereof) according to the usage of the Order." Then they pray "The Lord Great and German Master and the Reverend Chapter they may most graciously and graciously be pleased to receive into the knightly Teutonic Order the Candidate here present, his time of probation being just completed, and to give him the accolade according to ancient laudable usage, for which highest favour the same shall not fail to prove all dutiful fidelity and obedience to the Lord Great and German Master and the High Order, all his life long."

The Great Master replies that he will consider the request and communicate the result, whereon the Candidate and his swearers leave the Chapter House. Then the Master demands of the knights whether it is their desire that the Candidate be received. The knights having given their assent, the Candidate and his swearers are readmitted,

[1] I must mention that the Rituals are couched in quaint old German language, which it is difficult to translate adequately. I shall try to do so as well as I can.

and the former is placed in front of the Great Master, who addresses him in these terms: "Well beloved friend, since the Sir Capitularies and brethren of the Order here assembled have with me considered your ancient noble descent, entitled to tournament, and your good qualities; Now therefore your reception into our laudable chivalric Teutonic Order of the Hospital of our dear Lady at Jerusalem has been resolved upon in Chapter. (*Capitulariter*). But you must first answer several questions I shall put to you." Then he proceeds, "He who is desirous to be admitted into the Teutonic Order is to be lawfully born of ancient noble chivalric stock, and is to prove this descent with eight ancestors from the father and eight from the mother, all being of German blood, and thus, he is to be a true Knight Companion. He must be of sound limbs and free from disease, nor is he to be in military or state service of any foreign country. He must have reached his twenty-fourth year, but not have passed his fiftieth. He is not to be involved in debts, nor bound to render any heavy account. He must bring with him into the Order a fully equipped charger and a complete set of armour. His previous life must be without stain. He must not have dangerous enemies. He must remain within the Order until the end of his life. He shall defend the property and rights of the Order. He shall observe the strictest and most unconditional secrecy in all matters relating to the Order. He shall help the sick and distressed, and shelter widows, orphans and maidens." The Master demands of the Candidate whether he is able and willing to fulfil and to conform to these requisites. On the satisfactory reply of the Candidate, the Master rejoins that his reception is about to be effected, but previously the Candidate must once more in the presence of the Knights in Chapter assembled pray for his admission. Whereupon the Candidate kneels on both knees at the table of the Chapter, and says, "Most Reverend and Most Serene Lord Great and German Master, Right Honourable and Honourable gracious sirs, for the sake of God and Mary His Holy Mother, and for the sake of the Salvation of my own Soul, I pray and beseech you to receive me into the laudable Teutonic Chivalric Order." The Great Master replies, "Your request is granted but the Order promises you nothing but bread and water and poor clothing. Should you obtain anything better you will thank for it God, St. Mary, and the laudable Order."

Then the two Sponsors advance to the Throne, and one after the other joins hands with the Great Master, saying, "I, ... do swear that it is not otherwise known to me than that the Candidate for knighthood who is now about to be received into the Teutonic Order is really the same as the world knows him to be, and that he is of ancient noble chivalric descent, entitled to tournament, and that hence he is a worthy Knight Companion and of German blood. So help me God and all his saints (So may God be gracious to me)." Both having thus taken the oath, they lay down upon the table the *Reversalia*, the receipts for the statutory fees (*statutaria*), and two black velvet moneybags containing gold coins as the equivalent of the price of the charger and armour. Then they step back.

Now the Candidate kneels down and takes his profession, repeating the words after the Great Master. "I, ... promise and vow chastity of my body and celibacy, also to be without property, also obedience to God, St. Mary, and you Master of the Order of the Teutonic House, and your successors, according to the rules and customs of the Teutonic House and Hospital at Jerusalem, and that I shall be so obedient until my death. That I shall help the sick and distressed, that I shall shelter widows, orphans and maidens. Amen." This closes the Chapter House part of the Ceremony, but not the Chapter of Reception itself, which is continued in the Chapel and finally closed in the Chapter House. The Candidate having finished his profession,

a blast of trumpets sounds, and the procession is formed and proceeds along the corridors and staircases to the Chapel of the Order, which for the solemn occasion is splendidly illuminated and decorated with flowers, etc. The walls are draped with red velvet, on which are displayed in rows one beneath the other, brightly standing out against the red background, the shields of profession (*Aufschwörschilder*) of the Professed Knights. Each shield shows on a gold ground the full coat of arms of its owner, blazoned in proper heraldic tinctures, and the name of the respective knight and the date of his profession and dubbing. The stalls of the knights are likewise covered with red velvet. In the sanctuary, on the Gospel side, the throne of the Great and German Master is erected on steps and overshadowed by a red velvet canopy. The throne faces the *south* wall, not the west. In front of the altar is a large black cloth or funeral pall stretched on the floor.

The procession coming from the Chapter House is led by the servants of the Great Master clad in gala livery. They are followed by the Priests of the Order wearing black *soutanes*, and the white mantle of the Order with black cross. After them come the officials of the Teutonic House. Next come the Honorary and then the Professed Knights. Then follow the two Sponsors or Swearers. Behind them, and immediately before the Candidate, the two esquires, one of them bearing the shield of the Candidate covered with white and black veil, the other the sword and spurs of knighthood and the mantle and cross of the Order. Then comes the Candidate walking alone, and finally the Great and German Master with his escort. The procession enters the Chapel to sounds of the organ and blasts of trumpets. All take their places, and the Great Master assumes his seat upon the throne. The cushions with the shield and other insignia are placed on the altar. The Candidate is conducted to the Sacristy, where he lays down his black shoulder mantle and changes his shoes for knightly boots, without spurs. Next he is clad from head to foot in his armour. The vizor of his helmet from which wave white and black ostrich feathers, is left half open. He wears no sword, but a rosary (*paternoster*) is put into his hand, and thus he is reconducted into the Chapel, where he takes up his position on the black pall in front of the altar. I should mention that the poor candidate has had no food during the day, because he has confessed and received absolution, and is about to take the Holy Communion. All being thus arranged, the chanting of the Mass of the Holy Ghost commences. When the "*Gloria*" is repeated, the Candidate, who has meanwhile stood in front of the altar, occupied with his rosary, advances to the altar and offers a gold coin, then again resumes his place. When the Gospel is chanted the Great Master descends one step of the throne, covers his head and draws his sword. The knights leave their stalls, hats in hand, and form a semi-circle round the Candidate in front of the altar. Then they put on their hats and draw swords, which they hold with points upwards. The lecture of the Gospel being finished, the Master and Knights return swords, take off their hats and resume their places. The same ceremony takes place at the *Credo*, when the Candidate offers a silver coin.

At the *Offertorium* the officiating priest blesses the sword, spurs and other insignia which had been placed upon the altar, whereupon the senior sponsor receives the sword from the priest and buckles it upon the Candidate, and closes the vizor of the helmet. After that the hymn, "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," is intoned, and the knights again leave their stalls, gather round the Candidate in a semi-circle, cover their heads, draw swords, holding them with points upwards. Now the Great Master descends from his throne (with his sword sheathed), approaches the Candidate, draws the Candidate's sword out of its scabbard, then with the naked sword in hand he bows before the altar,

and then gives the accolade (with the *Candidate's sword*), that is to say, two strokes upon his shoulders and the third upon his head, accompanying the action with these words, "To the Honour of God, St. Mary, and St. George." "Endure this one (stroke) but no more." "Better a Knight than an esquire." Then he gives the sword back to the Candidate, who sheaths it. Whereupon the junior sponsor receives the spurs, and buckles them on the newly-dubbed knight, and then re-opens the vizor. It will be noted that the Candidate stands erect before the Master while the accolade is given, though in former times it was customary for him to kneel. The Great Master and the Knights resume their places, the latter having sheathed their swords and bared their heads. This closes the ceremony of dubbing. The newly-created knight is reconducted to the Sacristy, where the armour is removed, and he is again dressed with the same black shoulder mantle, but retains his sword and spurs, and thus he returns to the Chapel, where he resumes his former post on the black cloth or funeral pall, with the rosary in his hands. What now follows is the ceremony of Consecration. Whilst the Mass is proceeded with, another invocation to the Holy Ghost is intoned, viz., the "*Veni Sancti Spiritus.*" This finished, there follow some *Responsoria.* When the versicle "*Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur*" and the response "*Et renovabis faciem terrae*" have been chanted, there follows the prayer to the Holy Ghost, beginning with the words "*Deus qui corda fidelium sancti spiritus illustratione docuisti.*" At the beginning of the "*Veni Sancte Spiritus*" the newly-created knight kneels on both knees, and at the "*Emitte*" and the "*Deus qui corda*" he prostrates himself at full length upon the pall with both arms outstretched, thus forming with his body the sign of the cross, and continuing in this significant position during the whole recitation of the subsequent Litany. This ended, he rises and advances to the altar, where he kneels on the lowest step. The small black mantle is taken from his shoulders, and the priest clothes him with the crossed white mantle of the Order, putting it round his neck and clasping it firmly. Then he adorns him with the crosses of the Order, and delivers an oration suitable to the occasion. Trumpets sound, and the mass is proceeded with. After the "*Agnus dei*," or rather at the subsequent Holy Communion, the new knight receives the Sacrament. Then he advances to the throne, kneels and does homage to the Great Master, kissing his hand. The Master raises him and kisses the new knight upon both cheeks. Then all the knights greet the new companion, each of them embracing him and kissing him, and being embraced and kissed in return. The mass being brought to a close, the procession is again formed, and leaves the chapel amidst the sound of trumpets. The procession returns to the Chapter House, where all resume their places. Then one *Paternoster* is repeated, and the Great Master closes the Chapter of Reception. At the subsequent banquet all appear in full costume, and the newly-created knight sits on the right of the Great Master.

So much for the ceremony of Reception. Less important but still interesting nevertheless are the ceremonies connected with the enthronement of the Great and German Master. I will, therefore, give a short account of them also, and add a few remarks on some other points of ritual. After the death of a Great Master he is solemnly buried. At the funeral service and burial the Professed Knights appear in full armour, their helmets being mounted by waving black and white plumes. During the service they surround the coffin with swords (reversed ?) The coffin is covered with a red velvet pall trimmed with silver. So far as I am aware this usage is observed with all Imperial Princes and Archdukes of Austria and Royal Princes of Hungary, though not in the case of the Sovereign. As, however, the Great Masters are always Princes of the Austrian house, this accounts for the above-mentioned custom. The coffin is adorned

with the arms of the deceased Great Master, as well as the insignia of his office. The service being ended the coffin is carried by Commanders of the Order to the funeral carriage, drawn by eight horses having plumes of black and white feathers on their heads.

After the burial the Coadjutor summons the Chapter of Election in which the Grand Capitularies, the Provincial Masters and all Professed Knights and Priests are entitled to take part. The election, however, is merely formal, since by the compact between the Crown and the Order, now in force, the Great Master is always elected from the members of the ruling House. Generally, besides the Great Master himself, there is only one other Imperial and Royal Prince amongst the Professed Knights, who during the lifetime of the Great Master had been professed and then elected Coadjutor of the Great Master, and is looked upon as his successor. Thus generally the Chapter of Election has no choice, but necessarily elects the Coadjutor to be Great and German Master. It is, however, not impossible that at some future period more than one Imperial and Royal Prince might enter the Order, in which case a division might take place at the election. The result of election has to be submitted to the Sovereign for approval. When this is obtained the Great and German Master elect may be solemnly and duly enthroned, and thus have power to exercise the duties of his high office. It will be seen that the election is hardly more than an appointment by the Crown, and differs widely from the free election of the old Great and German Masters. If, however, the approval of the Sovereign should not be given for six subsequent months, the Order has the right to proceed to a new election, and, if my interpretation of the rule is correct, the newly elected Great Master could be enthroned forthwith.

The solemn enthronement takes place according to old Ritual, the chief symbols of the dignity of Great Mastership which form a prominent part in the ceremony being the golden ring and the golden key of enthronement and the "*Sigillum ad causas.*" The ceremony is as follows. All those who are entitled to be present at the Chapter of enthronement, which includes the Honorary Knights and other persons who have no voice in the election, being assembled at the Teutonic House at Vienna, the Chapter is duly opened in the Chapter House, and after a statement has been made as to the object of the meeting, a procession is formed very similar to that described at the Reception Ceremony. The servants of the Great Master lead the way, then come the officials of the Order, the Honorary Knights, then follow the Professed Knights according to their rank, all in full costume of the Order. The youngest Professed Knight carries the golden ring of enthronement upon a black velvet cushion. The Commander of the Council of Great Mastership, who is generally at the same time a Grand Capitulary, bears upon a silver salver or dish, the golden key of enthronement, and the *sigillum ad causas.* Immediately in front of the Great Master elect walk the two Provincial Commanders and the Grand Commander or Preceptor. The procession passes along the corridors and staircases to the chapel, which is festively illumined and adorned as at the Reception of a Knight. In front of the altar there is a footstool. At the Gospel side the throne is erected, with a red velvet canopy. The walls of the Chapel and stalls of the Knights are likewise covered with red velvet. At the entrance to the Chapel the clergy of the Order await the arrival of the Great Master elect, and the officiating Prelate presents to him the Crucifix for kissing (*Pax tecum*), and the vessel with holy water for sprinkling. Trumpets and kettle-drums sound while the procession enters the chapel, and all take their places. The cushion with the ring is deposited at the altar. The Great Master elect kneels at the footstool in front of the altar, at his right being the Grand Commander, and at his left the Commander of Council with the key and seal. The

celebration of High Mass commences. After the Gospel the officiating Prelate delivers a Latin oration to the Great Master elect, blesses the ring which he hands to the Grand Commander, who puts it on the finger of the Great Master elect amidst fanfares of trumpets.

Then the Commander of the Council presents to the Great Master the golden key and the seal. The former he retains but the seal he only touches and gives back to the Commander of the Council. Then the Great Master, amidst blasts of trumpets is solemnly conducted to the throne and placed thereon. High Mass is continued. At the *Gloria* the Professed Knights and Priests according to their rank, all advance to the throne and do homage to the newly enthroned Great Master, kneeling and kissing his hand, and being embraced by him. At the *Offertorium* the *Patene* is presented to the Great Master who devoutly kisses it. After the High Mass the *Te Deum* is chanted, and then the procession amidst sounds of trumpets and kettle-drums again repairs to the Chapter House, where the Great Master who now wears the distinctive high hat of his new dignity assumes the throne and with head covered delivers a short speech, confirms the Grand Capitularies, the Commander of the Council and the officials of the Order in their respective offices, and receives again the homage of the Knights, whereupon the Chapter is closed in the usual way.

So much for the ritual. I admit my account is meagre, but it must be borne in mind that the Teutonic Order is to some extent even now an esoteric society, and it would be difficult and probably impossible to obtain full and minute details on all such matters of the Order, especially if one were to officially ask for them at headquarters. But I think the above description will suffice for the present, as it gives a good picture of the whole, but others may perhaps endeavour to obtain fuller particulars if they are anxious to have them.

Before proceeding to offer my remarks on these rituals, I may perhaps be allowed to say that it is but natural for me to have given the above account of the Teutonic Order in my present essay, having Templarism in view. Especially so, particulars of the ritual. The remarks I am about to make will be from (1) a general esoteric point of view (comparing the Teutonic rituals with divers other esoteric rituals) as well as (2) from a strict Templar standpoint, comparing them with Templar rituals. Here again I will endeavour to distinguish between such points as are acknowledged to be mediæval Templar Ritual, and the rituals of our United Orders of the Temple and Hospital in the United Kingdom and Canada. As for the former, *i.e.*, the mediæval Templar Ritual, I beg to refer my readers to the paper of Bro. E. J. Castle, K.C., in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., p. 163, where the alleged old forms of reception into the Order of the Temple and of constituting a Chapter were communicated. Nearly the same are contained in the account on Templars published in the anonymous work, "Secret Societies of the Middle Ages," 1846. It is pretended by some scholars that these rituals are based upon information contained in old records and depositions of witnesses in the Templar *procès*, and that, therefore, they are the only authentic ceremonies of the old Knights Templar we possess. This may be so, and the portions communicated may be authentic, but even then it does not follow that no other Templar ceremonies existed. I shall revert to this question on another occasion, and shall make some further remarks thereon. Here I only wish to say that in the following notes I shall, for the sake of brevity, refer to these rituals as the "alleged Old Templar rituals." As they have been printed several times, and are not matters of secrecy, references to them may be made in plain words, at full length, and without reserve. Of course I am not permitted to do the same with regard to our present Templar and Malta Rituals, which I believe to have come down

to us from very ancient times, as this would involve a violation of solemn obligations made in both the Orders of the Temple and Hospital. Therefore I shall say nothing about them, but I trust every Knight and Installed Preceptor of the Order of the Temple, and every Knight and Installed Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta will easily discern the analogies or identity of details occurring both in the Teutonic Rituals and in ours. I do not desire to over-value all the above particulars concerning the Teutonic Order, nor do I wish to draw exaggerated inferences therefrom, but I have been compelled to make these remarks in order to avoid the possible objections or exceptions of outsiders, that is those who are not Templars, who might be inclined to under-value my communications and perhaps say that I have not proved anything by them. I most willingly submit for discussion my views and conclusions to any competent authority, but at the same time I wish to guard myself against possible incompetent and depreciative judgment.

After this preamble I may begin by taking the reception ceremony. Particularly noteworthy is the black clothing of the candidate, afterwards exchanged for the white mantle of the Order. This is a common feature of a great many esoteric bodies, past and present. The candidate first appears in black or sombre raiment, which is emblematical of the spiritual darkness in which he has existed to that period, being afterwards awakened to spiritual light and illumination, and spiritual and moral re-birth, denoted by the white garment with which he is clothed when his initiation is ended. We meet with similar customs amongst the first Christians, those about to be baptized being clothed in white. The remembrance of this usage is maintained in the Roman Catholic Church by the so-called white Sunday (*Dominica in Albis*). Compare "those clothed in white raiment" mentioned in several places in the Apocalypse of St. John. As is well-known the Candidate for secular Knighthood was clad in white. The custom of clothing the Candidate in black and the initiate in white was observed also by a number of Gnostic and so-called heretical sects, amongst others by the Albigeois. In the Roman Catholic Order of Knights of Malta, the candidate is clothed with a long *black* vestment, called in the Italian language *manto di puntà* (mantle of penitence), and holds a lighted taper in his left hand and a naked sword in his right.

The next point to which I would draw attention is that the whole ceremony of Reception into the Teutonic Order is characterised by the repeated invocations of the Holy Ghost for spiritual enlightenment and elevation of the soul. This is expressed at the opening of the Chapter by the seven *Paternosters* and the seven *Ave Marias* said for obtaining the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.[1] The Chapter House ceremony somewhat resembles the ancient mediæval mode of holding a Chapter in the Order of the Temple mentioned above, and some portions bear a very remarkable resemblance. To return to the prayers for the enlightenment of the mind and support of the soul, they run like a red thread through the whole Teutonic Ritual, and may be compared with some portions of the present Templar Ritual also. The prayers and hymns to the Holy Ghost are all very beautiful, but space prevents me from giving them at full length. I may, however, mention that both the hymns "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," and "*Veni Sancte Spiritus*" contain references to the number seven and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the prayer "*Deus qui corda*" contains the passage of "having instructed the hearts of believers by the illustration of the Holy Ghost." The *Responsoria*, "Send forth Thy Holy Spirit, and they will be created," "And Thou wilt renew the surface of the Earth,"

[1] Compare this with the statement made by Bro. E. J. Castle, in his instructive paper in vol. xv., pp. 169 and 170, that the Knights Templar were bound to say seven, fourteen and twenty-eight paternosters at different times.

are full of eminently esoteric meaning. They may be compared with certain prayers said at the Installation Ceremony of a Knight and that of a Preceptor, as used by the present Order of the Temple. One may also find a connection between the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost prayed for, the seven pillars of the Order mentioned elsewhere, also the seven chivalric virtues, the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the seven words of Christ when hanging on His cross, the seven canonical hours, the seven sacraments and the seven consecrations (both of the old Church), the seven joys and seven pains of the Virgin Mary, the seven Archangels, the seven heavens, the seven ancient churches, the seven seals, the seven trumpets, the seven angels, and many other appearances of the number seven in the Revelation of St. John, all of mystic Christian significance.

Some further portions of the Teutonic rituals, especially where the qualifications required in the candidate are enumerated, oftentimes run almost word for word on the lines of the old Templar Ritual and Statutes, and are undoubtedly and avowedly of Templar pattern. That the Teutonic Order, even in its present form, is more or less esoteric, may be concluded from the passage where strict secrecy is enjoined upon the candidate.

The passage stating "the Order promises but bread and water and poor clothing of the Order" is likewise of Templar pattern, as it occurs in the old Templar Reception Ceremony alluded to above, and elsewhere also. In the Roman Catholic Order of Malta the newly-dubbed knight was, and probably is still, conducted to the sacristy, and offered bread with salt and a cup of water, of which he partakes.

The buckling of the knightly armour upon the candidate is of importance for the reason that a similar usage is not to be found in the alleged old Templar Ritual of Reception. This seems to prove that the old Templar Ceremonial as put together from different old sources and communicated to us is not complete, because if some portions of the Teutonic Rituals are of Templar pattern as they are undoubtedly, it is highly probable that other portions, as, for instance, the use of armour, etc., are also of the same pattern, though not mentioned in the 'Old Templar Ritual' as handed down to our time. It is possible the Templar depositions did not mention the armour simply because it was a thing generally known, and a special mention of it would therefore be superfluous.

The offerings of gold and silver by the candidate suggest, to some extent, the divesting of metals. Similar offerings take place in the Roman Catholic Order of Malta, at the Coronation of the King of Hungary, at the Eastern Mass of the Knights of the Golden Fleece (Austria) and elsewhere.

The custom of drawing swords at certain portions of Divine Service, especially when the Gospels are read or chanted, is a very ancient mediæval custom, which was practiced by other Chivalric Orders, particularly by the Knights of St. John. The Roman-German Emperors, when hearing mass on solemn occasions in the full robes of their Imperial dignity, also observed this custom, which they claimed had been in use since the days of Charlemagne as a sign of the Roman Emperor being the first protector of Christendom.[1]

A somewhat similar observance forms part of the very ancient Coronation Ceremony of the Kings of Hungary, and has been in uninterrupted practice for many centuries, even to our days. At the beginning of the Coronation Ceremony the King is placed in front of the high altar, where he kneels and swears upon the Gospels "to do and serve law, justice and peace to the Church of God and his subjects," etc., etc.,

[1] At other mediæval ceremonies we find that a naked sword was laid upon the legs of the Sovereign or Dignitary, which is worth mentioning and interesting from a Ritualistic point of view.

whereupon follows his anointment. Then the King is clothed with the mantle and shoes of St. Stephen the Protorex of Hungary. After that the celebration of the Coronation Mass is commenced by the Prince Primate of Hungary or some other Archbishop of the Realm. After the Epistle is read the Primate or other officiating prelate takes the naked sword of St. Stephen from the altar, where all the insignia of royaltv have been deposited, and presents it to the King with a proper address, admonishing him to draw it in defence of the Holy Church of God. The King grasps the sword then gives it back to the Primate, whereupon the sword is sheathed, and then girt upon the King.[1] Then the King turns and faces the assembled people and, drawing the sword, makes three passes representing crosses, one straight forward, one to the right and one to the left, and then returns the sword to its scabbard. Then the Ceremony of Coronation is proceeded with. I hasten to add, in order to avoid misunderstanding, that the above oath is the so-called ecclesiastical oath, and is not to be confounded with the oath which the King has to take upon the constitution. The latter is performed in the open air after the Coronation. Nor are the above passes to be confounded with the unique and most ancient observance of the "sword-stroke," properly so-called.

The Coronation Ceremony having been ended in the Coronation Church, the procession repairs to another Church or Chapel where the newly-crowned King dubs a number of Knights with St. Stephen's sword. Then it passes to the platform erected in the open air, where the King, attired in the Coronation robes and with the crown upon his head, takes the oath upon the constitution of the Hungarian State. This done all proceed to the "Coronation Hill," which is formed of soil brought from all parts of the Hungarian Realm and its dependencies. To this place the King gallops quite alone, being mounted upon a white charger, spendidly caparisoned according to ancient Hungarian fashion, with silver shoes on its hoofs, and its mane intwined with gold threads, etc. On his arrival at the top of the hill "in splendid isolation," and being visible in his regal robes to the assembled concourse he draws St. Stephen's sword, and turning the charger successively, he strikes four strokes to the four quarters, east, west, north and south, again describing crosses as in the former case, as a sign that he will protect the country against attacks from whatever quarter. This seems, however, to be a rather modern and exoteric explanation of an ancient *esoteric* and *pagan* observance, the true meaning of which is lost. Space forbids me to enter into details of this interesting question here.

In the Roman Catholic Order of Malta the candidate, as in the Teutonic Order, is dubbed with his own sword, and then the newly-dubbed Knight receives the sword from the hand of the receptor, and strikes three strokes in the form of a cross. In both cases it may seem astonishing at first sight that the accolade is given with the candidate's sword, and not with that of the Great Master or receptor. This, however, must be taken together with the accolade itself and the accompanying words as *one act*, and then the meaning becomes clear at once. The explanation is briefly this—it is a shame for a man and Knight to be deprived of his own sword, and struck with it by another man. Therefore the words, "Endure this one (stroke) but no more," that is to say, this is to be the last affront which, as a sign of humility, he must endure. As a Knight he is not permitted again to be thus humbled.

The closing of the vizor before, and its opening after, the accolade is very interesting and significant. The explanation may be the following:—The candidate is

[1] I cannot resist the temptation to quote the words of the Latin Ritual which accompany this action. "*Accingere gladio tuo femur tuum potentissime et attende quod sancti non gladio sed per fidem vicerunt regna.*" Older Knights will understand the reason of my doing so.

in a state of spiritual darkness, as also indicated by his black clothing; therefore the vizor of his helmet is first half open, and is, immediately prior to his receiving the accolade, entirely closed. The candidate is now, so to speak, in a state of darkness, but on receiving the accolade he is restored to light. Previously he had to hide his face, but on being made a Knight he should freely show his face to the world. Nearly the same idea is expressed in English and French heraldry by the open helmets of Knights, having the vizor raised.

The black funeral pall and the standing, kneeling and subsequent prostration thereon with extended arms is, in my belief, most important, and is certainly remarkable. Some pretend that it is a remnant or a dim reminiscence of the antique usage known as incubation. I do not share this opinion, and I believe anyone who has passed through esoteric initiation and knows something about esoteric ceremonies will easily find out the origin and proper meaning of the ceremony. For Templars, moreover, I believe it is the most extraordinary and, perhaps, the most important of all the parts and portions of the Teutonic ritual, as it seems to settle a long disputed question. I can only hint at it here, but hope on some future occasion to speak freely by means of a lecture to be delivered in a properly constituted Preceptory of Knights Templar or a Priory of Knights of Malta. It may suffice now to recall to the minds of my readers the fact that some branches of the Benedictine Monks and Nuns, and other Orders also, even now place their candidates in a coffin or on a bier, and cover them with a black pall. As is well-known, the Cistercians, the Order of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, was a branch of the Benedictines, and closely associated with the Order of the Temple, which in its turn became the pattern or model upon which the Teutonic Order was framed. No doubt the Benedictines had it from a still earlier (pagan) source. As for the other Teutonic ceremonies, I beg to suggest that the usage of appearing in full armour at the funeral of the Great Master may be symbolical of the Order having become orphan, and unprotected by the chief, wherefore the Knights are to put on their warlike equipment, and, so to speak, act on the defensive. The Ceremony of Enthronement is interesting chiefly for the investiture with the golden ring, an emblem of the symbolical betrothal of the Great Master with the Order, which, of course, has many parallels. Amongst others, I may mention the symbolical rings of the Prelates of the Western and Eastern Churches, Bishops, Archbishops, Cardinals, and also the Pope. In the case of the last, the "fisher ring" (*annulus piscatorius*). There is also the well-known ceremony with a wedding ring as once performed by the Doges of Venice on board the Bucentoro, while many ecclesiastical and secular Orders and Societies still use symbolical rings.

The presenting of the golden key is likewise very ancient, at least mediæval, as in many ceremonies of the middle ages not only a key but also a lock played a prominent part, the symbolism of which is obvious. Amongst others I may mention the free tribunals of Westphalia, at the ceremonies of which a lock or a key or both appeared.[1] Another interesting instance we find in the history of the eleventh century of Spain. When the King, Don Sancho II., was murdered during the civil war he had to wage with his rebellious brother, Don Alphonso, the latter was suspected of having contrived the murder. The Barons of the realm decided on recognising Don Alphonso as their King, he being the next heir to the throne, but made it a condition that he should take a solemn oath of purgation (*juramentum purgationis*) to the effect that he had no share whatever in the murder of his Royal brother. This was accordingly done. The formidable oath was administered to Don Alphonso by the famous hero, Don Rodrigo

[1] Bro. John Yarker also referred to this point in his paper, in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xix., p. 34.

de Vivar (the "Cid"). The oath was taken on the gospels, a lime-twig, and an iron lock, the two latter articles being most probably emblematical of enticement and deceit. The oath contained, amongst others, the passage, "My heart may be torn out of my left breast and I to swallow it." The first business of the new King was to banish Don Rodrigo.

The key was a symbol of shutting and opening, hence also of possession and authority. I may mention at random, the key of David or of the House of David referred to in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, chapter xxii., verse 22, and in the Revelation of St. John, chapter iii., v. 7, also the keys of the kingdom of heaven, referred to in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter xvi., verse 19, afterwards adopted as a symbol of Papacy. There are also the ivory keys used in different Masonic systems and degrees on the Continent.

I cannot close this account of the Teutonic Knights without making a few remarks on, or at least hint at, one other important point, which is the great veneration the Teutonic Knights had for the Virgin Mary, the Patroness of the Order. This veneration was so characteristic of them that they often called themselves and were called simply "Knights of St. Mary," or "Marian Knights," as already mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter. The Marienburg, for a long period the proud centre and headquarters of the Order, took its name from the Holy Virgin, and nearly all Churches, Chapels, Hospitals, and Schools of the Order were dedicated to her. I cannot enter into a detailed enumeration of all the numerous particulars referring to the connection with the Mother of the Lord with the Teutonic Order, but I desire to state that even this their most characteristic feature is in perfect harmony with the Order of the Temple. The great veneration of the Holy Virgin as found with the Teutonics was also either based upon a Templar pattern or common to both and due to similar causes. It is a well-known fact that veneration of the female sex was an essential feature of mediæval knighthood in general. Every Knight had his lady for whose glory he fought. The ecclesiastical Knights considered themselves Knights in the special service of the Holy Virgin. So did the Templars and after them the Teutonics. The founders of the Order of the Temple elected the Holy Virgin as their Patroness, and they took their vows in the name of "the sweet Mother of God" (*la doce mère de Dieu*) at the hands of Guaremund, patriarch of Jerusalem. To the Holy Virgin they dedicated their first Church and many others in the course of time. To the Holy Virgin was dedicated also the Temple Church of London. It was an old Templar saying, occurring often in the Statutes and other writings of the Order, "Our dear Lady was the beginning of our Order, and in Her and to Her honour shall, with the help of God, be also the end of our lives and of our Order, God willing."

I do not enter into the symbolic and mystical side of the matter, seductive as it may be, for I have only desired here to point to this additional feature which couples the two powerful Chivalric Orders.

On the other hand St. John the Baptist was the Patron Saint of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John (afterwards Knight of Rhodes and Malta), and he was likewise greatly venerated by the Knights of the Temple, and this forms another connecting link between the Orders of the Temple and Hospital of St. John, whilst I do not know anything about a special veneration given to St. John by the Teutonic Order.

Now I come to my final reflections. I will first sum up and then add a few further historical facts as arguments in support of my contention, which is to show the close connection—in essence—between the Templar and the Teutonic Rituals. After

that I shall endeavour to draw therefrom, without exaggeration, correct inferences with respect to our Order of the Temple.

From the very foundation of the Teutonic Order it was freely declared by the secular as well as ecclesiastical authorities that it was the Order of the Temple which was considered the prototype upon which to model the projected new Order of Chivalry. The earliest Statutes of the Teutonic Order as confirmed by the Pope were essentially those of the Templars and oftentimes ran literally like them. I have already given some instances of this when speaking of the Statutes and usages of the Teutonic Order to show how great the resemblance actually was. The same thing may be seen with the organisation of both Orders. Even the nomenclature of the High Dignitaries is nearly the same; especially striking also is the symbolism of the number *seven* with both Orders, which is not to be found in other Chivalric Orders, as for instance the Order of St. John, where the number *eight* played a prominent part.

Now if the Statutes and organisation of the Teutonic Order were so closely modelled upon those of the Templars it is but fair to infer that the same was the case with the rituals, which likewise were borrowed from the Templar Knights. Indeed whence else should they have taken them but from the Order of the Temple, which was their prototype in other respects? To this point I shall return immediately, but I must here state the following historical facts which throw additional light upon the question. It is true that the foundation of the Teutonic Order, modelled after that of the Temple, first aroused the jealousy of the proud Templars, and there arose bitter hatred between the two Orders. Particularly the white mantle, as adopted by the Teutonics, was an eyesore to the Templars. Fortunately, however, this state of bitterness did not last very long. The wrath of the Knights of the Temple was appeased when they saw that the Teutonics were not dangerous rivals. They remained during the Crusades a comparatively insignificant and weak body, not in any way comparable with the powerful and haughty Templars, whilst there was a continuous rivalry and friction between the Knights of the Temple and the similarly powerful Knights of St. John, which eventually caused open hostility and even led to bloodshed, much to the detriment and shame of the cause of the Cross. Such was not the case between the Templars and the Teutonic Knights. On the contrary the Teutonics, well knowing their own weakness in number and wealth, coveted the friendship and goodwill of the mighty and wealthy Templars, and gladly associated themselves with them whenever an opportunity presented itself, whilst the Templars were glad to have them for the reason of their honesty and valour. Thus goodfellowship was established between the Temple and the Hospital of St. Mary. At many fierce battles, the Teutonics fought side by side with the Templars, but at some distance from the Knights of St. John, as we know the Knights of the Temple and those of the Hospital occupied opposite wings of the crusading army. If another instance of this friendship be needed, I may refer to the fact that when the Knights Templar were about to build their famous *Castrum Peregrinorum* (*Château Pélerins*) near Acre, they were effectually assisted in their work by the Teutonic Knights. As this may not be generally known, in support of my assertion I quote the following particulars in the original Latin from different old and reliable sources. "*Templarii cum Domino Galtero de Avenis et aliis paucis auxiliatoribus Peregrinis et Hospitali de domo Theutonicorum castrum Peregrinorum, quod olim Distructum appellabant firmare coeperunt inter Cayphas et Cæsaream.*" "*Templarii auxiliantibus Peregrinis et Hospitali de domo Theutonicorum castrum quod prius dicebatur filii Dei readificaverunt, et castrum Peregrinorum vocant.*"

It is a well-known fact that after the official abolition and despoliation of the Order of the Temple many quondam Templars joined the Order of St. John, although

their feelings may have been anything but friendly towards the rival order, especially as it had also succeeded to their rich estates. This was chiefly the case in those countries where, besides the Order of St. John, no other ecclesiastical and chivalric Order of a similar organisation was in existence. It was, however, otherwise, say in the different kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula, where other chivalric Orders became the refuge or substitute of the Templars, as I have shown elsewhere. Something similar happened in Germany, where on the one hand the Templar estates were for the most part inherited by the Knights of St. John, and many Templars joined this Order, but, on the other hand, it is maintained by some reliable writers that some of the German Templars joined, not the Order of St. John, but the Teutonic Order, in consequence of the amicable relations existing between the two bodies. This certainly seems highly probable. Thus the valiant Templar Preceptor, the Wildgrave Hugo von Salm, who resided at Grumbach, near Meisenheim (often confounded with his brother or kinsman, the Wildegrave Frederick von Salm, who was Grand Preceptor of Upper Germany, including the territory on the Rhine, and was well-known by his manly behaviour before the Council of Mayence), joined the Teutonic Order after the abolition of the Templars. So at least some writers say. Others claim that this same Hugo *was* (not that he became) a Canon at Mayence. Now it is a fact that Hugo had been a Templar, and he could only have become a Canon after the abolition of the Templar Order, which is not very probable, because he was a Knight and a layman, and not a priest. On the whole the assertion seems to be erroneous. Perhaps some people thought the Templars were Canons.

Speaking of Hugo von Salm, I must parenthetically mention and correct a curious mistake which occurred in the writings of some English authors. They said that Hugo was surnamed "the savage." This is an error, due to the misinterpretation of the title, "Wildgrave," which it seems they took for the equivalent of wild or savage Count. It it, however, a *title.* Hugo was Wildgrave and Rhinegrave (*Comes Sylvester et Rheni*), Wildgrave (also *Waldgrave*, *Raugrave*) denoting a Count whose territory consisted mainly of woods and forests, instead of cultivated soil.

The learned Anthony Oneal Haye tells us in his "*The persecution of the Knights Templars*," Edinburgh, 1865, that after the dissolution of the Templar Order Hugo and his companions were again summoned to the Council at Mayence and informed that they were to be incorporated with another Order. Then he adds "They chose that of the Teutonic Knights." This is very important. Unfortunately Haye does not mention his authority nor say whence he had it, which would be of great importance. But he is reliable nevertheless.

Thus we may see that even in this way, *i.e.*, by quondam Templars joining the Teutonic Order after its abolition, Templar observances or even Ritualistic details may have found their way into the Teutonic Order.

In the same manner it must be borne in mind that the Order of the Sword Bearers of Livonia was also modelled after the Order of the Temple, consequently their original Rituals must have been of Templar pattern. Their union with the Teutonic Order may have been another channel for Templar observances, customs or Rituals, being merged into the Teutonic Order.

It may be accepted as a historical fact that the original Teutonic Rituals were at all events an imitation of the Templar Rituals. I have already given a description of the Teutonic Rituals as preserved and practised up to this day. Now if we compare the so-called ancient Templar Ritual referred to above (based upon statutes, depositions and

other written evidence) with our present Templar Ritual, we shall on the whole find no great general resemblance, but only a few interesting portions. Those who lay too much stress on the importance and value of these "ancient" Rituals draw the inference therefrom that they being *the* authentic old Templar Rituals, the present Templar Rituals, as they have existed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and, say, Canada, for a long period, cannot claim great antiquity. In other words they are a fabrication or a manufacture of recent date, most likely of Masonic pattern and origin.

This deduction seems at first sight to be quite correct and even indisputable, but, in my opinion, it is not so, because there are some points which have not been taken into consideration. I believe the Teutonic Rituals shed quite a different light upon the whole question, for when comparing the Teutonic Ritual which is undoubtedly of ancient and Templar origin, is an esoteric initiation secretly handed down and preserved to our days, and made known only since about forty years ago, I say when comparing these Rituals with the alleged "ancient" Templar Rituals, we find as little resemblance as was the case when comparing them with our present Templar Rituals. The resemblance is confined to a very few portions, passages and sentences, whilst the points of difference are very numerous, and even a casual glance will show that the ancient Templar Ritual is very short and simple, whilst the Teutonic Ritual, in its present form, is rather complicated.

But on the other hand, if we compare the Teutonic ritual with our present Templar ritual the resemblance, especially in some important points, is striking and astonishing in spite of all the differences. In other words there exists a close resemblance between *our* Templar ritual and the Teutonic, but no great resemblance between either of them and the alleged ancient Templar ritual. There are many analogous points in both the Teutonic and our Templar ritual, which are not to be found in the "ancient." This is extremely important, for what does it mean? Nothing else than that *our* Templar rituals must have been handed down from ancient times, and be of Templar origin (alterations, amplifications, additions or omissions always admitted) otherwise one could not account for the close resemblance in its essentials with the Teutonic ritual which is also of ancient origin, modelled on the Templar pattern and later on exposed to Templar influence. In a word, it is at all events partly Templar in its origin, and has been transmitted secretly. If our present Templar ritual, which for obvious reasons cannot be an imitation of the Teutonic of a recent date, yet contains an analogy or resemblance on many important points, these portions which are common to both must be of ancient Templar origin.

In view of these facts I believe it is no longer possible to assert that the so-called "ancient" Templar ritual, as we have it, is the sole authentic ancient Templar ritual. On the contrary I think that the belief in their exclusive authenticity will to some extent be shaken by all that has been said, and by what I am going to add.

As for the "ancient" Templar rituals, I admit their antiquity and their authenticity, as far as they go. But on the other hand I do not believe they are complete. They may be authentic portions put together from various sources at the disposal of the compilers, but they are not the whole nor are they the only authentic Templar ritual in use at the period of the downfall of the Order. It must not be forgotten that we have these Templar rituals not from one whole and homogeneous source such as a complete Ritual *Codex,* but they have been more or less put together like a Mosaic picture out of portions from different sources, especially from the old Statutes of the Order and the various depositions of witnesses in the Templar *procès.*

Let us stop a while and consider this a little further. As for the old Statutes of the Order of the Temple which have come down to us and contain the often-quoted ceremonies of opening and closing a Chapter and the ceremony of Reception. there arises the question, from what period do these old Statutes date ? It is very curious that this question has not been raised hitherto, when treating of the matter. We see at once how important this point is and how the answer will at once make things appear in a different light. The answer is, from internal evidence it is clear that the *Old Statutes* as we possess them are not older than the end of the twelfth nor are they of later date than the beginning of the thirteenth century.[1] Even the original wording of the *Regula Trecensis* or Rule of Troyes of 1128, was lost at the fall of Acre, in 1291. What we know as the Rule of Troyes is a much later compilation, with many subsequent additions. As for the Old Statutes which contain the rituals, their date is prior to the flourishing period of the Order, say after about 1218-19, when the Pilgrims' Castle was the head-quarters of the Knights, which period was that of the greatest evolution of the Order. It follows that these *Old Statutes* do not and cannot contain the additional rules laid down in the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century when the Order collapsed, still less the additions or alterations which most probably took place in the Rituals. This is a very decisive point. In other words, in spite of the *Old Statutes* which we possess, we are ignorant of the full details of internal life and especially of the Rituals which were practised during the greater part of the thirteenth century, and down to the end of the Order at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Nor are the oft-quoted ancient Rituals the full and authentic Rituals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This statement is of immense importance in judging the ancient Ritual itself and the general question of Ritual.

I will leave it an open question whether the Order had or had not any secret Statutes and secret Initiations, as these points are foreign to my present investigation. But, if it were so, such Statutes must have been created and such initiations established during the course of the thirteenth century.

So much for the Old Statutes. As for the depositions, they are an even more shifting base upon which to build. Parts were extorted by means of the rack, and therefore deserve very little credence, and they are unquestionably anything but trust-worthy. We have many depositions and confessions referring to the worship of idols and of heads of different shapes, and others referring to the adoration of a black cat, etc. Are we to take these as evidence ? It is also a noteworthy and characteristic fact that Templars examined at the one place made almost the same confessions, which widely differed from the confessions of members examined at other places. That is to say, at one place all confessed the adoration of a gold head, at another place all had adored a black idol, at a third place all had adored a black cat, simply because they had been tortured and answered leading questions. Moreover, if one studies the trials of witches, one will be astonished to see how many of the charges "evidenced" by the tortured victims are well-nigh the same as in the case of the Templars. The evidenced mode of reception of a witch, including the adoration of the Devil appearing in the shape of a black cat, closely resembles the alleged secret and heretical idolatrous initiations with which the Templars were charged, in which we meet again (in addition to various full-sized idols, and heads) our old friend the black cat. How much credence can be attached to all this nonsense ? And how much can we believe of other confessions obtained in the same manner, if even they be less stupid ? Some of the confessions may be true,

[1] Space forbids me giving full details here, because there is material for a special essay, but I am ready to write a separate paper on the subject if my readers think it desirable.

but how is one to distinguish between them? As for the depositions referring to the ordinary initiation, it is not even probable that they contain full details. The poor half-starved victims who had suffered years of imprisonment and torture were scarcely in a mood to enter into full details. They made their statements as short as possible. Most likely they omitted many points, especially such as were, or which they supposed to be, generally known, or of little importance, while others would act so for fear of saying something that might turn to be of serious consequence, or was esoteric and strictly forbidden. For instance, all possible secret modes of recognition would fall under this head. The Templars may have kept silence on all these points. And so on. The Templar Rituals of the fourteenth century may have included many portions not mentioned in the "ancient" Templar Rituals which, as I have said above, date back for a hundred years from that time, viz., to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The "ancient" Rituals are too simple and exoteric. One can see no reason why they should have kept secret this kind of initiation where no secrets whatever were communicated. My impression is that the "ancient" Ritual is either the original exoteric mode of reception much altered and amplified in course of the thirteenth century, or that it is a kind of skeleton Ritual which in course of time was gradually expanded by something which is not mentioned either in the Old Statutes or in the depositions, or elsewhere. Similar things oftentimes occurred. It was undoubtedly so with the Teutonic Order, the Rituals of which are the result of a long process of evolution. This will account for the lack of resemblance between the alleged "ancient" Templar Ritual and that of the Teutonic Order, which unquestionably was of Templar origin and subjected to later Templar influences. This will account also for the resemblance between the Teutonic and our present Ritual, which cannot be a later-day imitation of the Teutonic. The common Templar foundation is the explanation for the similar points, and the later additions here and there account for the differences of both.

Moreover it is possible that the Old Templar Rituals were different on some points, not only at different periods, but even at the same time in different places, say in the Holy Land and France, England, Germany, and Spain. And so it is possible, nay even probable, that there existed more than one form of reception. Say one exoteric, and one or more esoteric ones, which latter probably included the communication of the secret modes of recognition. Part of these seem to have invaded the Teutonic Ritual (as may be realised by experts), perhaps by quondam Templars joining the Teutonic Order, or due to other causes. Even from some confessions made in the Templar *procès* it seems to follow that there was more than one form of initiation practised, because some of the Knights confessed to have been initiated according to the Statutory manner and then, some years later on, to have gone through another secret esoteric initiation.

If one admits the existence of a secret, heretical, or, at least, a heterodox doctrine among the Templars, even though it was not gross idolatry, as the accusations brought against them maintained, it seems evident, on the other hand, that this secret doctrine could not have been in vogue everywhere. On the contrary several branches of the Order seem to have been free from heterodoxy and even from heresy, and remained orthodox.

In the Holy Land or in France, additional initiations may have taken place (possibly even of an heretical nature) which were unknown in other countries, in which, however, esoteric initiations of another kind may yet have been practised. There are

so many contradictions in the depositions of the tortured Templars, and in the result of the proceedings against the Order in different countries which can hardly be explained in any other manner. In France the Templars were formally convicted and found guilty of idolatry and other abominations, though the accusations may have been gross exaggerations and distortions of the facts. In other countries again nothing of the kind could be proved against them, and thus they seem to have been quite innocent there, and were so held in the public opinion of these countries. This was the case in England, Scotland, some countries of Germany, and the Iberian Peninsula. In addition to those countries there was also Hungary, which formed a special Province of the Order, ruled by special Masters or Grand Preceptors. Hungary was never under the Masters of Germany, as is erroneously asserted by some authors, for we know from documents the names of nearly all the Hungarian Masters. There is nothing to show the Hungarian Templars were tortured or convicted of heresy or idolatry. The Order was simply officially disestablished and disendowed, as in other countries. What is more, there is even documentary evidence which tends to prove that the Order remained in existence in some form or another until the second half of the fifteenth century, as I mentioned in the introduction of the present treatise.

But let us return to our chief subject. My opinion and my main conclusion is briefly this. The Teutonic Rituals, which are as good evidence as documents, afford a fair justification for a belief that our present Rituals of the British branches of the Order of the Temple have been similarly handed down, and consequently are of Templar descent. Both seem to be the remnants of the real Old Templar Ritual, or both are derived from a still older common source. The often quoted "ancient Templar Rituals," which are the starting point or the original Templar pattern, dated from about the end of the twelfth century, but they are by no means the only and complete authentic ancient Templar Ritual, as they are earlier in date than the full development of the Order.

At all events the Teutonic Ritual greatly supports the supposition of the antiquity and Templar origin of our Templar Rituals in their essential points. It is but natural that the Teutonic Ritual has, like our Templar Ritual, undergone changes and alterations in course of time. There may have been other esoteric portions, no longer explicable nor understood by later generations, which for this very reason were eventually omitted. Other portions, the true meaning of which was likewise lost, were still retained either from motives of piety or conservative feeling, because their occult meaning was not even guessed at. They were left in their old form with perhaps a new but exoteric explanation. It is well-known that this was done with portions of many other old Rituals.

In the same manner, innovations, alterations and inaccuracies have been introduced into our Templar Rituals, particularly in consequence of the connection of the Order with Craft and Royal Arch Masonry, but we know that a radical purification has taken place in this respect in our days. Quite apart from the differences which exist and may easily be accounted for, our Templar Rituals and the Teutonic have undoubtedly many important features in common, and this cannot fail to prove material for serious consideration.

This leads me to dwell upon another much debated and debatable question, which is not out of place here, as the initiated Templar readers will see at once. I mean the question whether or not the Templars and other mediæval chivalric bodies had secret modes of recognition.

There are students who answer this question in the negative. They start from Craft Masonry (operative and speculative), and they wish to confine the original use of secret modes of recognition, signs, tokens, words, salutes and symbolical numbers and letters, etc., to Craft Masonry only. They assert that other esoteric bodies (Chivalric or Hermetic) which in process of time were brought into connection with Craft Masonry (operative or speculative) established for their own use secret means of recognition, merely in imitation of the Masonic Order.[1]

I confess I do not agree with this assertion and in my opinion even the starting point is wrong. These students start with Masonry and only afterwards do they treat of the chivalric and other bodies which came into connection therewith, whilst these latter bodies had an independent origin, and were in a process of independent evolution down to the period when some of them were brought into some sort of connection with those Masonic bodies from which speculative Masonry was developed. For the benefit of younger readers I may be allowed to say that besides purely religious or purely political bodies there are three chief divisions (each with numerous ramifications) of esoteric bodies which are of special interest for us, each having its own separate origin and periods of evolution. They are:—

I. Building Fraternities. (*a*) Ecclesiastical Orders. Such were for instance the Benedictines, a branch of which were the Cistercians; and the Culdees of Scotland.

(*b*) Lay bodies, Masonic Guilds, Stonecutters, etc.

II. Chivalric Orders which were connected at an early date with the building fraternities mentioned under No. I. Such for instance was the Order of Cistercians, which from the time of St. Bernard of Clairvaux stood at the cradle of the Chivalric Order of the Temple and was always considered by the Templar Knights as a Sister Order.

III. Hermetic, Cabalistic, Theosophical, Philosophical, Rosicrucian, and other occult bodies. Even purely religious bodies with an esoteric doctrine may be placed under this head.

Now some of the branches of these three main trees, or divisions, became entwined with, crossed and re-crossed each other at a very early date, say, in the fifteenth century, if not earlier, and certainly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all reciprocally influencing each other. I do not enter into further details here, but simply mention as instances that the Masonic Craft Rituals show Rosicrucian elements; the Templar show Masonic, Rosicrucian and even Magic; the Rosicrucians show Templar elements, and so on.

It must be conceded that secret and esoteric societies existed at all times, having different aims and objects. The ancient world, as well as the middle ages, teemed with them. It was but natural and, in fact, necessary for all these bodies to be provided with means whereby the members might recognize one another, means of testing and proving, as well for keeping off intruders and spies. The building societies which were the parents of Craft Masonry were but one branch of these esoteric bodies. Why then seek to confine secret means of recognition to them only? Why should other esoteric

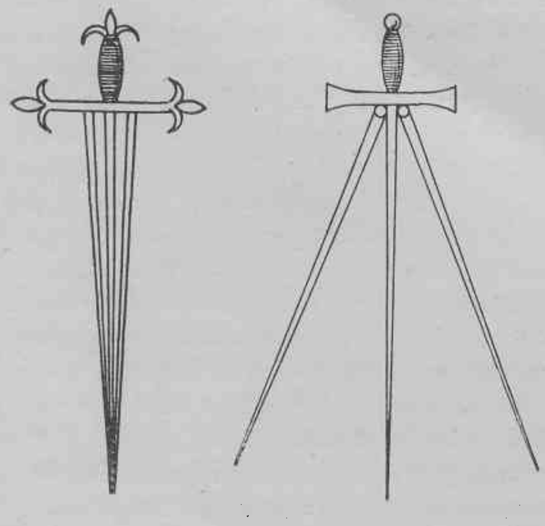
[1] As is well known students hold very different opinions in regard to the "secrets" known to Masons in early days. Some even aver that there were no secrets at all, others are undecided as to what the secrets were, and others again hold that the secrets were not the same in different branches of the Society.

bodies not have had their own tests and secrets? The same causes must have had the same effects in each instance. Just as on a meadow flowers of different kinds, shape and colour spring into existence, blue, crimson, purple and white, independent of each other yet due to the same natural causes, so it is with these societies and their respective secrets.

Applying this to the Chivalric Orders which numbered thousands of members in Europe and Asia, with whom it was utterly impossible to keep in touch, the secret initiation and the secret modes of recognition communicated thereat were the only possible ways to test and prove members. Therefore the reception was kept secret even with such Orders as, strictly speaking, were not secret societies, enjoying, as they did, State and Church recognition, as was the case with the great Chivalric Orders of the Crusades.

In support of my assertion, I shall mention a few instances at random. The religious mysteries of various countries of the ancient world, especially the Egyptian and Greek mysteries; the Pythagorians formed esoteric societies, and from Egyptian pictures and reliefs we know some of the secret signs which were in use with them. The same may be said of representations of Greek coins referring to mysteries. We know also a secret sign used by the Essenes, which is most astonishing. All these coincidences are surely not accidental. The Christians of the first centuries of persecution were likewise a secret society with another esoteric body attached to it, which communicated a secret doctrine, the *arcana disciplina*, to its members. The Ostiarius, even now one of the lesser Orders, was what we call the Tyler or Janitor. Secret formulas of greeting, most likely consisting of two distinct parts or versicles, the one of which may be described as an "invitatory," the other as a "responsory," and secret signs (such as the sign of the Cross) enabled one to enter the place of meeting. The usage of crossing oneself was originally without any doubt a secret sign of the Initiate. There is evidence also that the first Christians had another great secret sign, which from our own point of view is of the highest importance. The fish was a well-known sacred and secret symbol of the Christians, and I may say, by the way, that a curious error prevails in regard to the explanation of the fish symbol. Generally it was claimed that the fish was a symbol of Christianity *because* the initials of the Greek words signifying "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Saviour" make the word ἰχθύς, the meaning of which is a fish. This, however, is not the reason, which is, in fact, just the reverse. This would be a *filius ante patrem.* The symbol of the fish, as emblematical of the just man, the follower of Christ, is quite obvious. The just man can live within the flood of the sinful world without perishing, just as the fish lives in the water of the sea. The element of the fish is the water, and the Christian is made by the water of baptism, and so on. In the same manner, the ark of Noah is a symbol of the Church, floating on the flood of sins. In other words, *first* the fish was there as a symbol, and *then* its Greek name was explained in the above-mentioned manner by the Cabalistic method which is called *Notarigon.*

As with the fish, so the whole symbology of the New Testament, especially of the Apocalypse (the cornerstone, the lamb, the dove, etc.), when explained to the initiate, formed a whole system of secrets to test him by. It is but natural that at different times and places, new modes of recognition were established according to circumstances. Thus in Spain, at the period of the wars with the Moors, the fashion of wearing pointed beards, with which the nose and the moustache formed a cross, was for the Christians a secret mode of recognition, and a means for detection of Moorish spies.



Speaking of Spain, I may mention in passing, that the Crosses of the Spanish Chivalric Orders had a secret symbolism known only to the initiated knights, as a means for testing them. Especially may be noted the sword-like red cross of San Iago, the type of which is said to have been a sword with three blades, emblematical of the Holy Trinity or Trinity in Unity. So also was the sword of the Westphalian *Vehme*, on which the *Freischöppen* were obligated. This was explained to the initiate only. These among many other points tend to prove that the Spanish Chivalric Orders must have had secret initiation also.

It is a proved fact that the members of the Free Tribunals (*Vehmgerichte*) of Westphalia, just mentioned, had secret signs, salutes, words and grips, and a secret Ritual for opening and closing the session, consisting of questions and answers. The esoteric science of the *Freischöppen* which was called "*die heimliche Acht*" possibly included esoteric truths of remote antiquity.

Nearly all Orders, fraternities, sodalities, and guilds, of the Middle Ages, seem to have had their own secret signs, salutes, and symbols, some of which have come down to our days. Of many of them, however, the true sense is as yet unknown.

It is an interesting fact that in different countries old inscriptions may be found in Churches, houses, tombstones, etc., the literal sense of which is apparently quite simple and often even childish, but which evidently must have some secret meaning. Mediæval literature, particularly epic poems such as those referring to the Holy Grail, are full of hidden allusions, this being the symbolical language of the initiates of some esoteric society. There can be no doubt as to Hermetic societies using such symbolic language down to the eighteenth century. The literal sense is one thing and the hidden one is another. So also with the Catechisms of the Druses, where the literal sense is easily understood, the true sense, however, being impossible of detection except by the initiate. There can be no doubt that Hermetic Societies had also their own secret signs and tests. The same was the case even with political parties, *e.g.* the Scottish Jacobites had many secret means of recognition. And last but not least, the Jesuits are also said to have such secrets varied to their different degrees.

We must now return to our original track. If various bodies with different aims and ends used secret means of recognition, chiefly with a view of testing and proving their members, one can see no reason why the military Orders engaged in continual warfare in the Holy Land and continually surrounded by enemies should have been without them. I know this is maintained by some writers, but by others it is doubted and denied. Anyhow it seems to me highly probable *à priori* that they must have been in possession of some of them.

Another question would be, what kind of means of recognition existed in the Chivalric Orders? Here again I believe that same causes lead to same effect. That is to say, the modes of recognition must have been of various kinds so as to enable the members to know each other under different circumstances, by day and by night, when

near or at a distance. Recognition would therefore be required for the *eye*, the *ear*, and the *hand*. In the case of the Chivalries of the Crusades, war cries, rallying cries, watch-words, passwords, etc., must be admitted at once. There can be no doubt about their existence *à priori* and some of them, at least, we actually know. Whether they had other secret means of knowing each other such as signs, tokens, grips, or secret salutes, is another question, well worthy of consideration. At any rate, there are many points which seem to be in favour of the supposition of their existence and at all events throw considerable light upon the matter. Thus it is a historical fact proved by some Monastic Constitutions (for instance, the Constitutions of Clugny, and those of the Abbot William of Hirschau) and some reliable works on Monastic Discipline and allied matter, that Monastic bodies used a great many secret signs whereby they expressed their thoughts without uttering a word, either when outsiders were present, or when they feared to be observed, or because useless speaking was forbidden within the walls of the monastery. The sources just mentioned contain a whole collection of such secret signs which are referred to as "*signa loquendi, signa quibus tacens quodam modo loquatur (monachus)*, etc. Even chapter VIII. of the *Regula Trecensis* seems to refer to this usage. Speaking of taking meat together in a common refectory, it is enacted "*ubi quando aliquid necessarium fuerit pro signorum ignorantiâ leniter ac privatim quaerere oportet.*" This is by some (who most probably were ignorant of the usage of secret signs) translated as "Where, if your wants cannot be made known by signs, ye are softly and privately to ask for what you want," whilst others who in my opinion are more correct, translate it as, "Where *one who does not know the signs*, is softly and privately to ask for what he wants." In a word the usage of secret signs with monks must be accepted as a fact established by evidence (quite apart from the passage of the Rule of Troyes just quoted) and there is but one step from the Monks to the Templars. If let us say the Sister Order of the Cistercians used secret signs, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Templars either must have known these signs or had their own or perhaps both.

Even secular and Royal Orders of Chivalry in the Middle Ages, had, if not secret means of recognition (which is highly probable), at least a special symbolism kept secret from outsiders, though in this case the evidence of membership could much more easily be effected than in the case of such widely spread Chivalries as those of the Temple and St. John. Indeed it may be asserted that much mysticism surrounds nearly all the Royal Orders of Chivalry, which had their origin in the Middle Ages. In process of time many of the secrets of such Orders were either lost or official explanations were substituted for the original ones. Especially would this be the case when the particular Order became dormant for a long period, or practically ceased to exist, and was subsequently resuscitated.

Thus, for instance, there is much mysticism about the Order of the Garter. As a matter of fact we do not even know exactly the date of its origin, nor what were the circumstances that gave rise to its foundation, nor what is the true symbolic meaning of "the Garter." I know full well the legend referring to the blue garter of the Countess of Salisbury, also the other one of the garter of the Black Prince, at Crécy, but the very fact that more than one tradition exists to account for the rise of this Most Noble Order, clearly shows that the real origin is shrouded in mystery. I think the above tales are merely exoteric inventions of a later date, for there can be no doubt that the Garter and its motto had a secret symbolic meaning known only to the initiates. Possibly this has been retained within the bosom of the Order to the present time, possibly it has been lost or another explanation substituted for the original. Of course King Edward III. may have uttered the words, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," which are

attributed to him, when picking up the garter of the beautiful countess, but it may have been, and most likely was, only a "*bon mot*," used in the same manner as we now often quote a Shakesperian phrase in every-day talk.

It cannot be doubted that the Garter, as such, had a symbolic meaning in the Middle Ages, most likely it was symbolical of *binding* or *holding closely together* in great friendship and brotherhood. Indeed the Garter is a very fit symbol, and its motto a very appropriate one, for an esoteric Order. A similar symbol of wide use was that of the Knotted Cords, called also Knots of Love, of Doubt, or of Discipline; without mentioning other Orders I may point out that it is the chief symbol of the most ancient and most distinguished Order of the House of Savoy, now the Royal House and the Kingdom of Italy, viz., the Order of the *Annunziata.* It seems to me that it is not a matter of coincidence that the chain of the Order of the Garter consists alternately of garters and knotted cords both symbols having the same, or a very similar, significance.[1]

Here I should like to say a few words on the heraldic side of the question. As heraldry presents itself to-day, it is entirely an exoteric science, comprising a vast number of rules referring to the different parts of the arms and their composition, the different classes of Honourable Ordinaries, Subordinaries, and other devices, the quaint terminology and the knowledge of correctly blazoning arms.

But the true signification of all these ordinaries, devices, figures and charges, is still wrapped in mystery. Of course I do not mean the *exoteric* symbolism, as, for instance, the lion, denoting strength, valour, etc., but their *esoteric* sense and their true origin. There can be no doubt as to the most ancient coats of arms of a nation representing a codex of its oldest symbols expressive of the original religious, philosophical or mystical notions and ideas, or of the oldest historical traditions and reminiscences of its people thus preserved in hieroglyphic language. The true clue, however, has generally been lost. What has been put in writing about the explanation of armorial bearings and their parts is also more or less exoteric. The science of the true signification of all symbols was esoteric and, perhaps, known only to the highest class of the Heralds and Kings of Arms. They only were in possession of the "great light," the others, such as the simple Heralds and Pursuivants, being only in possession of the "lesser light." The "great light," the mystical explanation of all symbols, being the secret of the Kings of Arms, was only orally transmitted. Perhaps we are not mistaken if we suppose the mystical explanation referred to religious or philosophical truths rooted in the old Pagan religion of the particular nation and that therefore it was strictly kept secret for fear of persecution by the Church. Thus it happens that while we know a great number of arms of countries, towns, families, etc., students of occultism are only now at the very beginning of a true and full understanding of Heraldry. And at the best they can merely guess the real meaning of the most important parts and portions of armorial bearings, which at one time taught so much to the initiate. Of many symbols we do not even know the origin, far less the real meaning. Thus may I ask any expert in Heraldry, what is the true meaning and origin of the "*vair*"? Or what is the reason for the curious shape of the spots of Heraldic *ermine*, *ermines*, *erminois* and *pean*? What does this double trinity of dots or heads and of three roots mean? What is the true meaning of all the Ordinaries and of such figures as the fleur-de-lys? What is the significance of the three lions or leopards of England? Is there any possible connection between them and the motto "Dieu et mon Droit"? Again, what is the explanation of that strange figure appearing in the

[1] With this may be compared the cords used in Brahminical or Parsee initiation.

arms of the Isle of Man, commonly called the "three-legged Manxman," viz., "three legs in armour conjoined in the *fess* point," forming a kind of three-branched Svastika ?

My impression is that in all these and similar cases the true explanation was the secret of the Kings of Arms. This esoteric science being transmitted orally became for the most part lost, and exoteric and official explanations were substituted for the original ones. Moreover legends were invented in order to explain what really was inexplicable, and this rendered the confusion complete. We have observed the same thing before when speaking of the Order of the Garter, and similar things may be observed in very many other instances.

In my introduction I hinted at the arms of an ancient Hungarian town, showing very ancient symbols, having undoubted esoteric meaning, and in my next chapter I shall quote some interesting instances of very ancient Hungarian family arms, containing that very ancient symbol of pagan origin and mystic significance, viz., the bloody head.

After these further digressions, the necessity for which and their true connection with the matter in hand will be clear to the experienced reader, I must come back to the matter originally in hand, and to the final conclusions with which I bring this chapter to a close.

If all that I have said be carefully reviewed and fairly digested, I believe that any student versed in occult science, and particularly every Templar investigator, will agree with me on the following points, viz., that the Teutonic Rituals are a gem of great value from a general point of the view of the history of civilisation, as well as from a Templar standpoint, and that the Teutonic Rituals are to a great extent capable of throwing light upon many of the open questions concerning our Templar Rituals, and consequently our Templar origin.

(1) It is my opinion that the Teutonic Rituals offer a justification for our present British Templar Rituals, and tend to prove they are essentially of ancient and Templar origin. It is a fact that the date when our Templar Rituals first came into existence cannot be precisely fixed. It is also a fact that they have been transmitted first *orally* and then also *in writing* from old times, and have thus come to us *mutatis mutandis*. If we were to suppose, as some assert, that they were invented, framed or compiled in recent times (though those who make the statements are not able to prove where, when, by whom, and in what manner this was done) it would be difficult to account for the fact that the Templar Rituals practised in the eighteenth century in different parts of the three kingdoms by bodies partly connected with Masonic bodies (Lodges and Royal Arch Chapters) and partly not so connected, were essentially the same everywhere, although no common Templar centre existed for either of these kingdoms, still less for the three combined. Perhaps we ought to make exception in the case of Ireland, as we do not exactly know the date of the foundation of the Early Grand Encampment. Further, it would be difficult to account for the inclusion of certain portions of these Templar Rituals, which must be of great antiquity, as their true meaning was not known in the eighteenth century and is not absolutely clear even now. This shows that these portions could not have been invented or compiled by fabricators, because no satisfactory and adequate explanation is given for them. It is but natural that no one will invent or even compile Rituals containing matter which he himself cannot understand. It follows then that such portions could not have been invented but must have come down to us from ancient times, in the form of tradition. Some of these portions bear a distinct likeness to certain portions of the Teutonic Rituals, and we know that these were formed on a Templar pattern, that they were kept secret and handed down

from one generation to another, from the Middle Ages to our own days, and only publicly revealed about forty years ago. It is quite impossible that the supposed compilers of our Templar Rituals could have imitated the Teutonic Rituals, because it is quite impossible they could have known them. No one knew them at the period with which we are dealing, except the professed Knights of the Teutonic Order, who were bound to secrecy by solemn oath. The supposed possible inventors or compilers of our Templar Rituals could not have been professed Knights of the Teutonic Order, who were to be Germans. They could have only been English, or, as a remote possibility, French. The result is the same in either case.

The inference drawn from these facts can only be that similar portions of the Teutonic and of our Templar rituals must come from one common source, and this is the *Old Templar Ritual*, which, however, in its fully developed form (say of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) has not come down to us, but has been preserved partly in the Teutonic Rituals and partly in ours. Both underwent alterations, but some portions may have been preserved with us which were omitted in the Teutonic Rituals, and *vice versâ.*

Now, if the Teutonic and Templar Rituals were each the subject of a secret evolution, and yet exhibit a likeness on some points, it follows that our Templar Rituals cannot be an invention or compilation of recent date, but some portions must be of an ancient and Templar origin.

I may say that there are other portions of our Rituals, the true origin and significance of which we do not find in any form in the Teutonic Rituals. The reason may be that such portions either never found their way into the Teutonic Rituals, possibly because of their esoteric nature, or, if they did, were again omitted later on, for which many reasons may be found. These other portions of our Templar Rituals furnish additional arguments in favour of my assertions which I will deal with in another chapter.

(2) As the question of the antiquity of the present Templar Order and its descent from the ancient Order of the Temple chiefly hinges upon the question of the antiquity and the Templar origin of our Templar Rituals (that is to say upon the fact that we possess an old Templar Ritual which has come down to us in the way of transmission), it necessarily follows that the Teutonic Rituals are a justification for the antiquity of our Order and its Templar origin, its descent from and connection with the old mediæval Order of the Temple.

If the old Order survived in some way or another, as I firmly believe it did, it must have preserved at least some portions of its old Rituals, observances and usages, as far as this was possible in those troublous times amid the fearful persecution of its members. The date of the foundation of our present Templar Order and of the origin of its Rituals (if we suppose it was not a continuation of the old Order) is, to say the least, wrapped in mystery, nor can it be absolutely fixed even by those who doubt our conclusions. Our Rituals show traces of mediæval Templarism, which could not have been inserted by compilers of a recent date, for the reason that they could not explain them. If then our Rituals cannot have been invented or compiled in modern times, where can they have had their origin, if not from the old Orders of the Knights Templar and of the Hospitallers of St. John?

If our Ritual is essentially an old and Templar Ritual, which supposition is supported partly by the Teutonic Rituals, and partly by other arguments which will be hereafter adduced, the inference is that we must have obtained it from the old Order of

the Knights Templar, and consequently that we are in one way or another the offspring or descendants of the old Order of the Temple, or of the combined Orders of the Temple and Hospital.

(3) For the especial benefit of Templar students, I may add that the Teutonic Rituals tend, to some extent, to prove that the Chivalric Orders of the Crusades had certain secret means of recognition which were essentially common to both. If this were so, this fact would be, *per inversionem*, another point in favour of the theory of the antiquity of our Rituals and our Templar descent.

I think that the great Templar and Templar scholar, Waller Rodwell Wright, must have held similar views, concerning some secret means of recognition amongst the Chivalries of the Crusades. Of course he could not bring evidence in support of his views, but must have held them by intuition, and certainly the above particulars seem to corroborate his views to some extent.

To sum up the whole, the Teutonic Rituals, which undoubtedly have the force of such proof as can be derived from authentic mediæval documents, offer a justification for (1) The old and Templar origin of our Templar Rituals, and, consequently (2) for the antiquity and Templar descent of our Order. (3) Possibly they contain also particulars in favour of the contention that means of recognition were in use with the Chivalric Orders of the Crusades.

Our Rituals contain many other portions of great antiquity and priceless value, which offer additional arguments in the above direction. These I will reserve for the subsequent Chapters, and may add that in the very next chapter, if God grant me health and strength, I will deal with some most ancient symbols, viz., the different kinds of *heads* and the *Holy Grail*, and give my views on their significance, and their connection with the Order of the Temple.

(*End of Chapter I.*)

OBITUARY.

It is with regret we have to announce the deaths of Brothers:—

James Smith, of Commercial Bank House, Markinch, Fife, N.B., on the 28th May. He held high office under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, being a member of Grand Committee, Past Provincial Grand Treasurer, Grand Recorder, and member of the Supreme Committee. He was also for a number of years editor of the Masonic Calendar for the Province of Dumfriesshire, but to English Masons is probably best known as the writer of many Lodge histories, including "St. Michael's, Kilwinning"; "Operative Lodge No. 140"; "Annan St. Andrew No. 79"; "St. Peter, Mouswald"; "Dumfries Kilwinning"; "St. Andrew No. 179"; "Sanquhar Kilwinning"; as well as notes on Royal Arch Masonry in Dumfriesshire and on the Provincial Grand Masters of the Province. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1891.

Brigade Surgeon **James Balfour Cockburn,** M.D., Prov.Grand Master, Guernsey and Alderney, of Elm House, Guernsey, on the 9th June. He joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1890.

W. H. Davis, of The Beehive Hotel, Bull Street, Birmingham, on the 12th June. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1901.

John Pyrah, P.Pr.G.St.B., W. Yorks., of Woodside, Huddersfield, on the 5th June. Our Brother was a P.M. of the Lodge of Truth No. 521, and at the time of his death occupied the first Chair in the Royal Arch Chapter attached thereto. He was appointed to the office of Provincial Grand Standard Bearer of West Yorkshire, in 1905, and was a steady supporter of the Masonic charitable Institutions. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1906, and was Local Secretary for Huddersfield.

Karl Andreas Gerstenkorn, P.G.St.B., New Zealand, of Esk Street, Invercargill, Southland, New Zealand, on 24th November, 1906. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1901, and was Local Secretary for Southland, New Zealand.

George Washington Lininger, Past Grand Master, Past Grand High Priest, Nebraska, of 224, North Eighteenth Street, Omaha, Nebraska, U.S.A., on the 8th June. Our Brother was received into Masonry, in 1856, in St. John's Lodge No. 13, Peru, Illinois, and on his removal to Nebraska some years later, joined the Capitol Lodge No. 3, of Omaha. His deep interest in the Craft generally found a particular outlet in connection with the Masonic Home at Plattsmouth, of which he was really the founder. Only three days before his death he attended a meeting of Grand Lodge and obtained an appropriation of $20,000 for the endowment of the Home. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1902.

Thomas Montgomery, Grand Secretary of Minnesota, of St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A., on the 1st July. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1893.

Robert Barclay Shaw, of 94, Commerce Street, Glasgow. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1895, and was a life member.

Alfred O. Hemming, of St. Agnes, Pinner, Middlesex. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1902. He was a descendant of the Rev. Samuel Hemming, D.D., who was appointed Senior Grand Warden in 1813.

Thomas Bowman Whytehead, P.G.S.B.; P.Pr.G.W., North and East Yorks; of Acomb House, York, on the 5th September. He was elected a joining member of the Lodge on 7th April, 1886. His work in connection with this Lodge is too well known to need repetition. He served as W.M. in the year 1900, and was the author of a number of valuable works, many of which related to Freemasonry under the Grand Lodge of York.

Henry Krauss, Past District Grand Master, P.Dis.G.Sup., Burma, of Chichester Road, Chester, on the 17th September. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1906.

Arthur Edward Hallas, of 2, Henrietta Street, Spalding, accidently drowned on the 11th September. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1905.

H. Kemp, of 7, Thavies Inn, Holborn Circus, London, E.C., on the 31st August. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1901.

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MASONIC REPRINTS.

Of these Masonic Reprints, consisting mainly of exquisite facsimiles, a few copies in each case of the following volumes are still in stock. Vols. I., II., III., IV. and VIII. are out of print.

QUATUOR CORONATORUM ANTIGRAPHA.

Volume I. (*out of print*) contains:—

Facsimile and Transcript of the "Masonic Poem" MS., Bib. Reg. 17 A. 1. (*British Museum*). This MS. is the earliest document (circa 1390) in existence, in any tongue, relating to Freemasonry. It was first published in 1840 by J. Orchard Halliwell with a facsimile of four lines, and again in 1844 with a facsimile of the first page. This was at once translated into several languages, causing great interest throughout the Craft.

Facsimile and Transcript of "Urbanitatis" Cott. MS., Caligula A. II., fol. 88. (*British Museum*).

Facsimile and Transcript from **"Instructions for a Parish Priest,"** Cott. MS., Claudius A. II., fol. 127. (*British Museum*). These two old MSS. contain passages identical with some of those which appear in the "Poem."

"The Plain Dealer," No. 51, Monday, September 14th, 1724. An article on the Freemasons, concluding with the celebrated letters on the **"Gormogons."** This is reproduced from the copy presented to the Lodge by Bro. Ramsden Riley, and only one other copy is known to exist. Portions of the article were printed in "The Grand Mystery," 2nd edition, 1725.

"An Ode to the Grand Khaibar," 1726. This reproduction is also made from the copy in the Lodge Library, presented by Bro. T. B. Whytehead, no other copy being known to exist. The Khaibarites were apparently a somewhat similar Society to the Gormogons, and were equally the rivals of the Freemasons.

"A Defence of Masonry." The Free Mason's Pocket Companion, 2nd edition, 1738. (*Grand Lodge of England Library*).

"Brother Euclid's Letter to the Author." The New Book of Constitutions, . . . by James Anderson, D.D., London, . . . 1738. (*Grand Lodge of England Library*).

A Commentary on the "Masonic Poem," "Urbanitatis," and "Instructions for a Parish Priest," by Bro. R. F. Gould.

Maps and Glossary.

In Vols. II. to VI. is reproduced a series of the MS. Constitutions or "Old Charges," which fully represents the various "families" into which all known copies of these interesting documents have been classified by Dr. Begemann.

Volume II. (*out of print*) contains:—

Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Matthew Cooke MS."** Add. MS., 23198 (*British Museum*), with Commentary thereon by Bro. G. W. Speth. This MS. is believed to have been written about the beginning of the 15th century. It is next in point of interest to the "Regius MS," (Masonic Poem) published in Vol. I. and is probably equal to it in interest.

Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Landsdowne MS."** No. 98, art 48, f. 276 b. (*British Museum*). The late Mr. Bond estimated the date of this MS. at about 1600, but as it is believed to have formed part of the collection of Lord Burghley, who died A.D. 1598, its age is probably greater.

Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Harleian MS."** No. 1942. (*British Museum*). The question of the date of this MS. is all-important and has given rise to much discussion. Mr. Bond and others ascribe it to the beginning of the 17th century, though other commentators such as Bro. Gould believe that the contents are scarcely compatible with this theory.

Volume III. (*out of print*) contains:—

Facsimile of the "Harleian MS." No. 2054, fo. 22. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript. This MS. is of the 17th century and contains, besides the usual legends and laws, a curious list of payments made "to be a mason," also the Freemasons' oath in the handwriting of Randle Holme, the herald and antiquary.

Facsimile of the "Sloane MS." No. 3848. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript.

Facsimile of the "Sloane MS." No. 3323. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript. The dates of these two MSS. are 1646 and 1649 respectively.

Facsimile of the "William Watson MS." Roll. (*Masonic Library, Province of West Yorkshire, Wakefield*). With Transcript, and Commentary by Bro. C. C. Howard. For many reasons this is one of the most interesting and important in the series of "Old Charges" which has yet been discovered. It is dated 1687, and is the only one shewing signs of derivation from the celebrated "Matthew Cooke MS."

Facsimile (one page) **of the "Cama MS."** With Introduction and Transcript. This MS. is in the possession of the Lodge, and has not before been published in any form. It supplies a link long missing between the "Grand Lodge" and "Spencer" families of these old writings.

Volume IV. (*out of print*) contains:—

Facsimile of the "Grand Lodge No. 1, MS." Roll. (*Grand Lodge Library*). With Introduction and Transcript. This Roll is dated 25th December, 1583, is the oldest one extant with a date attached, presumably the third or fourth oldest known, and its text is of especial value, insomuch that in Dr. Begemann's classification it gives its name to the most important family of these documents and to the most important branch of that family.

Facsimile of the "Grand Lodge No. 2, MS." Roll. (*Grand Lodge Library*). With Introduction and Transcript. The great value of this MS. apart from its beauty, lies in the fact that it corroborates the text of the Harleian 1942 MS. (see Vol. II.), whose authority has been severely called in question by some students.

Facsimile of the "Buchanan MS." Roll. (*Grand Lodge Library*). With Introduction and Transcript. This MS. has once before been printed (in Gould's "History.") Its date would presumably be about 1670.

Facsimile of "The Beginning and First Foundation of the Most Worthy Craft of Masonry . . . Printed for Mrs. Dodd . . . 1739." With Introduction. This print is so rare that in addition to the copy in the Library of Grand Lodge, from which our facsimile is taken, only two others are known to exist, and both of these are in the U.S.A.

Facsimile (two pages) **of the "Harris No. 2 MS."** (*Bound up with a copy of the "Freemasons' Calendar for 1781," in the British Museum, Ephemerides, pp. 2493, gaa.*) With Introduction and Transcript. Although of so late a date the additions to the ordinary text presented by this version are of great interest and curiosity.

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In progress.

Ars
Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL.



BRITISH MUSEUM, ADD. MSS, 18,851
CIRCA, 1500 A.D.

EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., P.A.G.D.C., and W. J. SONGHURST, A.G.D.C.

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H. Keble, Printer, Margate.
1907.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

was warranted on the 28th November, 1884, in order

1.—To provide a centre and bond of union for Masonic Students.

2.—To attract intelligent Masons to its meetings, in order to imbue them with a love for Masonic research.

3.—To submit the discoveries or conclusions of students to the judgment and criticism of their fellows by means (papers read in Lodge.

4.—To submit these communications and the discussions arising thereon to the general body of the Craft by publishing at proper intervals, the Transactions of the Lodge in their entirety.

5.—To tabulate concisely, in the printed Transactions of the Lodge, the progress of the Craft throughout the World.

6.—To make the English-speaking Craft acquainted with the progress of Masonic study abroad, by translations (i whole or part) of foreign works.

7.—To reprint scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, and to publish Manuscripts, &c.

8.—To form a Masonic Library and Museum.

9.—To acquire permanent London premises, and open a reading-room for the members.

The membership is limited to forty, in order to prevent the Lodge becoming unwieldy.

No members are admitted without a high literary, artistic, or scientific qualification.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five guinea respectively.

The funds are wholly devoted to Lodge and literary purposes, and no portion is spent in refreshment. The membe usually dine together after the meetings, but at their own individual cost. Visitors, who are cordially welcome, enjoy th option of partaking—on the same terms—of a meal at the common table.

The stated meetings are the first Friday in January, March, May, and October, St. John's Day (in Harvest), and th 8th November, (Feast of the Quatuor Coronati).

At every meeting an original paper is read which is followed by a discussion.

The *Transactions* of the Lodge, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, are published towards the end of April, July, and Decemb in each year. They contain a summary of the business of the Lodge, the full text of the papers read in Lodge together wit the discussions, many essays communicated by the brethren but for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographie historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, notes and queries, obituary, and other matter. They are profusely illustrate and handsomely printed.

The Antiquarian Reprints of the Lodge, *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjec treated of.

The St. John's Card is a symbolic plate, conveying a greeting to the members, and is issued on or about th 27th December of each year. It forms the frontispiece to a list of the members of the Lodge and of the Correspondence Circl with their Masonic rank and addresses, and is of uniform size with the *Transactions* with which it is usually bound up as a appendix.

The Library has now been arranged in the new offices at No. 61, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where Members of bo Circles may consult the books on application to the Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers over 2900 members, comprising many of the most disti guished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and more th 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

The members of our Correspondence Circle are placed on the following footing:—

1.—The summonses convoking the meetings are posted to them regularly. They are entitled to attend all the meetin of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not eve morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and introduce their personal friends. They are not *visitors* at our Lodge meetings, but rather *associates* of the Lodge.

2.—The printed *Transactions* of the Lodge are posted to them as issued.

3.—The St. John's Card is sent to them annually.

4.—They are, equally with the full members, entitled to subscribe for the other publications of the Lodge, such as tho mentioned under No. 7 above.

5.—Papers from Correspondence Members are gratefully accepted, and as far as possible, recorded in the *Transactio*

6.—They are accorded free admittance to our Library and Reading Rooms.

A Candidate for Membership in the Correspondence Circle is subject to no qualification, literary, artistic, or scientif His election takes place at the Lodge-meeting following the receipt of his application.

Brethren elected to the Correspondence Circle after the end of the current (1907) financial year will pay a joini fee of twenty-one shillings to include the subscription to the following 30th November.

The annual subscription is only half-a-guinea (10s. 6d.), and is renewable each December for the year next followin Brethren joining us late in the year will suffer no disadvantage, as they will receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in t same year.

It will thus be seen that, without the payment of any joining fee and for only half the annual subscription, the membe of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting in lodge matters a holding office.

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subs quently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic histo of their districts. Foreign members can render still further assistance by furnishing us at intervals with the names of n Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of such publications. Communications may be address to the Secretary in English, German or French.

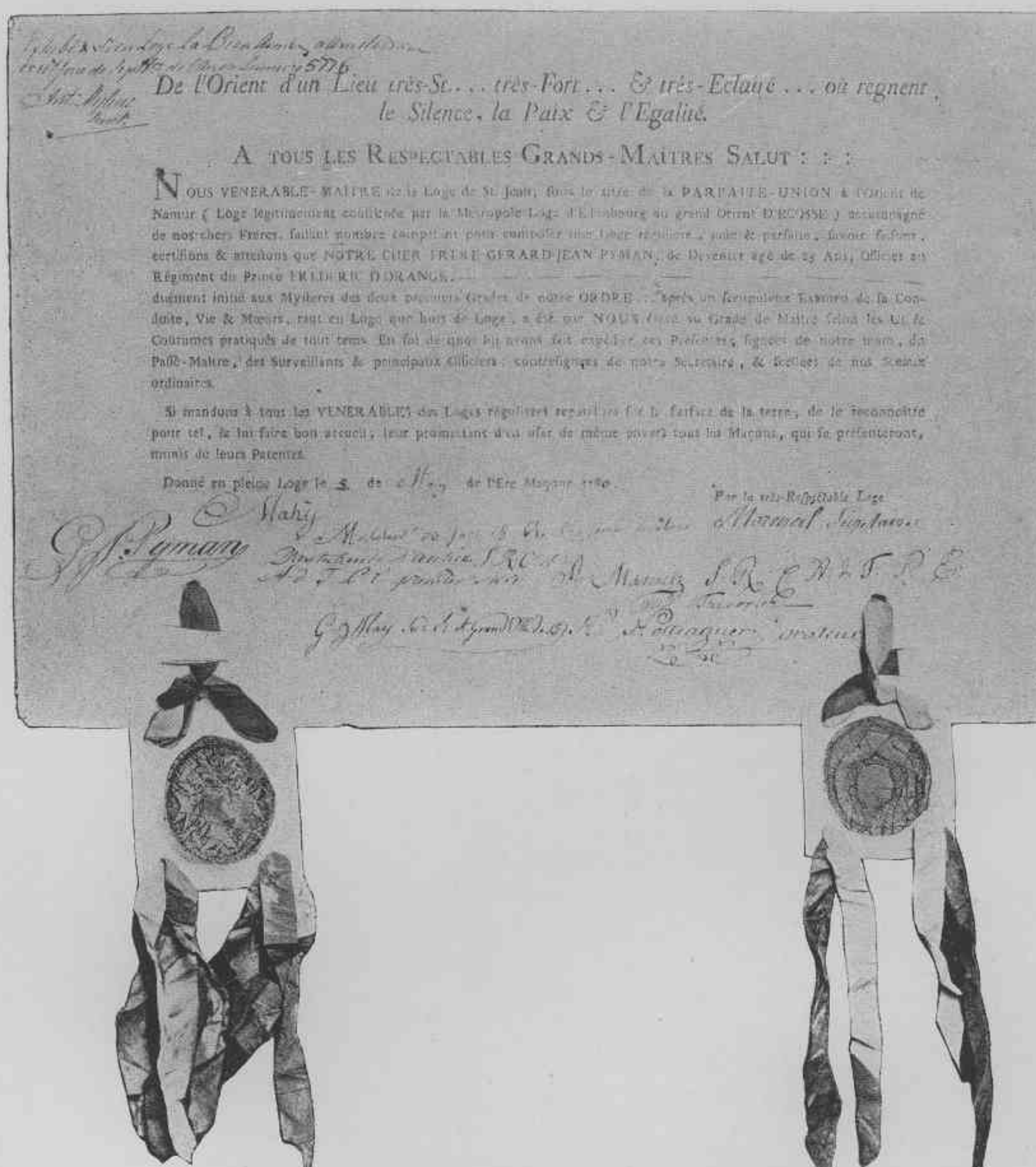
Members should also bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by publishi matter of interest to them. Those therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association with us, are urged advocate our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each member annually to send us one n member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages than we already provide. Those who can help in no other way, can do so in this.

Every Mason in good standing throughout the Universe, and all Lodges, Chapters, and Libraries or other corpora bodies are eligible as Members of the Correspondence Circle.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—By the payment in one sum of *Twelve* years Subscription in advance, *i.e.*, six guine individual Brethren may qualify as *Life Members* of the Correspondence Circle. Corporate Bodies may qualify as Life Memb by a similar payment of *Twenty-five* years Subscription. Expulsion from the Craft will naturally entail a forfeiture of Memb ship in the Correspondence Circle, and the Lodge also reserves to itself the full power of excluding any Corresponden Member whom it may deem to be Masonically (or otherwise) unworthy of continued membership.



Certificate issued 31st May, 1775, to Bro. G. J. Pyman, by the Lodge "Perfect Union" of Namur.



De l'Orient d'un Lieu très-St. . . . très-Fort . . . & très-Eclairé . . . où regnent le Silence, la Paix & l'Egalité.

A tous les Respectables Grands-Maitres Salut : : :

Nous VENERABLE-MAITRE de la Loge de St. Jean, sous le titre de la PARFAITE-UNION à l'Orient de Namur (Loge legitimement constituée par la Metropole Loge d'Edimbourg au grand Orient D'ECOSSE) accompagné de nos chers Freres, faisant nombre competent pour composer une Loge reguliere, juste & parfaite, faisons sçavoir, certifions & attestons que NOTRE CHER FRERE GERARD JEAN PYMAN, de Deventer agé de 25 Ans, Officier au Régiment du Prince FREDERIC D'ORANGE, ——— duëment initié aux Mysteres des deux premiers Grades de notre ORDRE . . . après un scrupuleux Examen de sa Conduite, Vie & Moeurs, tant en Loge que hors de Loge, a été par NOUS élevé au Grade de Maître selon les Us & Coutumes pratiqués de tout tems. En foi de quoi lui avons fait expédier ces Présentes, signées de notre main, du Passé-Maitre, des Surveillants & principaux Officiers, contresignées de notre Secretaire, & scellées de nos Sceaux ordinaires.

Si mandons à tous les VENERABLES des Loges régulieres repandues sur la surface de la terre, de le reconnoitre pour tel, & lui faire bon accueil; leur promettant d'en user de même envers tous les Maçons, qui se présenteront, munis de leurs Patentes.

Donné en pleine Loge le 5. de May de l'Ere Maçonne 5776.

Par la très-Respectable Loge

Certificate issued 5th May, 1776, to Bro. G. J. Pyman, by the Lodge "Perfect Union" of Namur.

THE SCOTTISH LODGE AT NAMUR.

BY BRO. FRED J. W. CROWE, F.R.Hist.S., P.G.O.

I READ with peculiar interest Count D'Alviella's valuable paper on the above subject, as by a piece of good fortune I am able to throw some additional light on the matter. A few years ago, in the course of my certificate collecting, I acquired two old diplomas of this very Lodge.

The first is as follows :—

NUMEN—LUMEN.

Les Tres Respectable Maître, Passe Maîtres, Surveillants, autres Officiers et Membres de la Loge Ancienne ditte de la Parfaite Union à l'Orient de Namur, a tous nos légitimes frères sur la surface de la terre, Salut par la Nombre Connu, Savoir faisons que le nomé Gerrar Jean Pyman, natif de Deventer, age de Vingt Cinq ans, s'étant présenté a nous pour etre Réçu dans la noble et ancienne Societé des Francs-Maçons, Convaincu de son mèrite, Nous le très-Respectable Maître, passe Maître, Surveillants, &c., &c. ; en Vertu des Constitutions, nous Octrojées par la mere Loge D'Ecosse, a L'Orient D'Edimbourg, avons le dit Gerrar Jean Pyman Reçu membre de la noble et aucienne Société des Francs-Maçons, et l'avons élévé au Grade de Maître, selon les uses et Coutumes pratiquées de tous tems, en foi de quoi nous lui avons fait expédier le présent Certificat. Signé du très Respectable, de deux Passe-Maîtres, des Surveillants et de lui même | : *ne decipiemur* : | Contresigné de notre Secretaire, et Sèllé de nos sceaux ordinaire. Donné en Plaine Loge á l'Orient de Namur, ce 31 Mai 5779

G. J. Pyman *Mahy*
Mormal, Secretaire. *A. Mamin.* *Malotau de Fooz.*
Pr. Surv. Grand Elu. *D'Autrebande D'Anhée.* Sd. Surv Grand Elu.

The translation is :—

THE EMANATION OF THE DEITY IS LIGHT.[1]

The Very Respectable Master, Past Masters, Wardens, other Officers and members of the ancient Lodge entitled of the Perfect Union, at the Orient of Namur, to all our lawful brothers on the surface of the earth, greeting by the number known [to us] Be it known that the named Gerrar Jean Pyman, native of Deventer, aged twenty-five years, having presented himself to us in order to be received into the noble and ancient Society of Freemasons, being convinced of his merit, we the very respectable Master, Past Masters, Wardens, etc., etc., by virtue of the Constitutions granted to us by the Mother Lodge of Scotland [*i.e.*, the Grand Lodge] at the Orient of Edinburgh, have received the said Jerrar Jean Pyman, as a member of the noble and ancient Society of Freemasons, and have raised him to the

[1] This is one of the untranslateable alliterations common in Mediæval Latin, but the rendering here given conveys the idea.

grade of Master, according to the usages and customs practised in all times, in faith of which we have granted him the present certificate. Signed by the very Respectable, by two Past Masters, the Wardens, and also by himself (we will never be deceived) Counter-signed by our Secretary, and sealed with our ordinary seal. Given in Open Lodge at the Orient of Namur 31 May 5779 [1775].

The date 5779 is undoubtedly correctly rendered 1775, as, from a proof I shall give later, the members adhered to the Scottish custom of adding 4004 to the vulgar era.

There are two seals on light blue ribbon. That on the left shows a celestial crown, sun, moon, seven stars, palm branches, and rainbow surmounted by what is, presumably, a dove. The motto reads "Numen ☐ אלתנ Lumen." The other is a large and handsome seal, in tin box, with the crest and arms of the G. L. Scotland, and motto, "Nostrum Dominus Deus Præsidium."

The second certificate runs thus:—

De l'Orient d'un Lieu très-St . . . très-Fort . . . & très Eclairé . . . oú regnent le Silence, la Paix, & l'Egalité.

A tous les Respectables Grands-Maîtres Salut ⁖ ⁖ ⁖ NOUS VENERABLE-MAÎTRE de la Loge de St. Jean, sous le titre de la PARFAITE-UNION à l'Orient de Namur (Loge Légitimement constituée par la Métropole Loge d'Edimbourg au grand Orient D'ECOSSE) accompagné de nos chers Freres faisant nombre compétant pour composer une Loge réguliere, juste, & parfaite, savoir faisons, certifions & attestons que NOTRE CHER FRERE GERARD-JEAN PYMAN, de Deventer âgé de 25 ans, Officier au Régiment du Prince FREDERIC D'ORANGE duément initié aux Mysteres des deux premiers Grades de notre Ordre ......après un scrupuleux Examen de sa Conduite, Vie & Mœurs, tant en Loge que hors de Loge, a été par NOUS élevé au Grade de Maître selon les Us & Coûtumes pratiqués de tout tems. En foi de quoi lui avons fait expédier ces Présentes; signées de notre main, du Passé-Maître, des Surveillants & principaux Officiers: contresignées de notre Sécretaire & scellées de nos Sceaux ordinaires.

Si Mandons à tous les VENERABLES des Loges régulieres repandues sur la surface de la terre, de la reconnoître pour tel, & lui faire bon accueil; leur promettant d'en user de même envers tous les Maçons, qui se présenteront, munis de leurs Patentes.

Donné en pleine Loge le 5 de *May* de l'Ere Maçone 5780

Mahy — Par la trés—Respectable Loge

Mormal Secretaire.

Malotaux de Fooz S: R: C: passé Maitre.

G. F. Pyman.

D'Autrebande D'Anhée S: R: C: et
A: d: T: P: E: premier Surv.

A. Mamin S: R: C: A: d: T: P: E:
Tresorier.

K: Hottingner, Orateur,

G. S. Hay Sec^{d} S^{t} et Grand Ellu de 15.

In English:—

From the East of a Place very Holy, very Strong, and very Light, where reign Silence, Peace, and Equality. To all the Respectable Grand Masters,

Greeting :· :· :· We the Venerable Master of the Lodge of St. John, under the title of the Perfect-Union at the Orient of Namur (a Lodge regularly constituted by the Metropolitan Lodge of Edinburgh at the Grand Orient of Scotland) together with our dear Brethren, making a competent number to compose a Lodge regular, just, and perfect, make known, certify and attest that our dear brother Gerard Jean Pyman, of Deventer, aged 25 years, officer in the regiment of Prince Frederic of Orange, duly initiated into the mysteries of the two first Grades of our Order, after a scrupulous examination of his Conduct, Life, and Manners in the Lodge, and out of the Lodge, has been by Us raised to the grade of Master according to the Use and Customs practised in all times. In faith of which we have issued to him these Presents, signed by our hand, and those of the Past Master, Wardens, and principal Officers, countersigned by our Secretary, and sealed with our ordinary Seal. We request all the Masters of Regular Lodges spread over the surface of the earth, that they recognize him and give him a good welcome; and we promise to accord the same treatment to all Masons who present themselves furnished with the same Patents.

Given in open Lodge the 5th of May in the era of Masonry, 5780 [1776].

The proof that my dates are correct I found in the endorsement in the top left-hand corner. "Exhibé & vû en Loge La Bien Aimée a Amsterdam ce 11e jour de Septb^{re} de l'an de Lumière 5776. *Ant: Myhus.* Secret." It is obvious that the certificate could not have been seen four years before it was granted, so the real dates must be 1775 and 1776 respectively. There is another endorsement on the back, as follows:—"Gerie inde Loge La Bien Aime, Amsterdam, 8 February 1786—*Kersie Kersies*, Adjunct Secretaris."

The whole of the certificate, except the date and signatures, is in print. Two seals are appended. That on the left is attached to a little bunch of ribbons of red, blue, yellow, green, and black. The impression is very bad, but I can just distinguish a double-headed eagle on a Maltese Cross, sword handles, and the motto "Nec plus ultra." Another motto at the bottom is undecipherable. The other seal is on yellow and blue ribbons. In the centre are the arms of the Grand Lodge of Scotland surrounded by an heraldic mantle and the motto, "Nostrum Dominus Deus Prœsidium." The use of the "High Grades" seal and motto on a Craft certificate of this date is unusual to me.

The mention of the Rose Croix, and Grand Elect degrees shows that there must have been a Chapter of High Grades attached to the Lodge before it was transferred to the authority of the Austrian Netherlands.

The letters A: d: T: P: E, puzzled me a good deal. The Belgian Chapters conferred the degrees of Apprentice, Companion and Chevalier Eccossais, Grand Architect, Knight of the Temple, Grand Elect of Fifteen, and S. P. Rose Croix, but none of these quite fit the letters in question. Bro. Songhurst has, however, most kindly traced them for me, and they imply "Adjutant du Tabernacle des Parfaits Elus."

As to the signatures, Thomas Bonaventeur Malotaux was Seigneur de Fooz et de Wespion. His name appears as Senior Warden in Cunningham's Charter of 1770, and Bro. D'Alviella says that towards 1786 his name is still conspicuous on the Lodge roll.

Dautrebande d'Anhée (Jean Dominique) was an ironmaster, and his name appears in 1786.

Mormal was named as Secretary in Cunningham's Charter, and Bro. D'Alviella states that the appearance of his name in my certificates of 1775-6 removes the last doubt that he was the mysterious "M" who signed the "Observations" to the Marquis de Gages, which our learned Brother has reproduced in the *Ars.*.

Mahy (Ignace François Dieudonné) was Canon of the Church of St. Martin, at Liége, and "M" accused him of being "a Jesuit," because he considered he had been guilty of double dealing in the Lodge, not that he was really a member of the Society of Jesus.

Mamin is mentioned as Treasurer by "M."

The Regiment to which Bro. Pyman belonged was named after Prince Frederick of Orange-Nassau, and garrisoned in the Austrian Netherlands.

Count D'Alviella sends a very interesting wood-cut, here reproduced, which was used at the head of all documents issued by the "Parfait Union" whilst it remained the "Mother Lodge" of the now defunct "Rîte Ecossais Primitif," in Belgium.

That rite evidently had a connection with the Temple and with Heredom, and on the pillars are both Templar and Malta crosses.



PRIM.·. SCOT.·. RIT.·. IN. BELGIO.



Saxon pinx^t Heath sculp^t

Walter Scott Esqr

Portrait of Sir Walter Scott in 1805.

From an Engraving in the British Museum, by Heath, after Saxon.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AS A FREEMASON.

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS CONNECTION WITH THE FRATERNITY.

BY BRO. ADAM MUIR MACKAY, P.M.
Lodge St. David No. 36, Edinburgh.

CHAPTER I.

Erection of Lodge St. David. *Hyndford's Close.* *Walter Ferguson.*
Initiation of Scott's Father. *Elected an Office Bearer.*
Initiation of Robert Scott. *Death of Scott's Father.*

THE Lodge in which Sir Walter Scott was initiated into Freemasonry was constituted on the 2nd of March, 1738, under a Commission granted by the Rt. Hon. George, Earl of Cromarty, M.W. Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The original name of the Lodge, "Canongate Kilwinning from Leith," was changed in 1756 to "St. David," at which it now remains, its present number on Grand Lodge Roll being 36.

The first meetings were held at the Laigh Coffee House, Canongate, Edinburgh. In 1745 the Lodge removed to the Convening House of the Corporation of Hammermen, also situated in the Canongate, and in 1753 to the Convening House of the Corporation of Cordiners, or Shoemakers, in the Potterrow Port. It was at this latter place that Walter Scott, W.S., the father of the novelist, was made a mason.

In 1757 the brethren purchased a hall in Hyndford's Close, Netherbow, High Street, where the meetings were held for over a century. Other Masonic bodies, including the Royal Order of Scotland, and the Royal Arch Chapter, now "Edinburgh" No. 1, held their earliest meetings there, and it was there that Sir Walter Scott and many other eminent Scotsmen were made Freemasons.

The entry and stair leading to the Lodge-room was at the head of the Close, on the west side, and was then a favourite residence. Sir Walter Scott's mother, Anne Rutherford, daughter of Dr. John Rutherford, Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, passed her girlhood there, and Scott, when a lad, was often at his mother's old home, visiting his uncle, Dr. Daniel Rutherford. Forty years afterwards, Sir Walter having occasion to correspond with Lady Anne Lindsay, authoress of the ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," whose mother, Anne, Countess of Balcarres, had been a neighbour of the Rutherfords, told her:

> "I remember all the *locale* of Hyndford's Close perfectly, even "to the Indian screen with Harlequin and Columbine, and the harpsi-"chord, though I never had the pleasure of hearing Lady Anne play "upon it. I suppose the close, once too clean to soil the hem of your "ladyship's garment, is now a resort for the lowest mechanics—and "so wears the world away. . . . It is, to be sure, more picturesque "to lament the desolation of towers on hills and haughs, than the "degradation of an Edinburgh close; but I cannot help thinking on the

> "simple and cosy retreats where worth and talent, and elegance to boot, "were often nestled, and which now are the resort of misery, poverty "and vice."[1]

Notwithstanding the "degradation" to which Sir Walter alludes, the Lodge continued to meet at Hyndford's Close until the end of 1860. In 1838 the Lodge-room was re-painted and re-decorated by Bro. David Ramsay Hay, one of the members. Bro. Hay was distinguished for his efforts to raise the character of decorative painting, and for his writings on form and colour, and it was to him that Scott intrusted all the "limning and blazoning" of the interior of Abbotsford.

From the date of its institution, Lodge St. David was prosperous, and meetings were held regularly, with the exception of the period dating from June, 1745, to December, 1746, when the R.W. Master considered it inadvisable to summon the members owing to the Jacobite Rebellion. The height of prosperity was reached in the session of 1754. In that year 107 names were added to the roll, and of that number 92 were initiated. Much of this prosperity was due to the influence of the R.W. Master, Bro. Walter Ferguson, a writer in Edinburgh, initiated in 1752. Bro. Ferguson was owner of portions of the land on which the new town of Edinburgh was built, including the whole of St. James' Square. When the said Square was in process of building, the following incident is stated to have taken place between Sir Walter Scott's father and the R.W. Master's son, Captain James Ferguson of the Royal Navy, initiated in 1753 when a Midshipman on the "Success" Man-of-War. An attempt was being made to procure water by sinking wells for it, despite the elevation of the ground. Mr. Scott happened one day to pass when Captain Ferguson was sinking a well of vast depth. Upon Scott expressing a doubt if water could be got there: "I will get it," quoth the Captain, "though I sink to hell for it!" "A bad place for water," was the dry remark of the doubter.

The Fergusons and the Scotts were connected by marriage through the ancient border family of Swinton of Swinton. "A family," writes Sir Walter, "which "produced many distinguished warriors during the middle ages, and which, for "antiquity and honourable alliances, may rank with any in Britain."

Of those who were made Masons in 1754, thirty are designated "Writers," the profession to which the R.W. Master belonged, and among them was Sir Walter Scott's father. He was initiated on the 4th of January, the first meeting held that session, and was recommended by the R.W. Master, Bro. Walter Ferguson. The following is an extract from the minute.

> "The Lodge being convened on an Emergency . . . . there "was presented to the Lodge a Petition for Anthony Ferguson, Mercht. "in Edinburgh, Walter Scott & John Tait, Writers in Edinburgh, "Craving to be made Masons & admitted Members of this Lodge, and "being recommended by the Right Worshipfull Master, the Desire of "their Petition was unanimously granted and they were accordingly "made Masons, and each paid his full Dues to the Treasurer . . ."

Bro. Scott was born on the 11th of May, 1729, and was the eldest son of Robert Scott, farmer at Sandy Knowe in the vicinity of Smailholm Tower, Roxburghshire, a descendant of Sir Walter Scott, of Harden. The Scotts of Harden, again, came, in the fourteenth century from the stock of the Buccleuchs. He was educated for the profession of Writer to the Signet, to which Society he was admitted in 1755. "Through

[1] Lord Lindsay's "Lives of the Lindsays."

" his family connection he obtained a good practice, which partly owing to his punctilious " manner subsequently decreased. Singularly conscientious, he would, according to Sir " Walter, have sacrificed his own interest to that of his client, and though economical " to the verge of penury, would, in carrying out any duties entrusted to him, have been " content to suffer loss."[1]

His portrait is drawn for us by his son under the disguise of Saunders Fairford in " Redgauntlet."

Bro. Scott stepped quickly into prominence in the Lodge, and before receiving the second Degree acted as Junior Warden, in the absence of that official, on the 25th and 30th of January, and also on the 4th of February. On the 20th of March he was passed F.C., and two days later was raised to the Degree of M.M. He again acted as Junior Warden, *pro tempore*, on 29th March and 3rd April, and on 10th April as Depute Master. At the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, 27th December, 1754, within a year of his initiation he was elected and installed Senior Warden. The minutes of the meetings at this period were signed by the R.W.Master and Wardens, and Bro. Scott's signature, as Junior Warden, *pro tem.*, 1754, and as Senior Warden in 1755, appears in the Minute Book nineteen times.

For many years after the institution of the Lodge it was customary to select what was termed a "leet" of three brethren for the office of R.W.Master, their names being submitted and a vote taken, if necessary, at the Annual Festival on winter St. John's day. Scott was nominated one of the leet for the Mastership, at a meeting held on 10th December, 1755. The minute states that:

" . . . . The R^{t}. Worshipfull" (Bro. James Ewart, Accountant, Royal Bank) proposed the Worshipfull Br. James Walker D^{t}.M^{r}. for one" (of the leet) " which " the Lodge unanimously agreed to. The Wardens" (Bros. Walter Scott and John Gray) " proposed the R^{t}. Worshipfull himself for another And the Bretheren of the " Lodge named the Worshipfull Brother Walter Scott Senior Warden for the third. " All the three being unanimously approved of by the Members . . . ."

At the annual Festival on 27th December the brethren unanimously agreed to the election of the R.W.Master's nominee, and the Depute Master, Bro. James Walker, physician, was installed in the chair.

The next record of interest in connection with Sir Walter Scott's father occurs thirty years afterwards, on 7th December, 1785, when, in the absence of the R.W.Master he occupied the chair.

> " The Brethren being conveened, B^{r}. Walter Scott Esqr. took the " Chair & the Lodge being regularly opened & constituted, a petition " was presented for Messrs. Robert Scott, Chicherter Cheyne (both " sailors) and John Johnston Craving to be made Masons & Members " of this Lodge; and the two former, viz., Messrs. Scott & Cheyne being " recommended by the R.W. Br. Scott, & Mr. Johnston by Br. W^{m}. " Allan the desire of the petition was unanimously granted, and by " direction from the Chair the Ceremony was performed by Br. " Paterson . . . ."

This Minute is signed " Walter Scott."

The two sailors recommended by Bro. Scott would, in all probability, be of some social standing and it is quite possible that the Robert Scott referred to was Sir Walter's elder brother. He retired from the naval service after the peace of Paris (Versailles,

[1] Genealogical Memoirs of the Scott Family. Rogers.

1783) and would likely be staying at home at this period. It is quite possible that this meeting was held specially at the request of Bro. Scott for the purpose of initiating his son and Mr. Cheyne.

Sir Walter Scott, in a memoir of his early life, written in 1808, gives an interesting sketch of his brother Robert:—

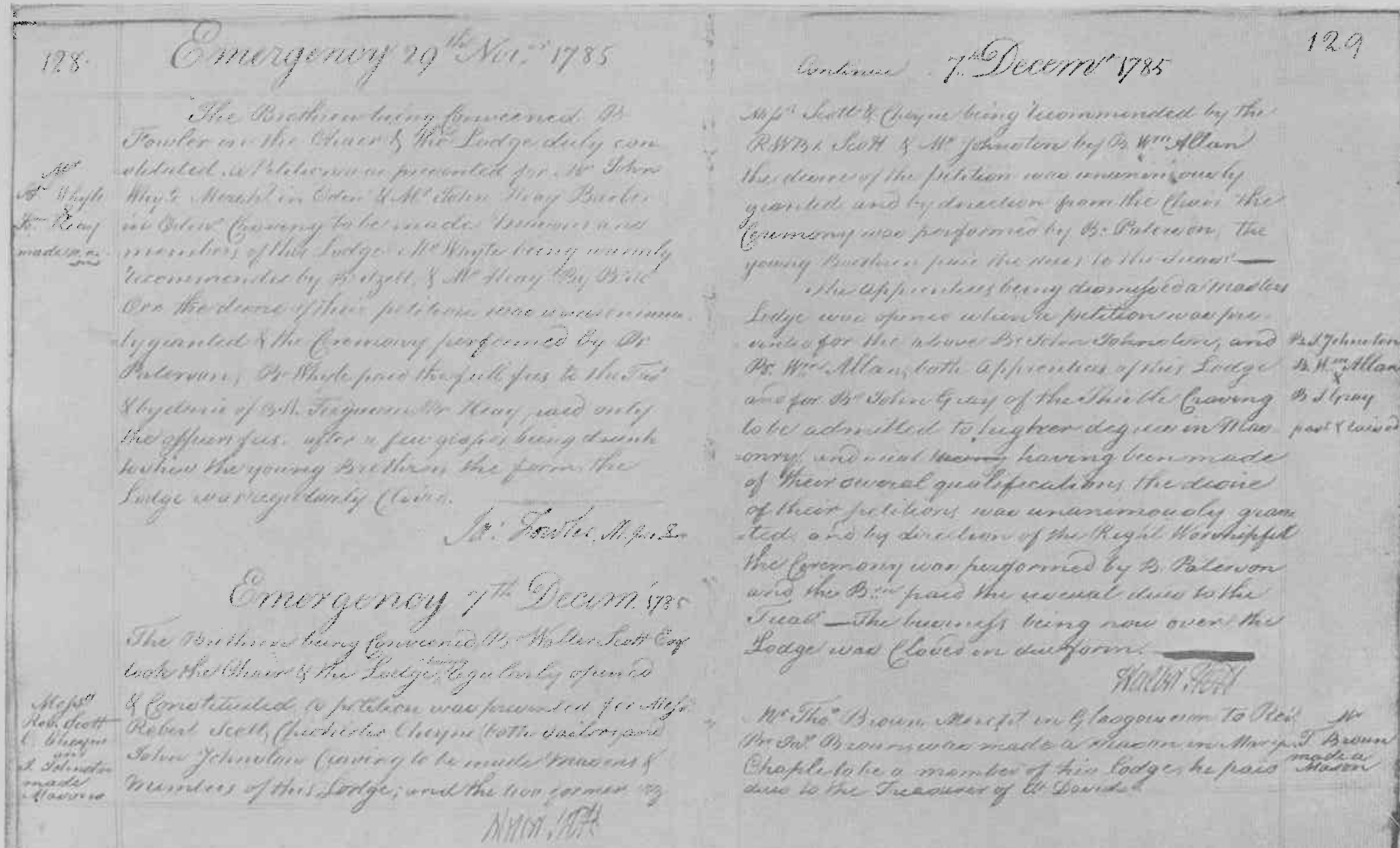
> "My eldest brother (that is, the eldest whom I remember to "have seen) was Robert Scott, . . . He was bred in the King's "service, under Admiral, then Captain William Dickson, and was in "most of Rodney's battles. His temper was bold and haughty, and to "me was often checkered with what I felt to be capricious tyranny. "In other respects I loved him much, for he had a strong turn for "literature, read poetry with taste and judgement, and composed verses "himself which had gained him great applause among his messmates. "Witness the following elegy upon the supposed loss of the vessel, "composed the night before Rodney's celebrated battle of April the "12th, 1782. It alludes to the various amusements of his mess.
>
> "No more the geese shall cackle on the poop,
> No more the bagpipe through the orlop sound,
> No more the midshipmen, a jovial group,
> Shall toast the girls, and push the bottle round.
> In death's dark road at anchor fast they stay,
> Till Heaven's loud signal shall in thunder roar,
> Then starting up, all hands shall quick obey,
> Sheet home the topsail, and with speed unmoor."
>
> "Robert sang agreeably—(a virtue which was never seen in me) "—understood the mechanical arts, and when in good humour could "regale us with many a tale of bold adventure and narrow escapes. "When in bad humour, however, he gave us a practical taste of what "was then man-of-war's discipline, and kicked and cuffed without "mercy. I have often thought how he might have distinguished "himself had he continued in the navy until the present times, so "glorious for nautical exploit. But the peace of Paris cut off all "hopes of promotion for those who had not great interest; and "some disgust, which his proud spirit had taken at harsh usage from "a superior officer, combined to throw poor Robert into the East India "Company's service, for which his habits were ill adapted. He made "two voyages to the East, and died a victim to the climate . . ."

Subsequent to 7th December, 1785, there is no further reference in the Lodge minutes to Sir Walter Scott's father.

> "The death of this worthy man, in his 70th year, after a long "series of feeble health and suffering, was an event which could only "be regarded as a great deliverance to himself. He had had a "succession of paralytic attacks, under which mind as well as body "had by degrees been laid quite prostrate '[1]

He died on the 12th of April, 1799, and was buried in the Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. At the left hand entrance to the iron door immediately to the west of New

[1] Life of Sir W. Scott. J. G. Lockhart.


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Emergency 29th Nov.r 1785

The Brethren being Convened Br Fowler in the Chair & the Lodge duly constituted a Petition was presented for Mr John Whyte Merchant in Eden.r & Mr John Hay Barber in Eden.r Craving to be made Masons and members of this Lodge. Mr Whyte being warmly recommended by Br [illegible] & Mr Hay by Br [illegible]. On the desire of their petitions was unanimously granted & the Ceremony performed by Br Paterson; Br Whyte paid the full fees to the Tre.r & Clerk [illegible] Mr Hay paid only the apprentice fees. after a few glasses being drunk to the young Brethren the form the Lodge was regularly Closed.

Jo: Fowler M. pro. L.

Mess.rs Whyte & Hay made Masons

Emergency 7th Decem.r 1785

The Brethren being Convened Br Walter Scott Esq took the Chair & the Lodge being regularly opened & Constituted a petition was presented for Mess.rs Robert Scott, Chevalier Cheyne both Sailors and John Johnston Craving to be made Masons & members of this Lodge; and the two former by

Walter Scott

Mess.rs Robt Scott C. Cheyne and J. Johnston made Masons

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Continued 7th Decem.r 1785

Mess.rs Scott & Cheyne being recommended by the R.W.Br Scott & Mr Johnston by Br Wm Allan the desire of the petition was unanimously granted and by direction from the Chair the Ceremony was performed by Br Paterson, the young Brethren paid the dues to the Treas.r

The Apprentices being dismissed a Masters Lodge was opened when a petition was presented for the above Br John Johnston, and Br Wm Allan, both Apprentices of this Lodge and for Br John Gray of the Thistle Craving to be admitted to higher degrees in Masonry and trial having been made of their several qualifications the desire of their petitions was unanimously granted and by direction of the Right Worshipful the Ceremony was performed by Br Paterson and the Br.n paid the usual dues to the Treas.r — The business being now over the Lodge was Closed in due form.

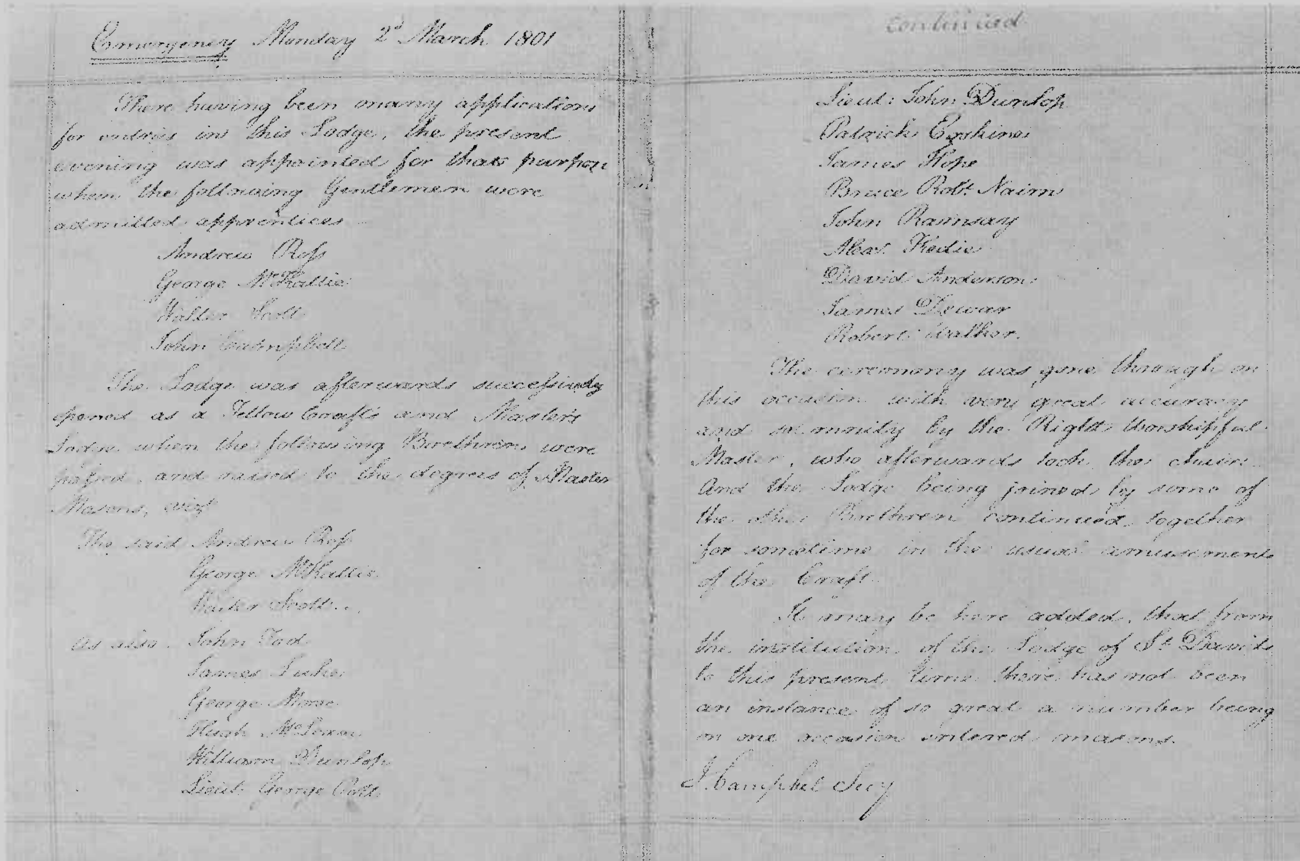
Walter Scott

Mr Thos Brown Merch.t in Glasgow came to Rec.d Br [illegible] Brown was made a Mason in Mary's Chapel to be a member of this Lodge, he paid dues to the Treasurer of St Davids.

Br J. Johnston Br Wm Allan & Br J. Gray past & raised

Mr T. Brown made a Mason

Entry in Minute Book of Lodge St. David, Edinburgh,
recording a Meeting on 7th December, 1785, at which Walter Scott, the elder, presided.



Emergency Monday 2d March 1801

There having been many applications for entries in this Lodge, the present evening was appointed for that purpose when the following Gentlemen were admitted apprentices —

Andrew Ross
George McHattie
Walter Scott
John Campbell

The Lodge was afterwards successively opened as a Fellow Crafts and Masters Lodge when the following Brethren were passed, and raised to the degrees of Master Masons, viz

The said Andrew Ross
George McHattie
Walter Scott...

As also John Tod
James Leslie
George Home
Hugh McLean
William Dunlop
Lieut. George Cott

continued

Lieut: John Dunlop
Patrick Erskine
James Hope
Bruce Robt. Nairn
John Ramsay
Alex. Hedie
David Anderson
James Dewar
Robert Walker.

The ceremony was gone through on this occasion with very great accuracy and solemnity by the Right Worshipful Master, who afterwards took the chair. And the Lodge being joined by some of the other Brethren continued together for sometime in the usual amusements of the Craft.

It may be here added, that from the institution of the Lodge of St David's to this present time there has not been an instance of so great a number being on one occasion entered masons.

J. Campbell Secy

Entry in Minute Book of Lodge St. David, Edinburgh, recording Sir Walter Scott's admission on 2nd March, 1801.

Greyfriars Church there is a granite memorial, interesting from its unique brevity and national importance :—

In front of this Tablet
Lie the Remains
of
WALTER SCOTT, Esquire, W.S.
FATHER of
SIR WALTER SCOTT
with those of Several Members of the same Family.

CHAPTER II.

Sir Walter Scott. Earl of Dalkeith, Grand Master. James and John Ballantyne. Joseph Gillon. Initiation of Sir Walter. He recommends a candidate. His attendance at the meetings.

Sir Walter Scott when initiated into Freemasonry was thirty years of age. He was born in the College Wynd, Edinburgh, on the 15th of August, 1771, and was educated at the High School. Previous to entering the University, in November, 1783, he spent some weeks in Kelso, where he attended daily the public school. It was there that he became acquainted with the brothers James and John Ballantyne, with whom he subsequently entered into partnership in the printing and publishing business of Ballantyne and Co. In his fifteenth year he was indentured as an apprentice to his father. On the expiry of his apprenticeship, in 1790, he resolved to follow another branch of the legal profession; and having passed through the usual studies, was admitted, in 1792, a member of the Faculty of Advocates. On 16th December, 1799 he was appointed to the Sheriffdom of Selkirkshire, and in the same month married Charlotte Margaret Carpenter, daughter of John Carpenter of Lyons.

At an Emergency Meeting, held on Monday, the 2nd of March, 1801, Walter Scott was initiated, passed, and raised in Lodge St. David. The minute of this meeting does not give the name of his proposer, but doubtless the fact of his father having been long and intimately connected with the Lodge was an inducement to him to join it. There were also other reasons which may have influenced him. The M.W. Grand Master in 1801, The Earl of Dalkeith, afterwards Duke Charles of Buccleuch, who claimed "St. David's" as his mother Lodge, "had been participating in the military patriotism of the period, and had been thrown into Scott's society under circumstances well qualified to ripen acquaintance into confidence."[1] The Bros. James and John Ballantyne also were frequent attenders at the Lodge, and Scott had been brought much into contact with them in connection with the publishing of the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," the first two volumes of which were issued from the Kelso Press, in January, 1802. The following extract from a Minute of Meeting held on 18th March, 1800, is interesting.

> " . . . It ought not to be passed over how much was contributed to
> " the entertainment of the Lodge by brethren Ballantyne of the Kelso
> " Lodge to whose social dispositions, elegant manners and musical
> " powers the Lodge of St. David's are no strangers. The R.W. Master

[1] Life of Sir W. Scott. J. G. Lockhart.

"called on the brethren to drink to the health of these two respectable "visitors, particularly to that of Brother James Ballantyne who had "formerly been . . . of this Lodge and who now held the office "of . . . in the Kelso Lodge. . . . The toast was drunk with "the greatest possible applause and was returned in a handsome and "appropriate address from Mr. James Ballentyne."

There is no reference in the records to the office held by Bro. James Ballantyne in the Lodge. He was R.W. Master of Lodge "Kelso," Kelso, now No. 58, in 1802, and in August, 1814, was appointed representative of that Lodge at the meetings of the Grand Lodge in Edinburgh. He has been described as a kind-hearted and talented man, a good critic, and a friend highly esteemed by Scott. His brother John's aptitude for business has been seriously questioned, he was manager of the printing establishment. In the jovial, literary and artistic society which he frequented, his racy humour and endless stories never failed to be appreciated.

It was on Scott's suggestion that the Ballantyne's settled in Edinburgh to engage in the printing business. A letter sent by Scott to James Ballantyne refers to that matter. It is also interesting from the fact that it makes reference to another acquaintance of Scott's, Bro. Joseph Gillon, a member of Lodge St. David, and R.W. Master in 1805-6 and 7.

"To Mr. J. Ballantine, Kelso Mail Office, Kelso.

"Castle Street. 22nd April, 1800.

"Dear Sir

" . . . . I am still resolved to have recourse to your press "for the Ballads of the Border, which are in some forwardness.

"I have now to request your forgiveness for mentioning a "plan which your friend Gillon and I have talked over with a view as "well to the public advantage as to your individual interest. It is "nothing short of a migration from Kelso to this place . . . .

"Three branches of printing are quite open in Edinburgh, all "of which I am convinced you have both the ability and inclination to "unite in your person. . . . .

"It appears to me that such a plan, judiciously adopted and "diligently pursued, opens a fair road to an ample fortune. In the "meanwhile, the 'Kelso Mail' might be so arranged as to be still a "source of some advantage to you; and I dare say, if wanted, pecuniary "assistance might be procured to assist you at the outset, either upon "terms of a share or otherwise; but I refer you for particulars to "Joseph, in whose room I am now assuming the pen, for reasons too "distressing to be declared, but at which you will readily guess. I "hope, at all events, you will impute my interference to anything "rather than an impertinent intermeddling with your concerns on the "part of, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"Walter Scott."[1]

The Joseph Gillon here named was a solicitor of some eminence, a man of strong abilities and genuine wit and humour, for whom Scott, as well as Ballantyne, had a warm regard. Calling on him one day at his office, Scott said, "Why, Joseph, this

[1] Life of Sir W. Scott. J. G. Lockhart.

place is as hot as an oven." "Well," quoth Gillon, "and isn't it here that I make my bread?" He was initiated on 21st January, 1800, and was, the same evening, appointed Secretary of the Lodge, was Junior Warden in 1801, and Depute Master in 1802 and 3. He became R.W. Master in 1805, from which position he retired on 24th June, 1808. The intemperate habits alluded to at the close of Scott's letter gradually undermined his business, his health and his character; and he was glad, on leaving Edinburgh some years afterwards, to obtain a humble situation about the House of Lords. Scott, casually meeting him on one of his visits to London, expressed his regret at having lost his society in Edinburgh; Joseph responded by a quotation from the Scotch Metrical Version of the Psalms:—

> "rather in
> "The Lord's House would I keep a door
> "Than dwell in the tents of sin."

The R.W. Master of Lodge St. David in the year of Sir Walter Scott's initiation was Bro. Houston Rigg Brown, of Messrs. Brown and Company, Coachmakers, Abbey Hill, Edinburgh. He was initiated in 1795, and held the office of R.W. Master from 1800 to 1804. On 24th June, 1808, he was re-elected to the Chair, on the resignation of Bro Joseph Gillon, and continued as R.W. Master until the end of 1819. He took great interest in the affairs of the Lodge, and twenty years after leaving the Chair, on 12th November, 1839, was entertained by the brethren at a Masonic Festival held in his honour.

The minute of the Emergency Meeting held on Monday, the 2nd of March, 1801, reads as follows:—

> "There having been many applications for entries in the Lodge, "the present evening was appointed for that purpose, when the "following Gentlemen were admitted apprentices, Andrew Ross, George "McKattie, Walter Scott, John Campbell. The Lodge was afterwards "successively opened as a Fellow Craft's and Master's Lodge when the "following Brethren were passed, and raised to the degrees of Master "Masons, vizt., The said Andrew Ross, George McKattie, Walter Scott, "as also John Tod, James Luke, George Morse, Hugh McLean, William "Dunlop, Lieut. George Pott, Lieut. George Dunlop, Patrick Erskine, "James Hope, Bruce Robt. Nairne, John Ramsay, Alexr. Kedie, David "Anderson, James Dewar, Robert Walker. The ceremony was gone "through on this occasion with very great accuracy and solemnity by "the Right Worshipful Master, who afterwards took the chair. And "the Lodge being joined by some of the other brethren, continued "together for some time in the usual amusements of the Craft. It may "be here added, that from the institution of the Lodge of St. Davids to "this present time, there has not been an instance of so great a number "being on one occasion entered masons.
>
> "J. Campbel Secy."

The last paragraph in the minute is misleading, and would have been more correct if it had stated that there had not been an instance of so great a number being on one occasion *passed and raised.* Sir Walter Scott's name is recorded in the books of the Grand Lodge of Scotland under date, 31st July, 1802. The recording of the names of entrants appears to have been very irregular at this period, the list previous to that containing Scott's name being sent in to Grand Lodge in 1799.

The next record of interest in connection with Sir Walter is a minute of meeting, held a year later, and summoned at his special request. It is dated 23rd March, 1802:—

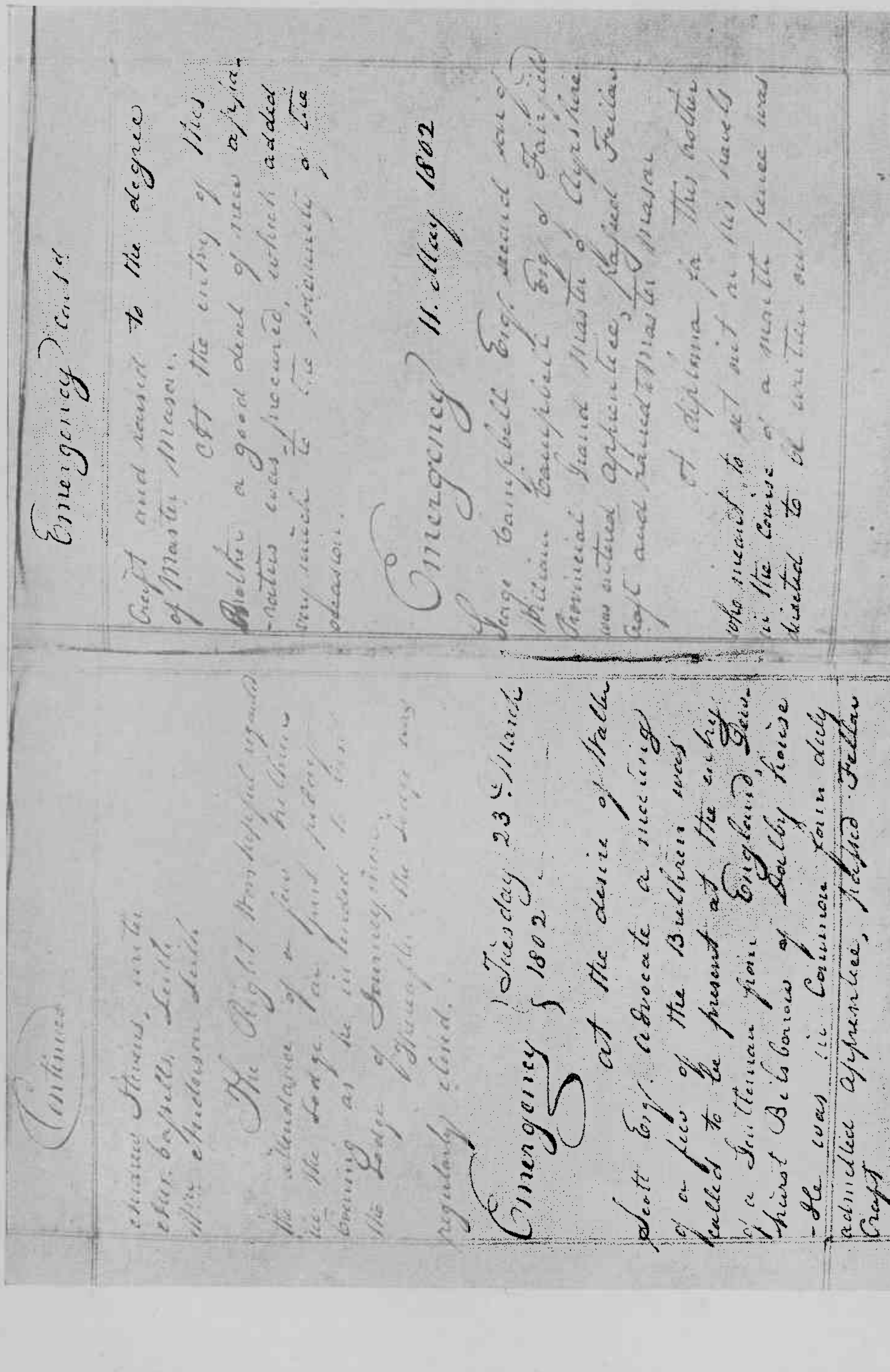
> "At the desire of Walter Scott, Esq., Advocate, a meeting of a "few of the Brethren was called to be present at the entry of a "Gentleman from England, Dewhurst Bilsborrow of Dalby house. He "was in common form duly admitted apprentice, passed Fellow Craft "and raised to the degree of Master Mason. At the entry of this "Brother a good deal of new apparatus was procured, which added very "much to the solemnity of the occasion."

No reference is made in the minutes during Scott's lifetime to his being again present at any of the meetings of the Lodge. Unfortunately, the minute book following that in which his initiation is recorded, dating from 27th December, 1807, to 21st December, 1832, was very badly kept, there being many blanks in the volume, the most serious extending from December, 1814, to December, 1820. The unfortunate differences with the Grand Lodge of Scotland during the years 1807 to 1813, which resulted in the temporary secession from that body of several of the Lodges in Edinburgh, including Lodge St. David, was partly the cause of this, a subsequent minute stating that "the book was so long in the hands of the Grand Lodge having the legal minutes "engrossed. . . . ."

An interesting reference to Scott having frequently attended the meetings was made in 1841, when a motion was submitted by the Secretary, Bro. John D. Douglas, to change the name "St. David" to "Sir Walter Scott's Lodge." Speaking in favour of the change, the Secretary said:—

> " . . . . The circumstances of his father (Walter Scott, "W.S.) being a very zealous member, as well as Office Bearer would "almost account for his choice of this particular Lodge, independent of "the reputation which it at that time, and has ever since enjoyed. He "seemed to have entered considerably into the spirit of the meetings, "by attending them frequently and in bringing forward members to be "initiated. It is unfortunate, however, that the records were so "slovenly compiled at that time and for many years after as to prevent "us now from ascertaining the actual part he took in promoting the "prosperity of the Lodge, but I am credibly informed that he was "often called on to add his mite to the harmony of the evening, when "he would electrify his audience by some quaint story illustrating the "character and customs of his countrymen, or by the powers of his wit "and humour shedding around him a halo of pleasure which there was "no man of his day more capable of doing . . . ."

The motion to change the name of the Lodge was defeated by a majority. Several of the older members were present and took part in the discussion, among others being Bro. Alexander Deuchar of Morningside, initiated in St. David's in May, 1801, two months after Scott was made a Mason. Bro. Deuchar was R.W. Master of the Lodge of Edinburgh, Mary's Chapel, No. 1., during the years 1810 to 1814, 1824-25 and 1834. He published a work on heraldry which he dedicated to Sir Walter.



Continued

[illegible]

The Right Worshipful [illegible] the attendance of a few Brethren [illegible] the Lodge [illegible] evening as he [illegible]

the Lodge of Emergency [illegible] the Lodge was regularly closed.

Emergency } Tuesday 23d. March 1802.

At the desire of Walter Scott Esqr. Advocate a meeting of a few of the Brethren was called to be present at the entry of a Gentleman from England, [illegible] hurst Bilsborow of Dalby House -He was in Common form duly admitted Apprentice, passed Fellow Craft

Emergency Cont'd.

Craft and raised to the degree of Master Mason. At the entry of this Brother a good deal of new apparatus was procured, which added very much to the solemnity of the occasion.

Emergency 11. May 1802

[illegible] Campbell Esqr. second son of [illegible] Campbell Esqr. of Fairfield Provincial Grand Master of Ayrshire was entered Apprentice, passed Fellow Craft and raised Master Mason.

A diploma for this brother who meant to set out on his travels in the course of a month hence was directed to be written out.

ENTRY IN MINUTE BOOK OF LODGE ST. DAVID, EDINBURGH,
recording Sir Walter Scott's recommendation of a Candidate on 23rd March, 1802.

Chapter III.

Sir Walter lays Foundation Stone at Selkirk.
Elected Honorary Member of Lodge at Selkirk. Death.
Sir Walter, the 2nd Baronet. Walter Scott Lockhart Scott.
The Scott Monument, Edinburgh.

In 1805 Scott's first great work, the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," was published. The poem of "Marmion" appeared in 1808, and the "Lady of the Lake" in 1810. In 1805 also, about seven chapters of the story of "Waverley" had been written, but, discouraged by one of his critical friends, to whom he had shown the manuscript, Scott threw the work aside. Accidently coming across the fragment, in 1814, he completed it in three weeks, and in July of the same year it was given anonymously to the public. In rapid succession the other novels were written, and no fewer than eighteen, comprising about sixty volumes, appeared in eleven years. The second, "Guy Mannering," appeared in 1815, and in 1816 followed "The Antiquary" and the first series of the "Tales of my Landlord."

On June 4th of this year, Scott, in the absence of the Provincial Grand Master of the district, the Most Noble the Marquis of Lothian, laid the foundation stone of a new Lodge-room at Selkirk, and was elected an Honorary Member of the Lodge there, "St. John," now No. 32 on Grand Lodge roll. The following appears in the records of that Lodge.—

> "June 4. 1816. This being the day appointed for Laying the Foundation "Stone of the Free Masons hall, a most numerous meeting of the "Brethren along with a respectable deputation from Hawick and "visiting Brethren from Peebles & Jedburgh went in procession "according to the order of Procession inserted on the 143^{d} & 144th "page hereof, when the stone was laid by Walter Scott Esquire "of Abbotsford Sheriff Depute of the County of Selkirk, who, after "making a most eloquent and appropriate Speech, Deposited in the "Stone the different Coins of his Majestys Reign, with the Newspapers "of the day, and the Inscription as inserted on the 145th page hereof. "The Rev^{d}. Mr. James Nicol of Traquair gave an excellent prayer well "adapted for the occasion. After the ceremony of laying the Stone "was over the Brethren returned to the Town hall, and on the motion "of Brother Walter Hogg the unanimous thanks of the Brethren was "voted to Mr. Scott for the honour he had conferred upon the Lodge "by his presence and laying the Foundation Stone. On the motion "of Brother Andrew Lang the unanimous thanks of the Brethren was "also voted to the Rev^{d} M^{r}. Nicol for the obliging manner he had con-"sented to come to this place to act as Chaplain and for his conduct "throughout. On the motion of Brother James Robertson Mr. Scott "was admitted an Honorary Member with three Cheers.
>
> "The meeting then walked to Mr. Minto's Inn where they dined, and "spent the evening with the utmost conviviality, Mr. Scott filling the "Chair to the satisfaction of all present."

The Inscription deposited in the Stone was as follows:—

E.D.O.M.

Walter Scott Esquire of Abbotsford
Sheriff Depute of Selkirkshire
Laid
This foundation Stone
of the Free Mason's Hall
Selkirk
Upon the 4th day of June
In the year of our Lord 1816
And the reign of G III. K of Great Britain
56th year
And of the Era of Masonry 5816
James Inglis & David Laidlaw
Contractors of the Work

Q.D.B.V.

Writing next day to the Duke of Buccleuch, the Grand Master of 1801-02, Scott made reference to the laying of the Foundation Stone in the following terms:—

"Abbotsford, June 5th, 1816.[1]

"My Dear Lord

" . . . I was under the necessity of accepting the honour "done me by the Souters,[2] who requested me to lay the foundation-stone "of a sort of barn which is to be called a Free Masons Hall. There "was a solemn procession on this occasion, which, that it might not "want the decorum of costume, was attended by weavers from Hawick, "shoemakers from Jedburgh, and pedlars from Peebles, all very fine in "the scarfs and trinkums of their respective lodges. If our musical band "was not complete, it was at least varied, for besides the town drum "and fife, which thundered in the van, we had a pair of bagpipes and "two fiddles, and we had a prayer from a parson whom they were "obliged to initiate on the spur of the occasion, who was abominably "frightened, although I assured him the sanctity of his cloth would "preserve him from the fate of the youngest brother alluded to by "Burns in his 'Address to the Deil.' . . .

"Believe me, my dear Lord Duke, ever your truly honoured and "obliged

"Walter Scott."

Subsequent to the laying of the foundation stone at Selkirk no records of importance have been brought to light in connection with Sir Walter and the Order. The Lodge of Melrose No. 1[2] possess two letters written by him conveying apologies for inability to attend certain meetings, one undated, and the other written in 1825, being his declinature to lay the foundation stone of the Chain Bridge across the Tweed at Melrose.

The announcement of Scott having been made a Baronet appeared in the Gazette of 1st April, 1820. Sir Walter was the first Baronet created by King George IV.

[1] Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott. Edinburgh. D. Douglas.
[2] Souters of Selkirk—Freemen or Burgesses.

On 16th June, 1821, Lodge St. John, No. 111, Hawick, held a meeting to "consider the propriety of a public procession at laying the foundation stone of a sett of Subscription Rooms about to be built in Hawick." The minute book of that Lodge contains the following entry:—

> "A deputation was appointed to wait upon Sir Walter Scott of "Abbotsford, at his country seat, to request the honour of his company "at the approaching festival, and to preside upon the occasion."

Sir Walter does not appear to have accepted the invitation of the Hawick brethren.

The failure of the printing business of Ballantyne & Co. took place in 1826. Scott's liabilities as a partner amounted to nearly £150,000. Determined that his creditors should be paid to the last farthing he refused to be a party to a composition or to accept of any discharge. He pledged himself to devote the whole labour of his subsequent life to the payment of his debts, and he fulfilled the pledge. In the course of four years his works yielded nearly £70,000, and, ultimately, his creditors received every farthing of their claims. This arduous labour cost him much. In February, 1830, he had an attack of an apoplectic nature, from which he never thoroughly recovered. After another severe shock in April, 1831, he was at length persuaded to abandon literary work. At Abbotsford, on the 21st September, 1832, in the sixty-second year of his age, he died, surrounded by his family and with the murmur of the Tweed in his ears. Five days later the remains of Sir Walter Scott were laid in the sepulchre of his ancestors in the old Abbey of Dryburgh.

An invitation to attend the celebration of the First Centenary of Lodge St. David, held on 19th February, 1839, was sent to Sir Walter's eldest son, the Second Baronet of Abbotsford, then Lieutenant-Colonel of the 15th Dragoons. The minute book states:—

> "The following was directed by the Committee to be sent to Br. Sir "Walter Scott, Bart., presently in town."—"At a meeting of the "Committee of the Lodge Edin^r^ Saint David held this day, (9th Feb^ry^) "in consideration of our illustrious and lamented Brother the late "Sir Walter Scott having been made a Mason in this Lodge and "having a high respect for his Son Brother Sir Walter Scott presently "residing in Edin^r^. it was unanimously resolved to intimate to that "Brother that a Convivial Meeting of this Lodge would be held here on "Tuesday the 19th instant at 8 o'clock evening, in Commemoration of "the Centenary of the Lodge and respectfully to request the honor of "his company on that occasion. The Committee accordingly appointed "the R.W. Sub. Master Brother J. B. Douglas and the Secretary of the "Lodge Bro. J. D. Douglas to wait on Brother Sir W. Scott to receive his "answer."

There is no record of his having been present at the Centenary Meeting, and it is to be regretted that the foregoing extract does not mention the Lodge to which he belonged. This year, 1839, he proceeded to India with his regiment, which he subsequently commanded. At Bangalore, in August, 1846, he was smitten with fever, culminating in liver disease. Having sailed for home, he died on board the ship "Wellesley," near the Cape of Good Hope, on 8th February, 1847, aged forty-six.

Walter Scott Lockhart, younger son of John Gibson Lockhart and Sophia, elder daughter of the Novelist, succeeded to the estate of Abbotsford on the death of his

uncle, and assumed the name and arms of Scott. He was a Lieutenant in the 16th Lancers and was a member of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning No. 2, Edinburgh. He died at Versailles on the 10th January, 1853.

Lodge St. David subscribed towards the erection of the Monument to Sir Walter Scott, in Princes Street, Edinburgh, and was present, on 15th August, 1840, at the laying of the foundation stone of that structure by the Grand Master, Sir James Forrest, of Comiston, Lord Provost of the City. A detailed account of the proceedings is engrossed in the Lodge Minute Book, including the following paragraph:—

> "By kind permission of the Right W. Master (Bro. John Donaldson "Boswall of Wardie, Captain R.N.) as Deputy Governor of the Royal "Order of Scotland, and the other Members present, the Brethren "belonging to St. David's Lodge were allowed the use of the ancient "and beautiful Jewels, as well as crimson Sash belonging to the Order. "The Phœnix Society of Tailors also lent their Sashes in terms of their "kind offer detailed in the Minute of the 28 July last, so that every "member who joined the Lodge in Procession was clothed in a Green "and Crimson Sash, the first over the right and the second over the "left shoulder."

The Lodge was also present at the inauguration of the Monument on the 15th August, 1846. New clothing was obtained for the occasion, and a new Banner unfurled for the first time, having on the one side the inscription

St. David's Lodge
Sir Walter Scott, Bart.
Initiated
2nd March, 1801.

and on the other

Inauguration of the Scott Monument
15th August, 1846.

BURY ST. EDMUND'S. Plate I.



SUMMER OUTING, JULY, 1907, BURY ST. EDMUND'S & ELY.

BY BRO. W. JOHN SONGHURST, A.G.D.C., Secretary.

THE little town of Bury St. Edmund's presented a gay and animated appearance when we arrived on Thursday, 4th July; for the Historical Pageant, which was to take place during the following week, was being brought to perfection by daily rehearsals under the direction of its organizer, Mr. Louis N. Parker. About 2,000 performers were taking part, — men, women, boys and girls, — all drawn from the town and the immediate neighbourhood, and whether representing principal or minor characters, all working enthusiastically for the success of the great undertaking.

Through the streets they passed to their homes from the grounds of the Abbey:—Ancient Britons and Morris Dancers, Danes and Monks, Roman Soldiers and English Barons, Monarchs and Peasants. They formed a somewhat incongruous medley it is true, but they gave a colour and picturesqueness to the old town which none of us would have wished to miss.

From one point of view the period was unpropitious for our Outing, as the coming Pageant had attracted many other visitors, and suitable accommodation was not easy to procure. It therefore became necessary, for the first time, to set a limit upon our numbers, and the list was accordingly closed when eighty names appeared thereon.

The Angel Hotel, which was to be our headquarters, could not take even this number, but several of the local brethren most kindly provided beds at their own houses, where, it is hardly necessary to say, every possible arrangement was made for our comfort.

As is usual on these occasions, some of the local brethren, being themselves members of our Correspondence Circle, played the double *rôle* of host and guest, but the following are the names of those who journeyed to Bury in order to take part in our proceedings. Most of these brethren travelled from London, but some were able to make their way direct without passing through the Metropolis:—Bros. Hamon le Strange, P.G.D., Pr.G.M. (Norfolk), Hunstanton; G. Greiner, P.A.G.D.C., London; W. John Songhurst, A.G.D.C., London; Howard J. Collins, P.Pr.G.D., Birmingham; Henry Hyde, Leytonstone; Francis G. Swinden, P.D.G.S.B., Birmingham; Walter H. Brown, G.Stew., London; Rev. R. T. Gardner, P.Pr.G.Ch. (Bucks.), London; David Hills, Beckenham; J. A. Tharp, London; W. A. Tharp, London; J. W. Stevens, Pr.G.Tr. (Surrey), London; J. M. Bruce, P.Pr.G.P. (North'd.), Newcastle-on-Tyne; R. Colsell, London; H. W. Tharp, Leicester; Col. J. H. S. Craigie, P.Dis.G.W., London; Harry Tipper, P.A.G.P., London; J. P. Simpson, London; W. Wonnacott, London; H. H. Montague Smith, London; W. B. Fendick, P.G.St.B., London; W. Howard Flanders, Latchingdon; J. Johnson, London; Dr. S. Walshe Owen, London; W. S. Lincoln, London; W. Hammond, London; T. J. Ralling, P.A.G.D.C., Colchester; Rev. H. T. C. de Lafontaine, Pr.G.Ch. (Bucks.), London; G. S. Criswick, London;

Theo. Michell, P.Dis.G.Sup.W. (Madras), London; Col. G. Walton Walker, Dep.Pr.G.M. (Staffs.), West Bromwich; M. Thomson, London; J. H. Retallack-Moloney, P.Pr.G.Sup.W. (Essex), London; H. P. L. Cart, London; W. B. Hextall, P.Pr.G.W. (Derby), London; C. L. Edwards, P.Dis.A.G.Sec. (Arg. Rep.), St. Alban's; J. P. Davies, P.Dis.G.O. (Bombay), Secunderabad; J. Procter Watson, Bombay; C. B. Robinson, P.Dis.G.S.W., Bombay; T. Pearson, Belford; A. Darling, Berwick-on-Tweed; J. W. Gieve, P.A.G.D.C., Portsmouth; H. W. Noakes, Crowborough; L. A. Engel, London; G. C. Williams, London; W. Findlay, Newcastle-on-Tyne; T. S. Jackson, Beckenham; J. Thompson, London; T. A. Bayliss, P.Pr.G.D. (Worcs.), King's Norton; F. W. Brazil, London; F. J. Asbury, London; A. Joyce, Birchington-on-Sea; J. T. Thorp, P.A.G.D.C., Leicester; A. H. Pitcher, Swazieland; W. Metcalfe, P.G.St.B., Cheshunt; Arthur W. Chapman, P.Pr.S.G.D. (W. Yorks.), London; A. Monk, Pr.A.G.D.C. (Middlesex), London; G. J. Gissing, Kingston-on-Thames; Rev. J. Holme Pilkington, P.G.Ch., Framlingham; C. F. Silberbauer, Capetown; Col. Sir John E. Bingham, Bart., P.Pr.G.W. (W. Yorks.), Sheffield; W. D. Cornish, London; G. E. Denny, London; J. Bryant, Southsea; C. J. Wilkinson-Pimbury, London; R. Orttewell, Maldon; W. C. Mannering, London; J. S. Stacy, London; C. J. Rawlinson, Enfield; W. Busbridge, P.Pr.J.G.D. (Kent), Plumstead; G. D. Traylen, Bombay; A. Y. Mayell, London; and Dr. A. E. Wynter, Westbury-on-Tyne.

A large party assembled in the evening at the Athenæum where a Lodge of Emergency was opened by Bro. the Rev. J. Holme Pilkington, P.G.Ch., Deputy Provincial Grand Master, assisted by the officers and members of the Royal St. Edmund's and Abbey Lodges. A most cordial welcome was extended to our party and a pleasant time was subsequently spent in making ourselves personally acquainted with the local brethren.

Friday morning was devoted to an examination of the principal objects of archæological and Masonic interest in the town, prominent amongst these being Moyses Hall, the Guild Hall, the Masonic Hall, and the Churches of St. James and St. Mary. Moyses Hall, which dates from the twelfth century, is said to have been at one time used as a Jewish Synagogue, but it is now the property of the Corporation and forms the home of the Borough Museum. Our thanks were cordially tendered to the Curator, Mr. Horace Barker, for placing his time and extensive knowledge at our disposal, not only at the Museum itself but during the whole of our morning's walk. At the Guild Hall, our good Brother the Mayor (Alderman Owen A. Clark) had given instructions for the civic regalia to be laid out for our inspection; while at the Masonic Hall we also found much to interest us. There have been at various times six Lodges meeting in this town, in addition to those at present in existence:—

No. 78, constituted at the Fountain in 1731; erased 1739,
„ 81, „ „ „ Golden Fleece in 1731; erased 1754,
„ 108, „ „ „ Seven Stars, Long Brackland, 1732; erased 1754,
„ 358, „ „ Fakenham, in 1765, and removed to the Angel, Bury, in 1789; erased 1829,
„ 437, „ „ Bury in 1772; „ 1853,

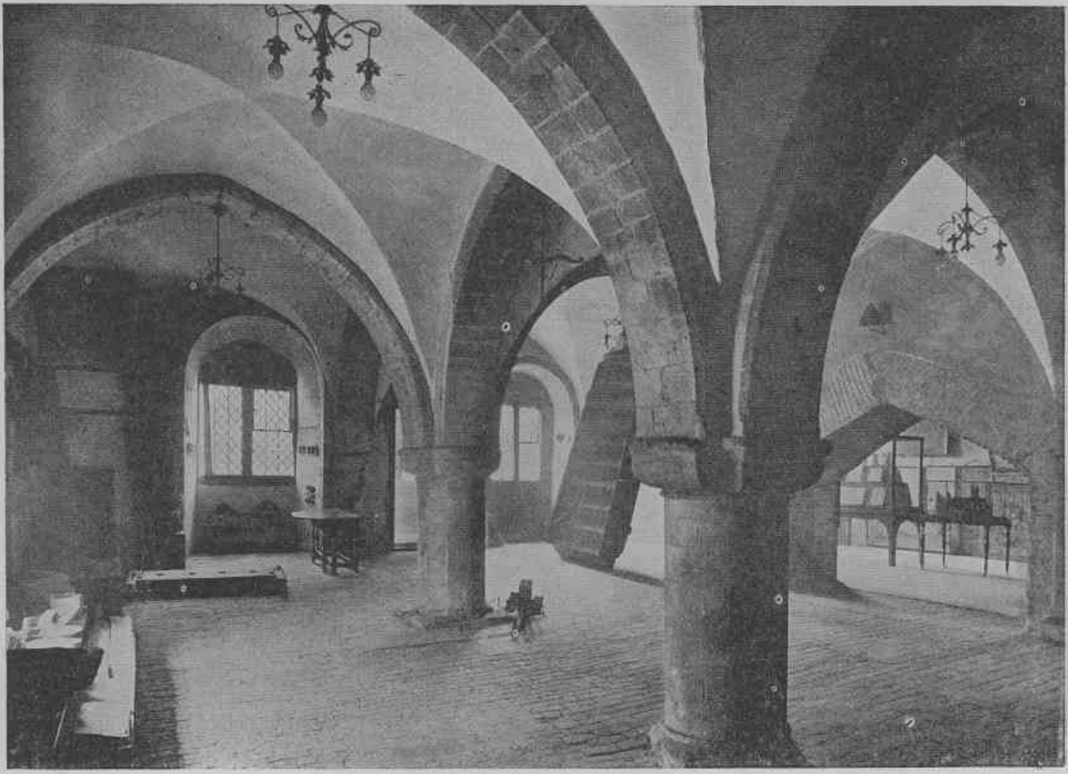
while the present Shakespeare Lodge No. 284, which was constituted at Norwich in 1792, and was afterwards attached to the Warwickshire Regiment of Militia, met at Bury in 1800. The White Horse Inn was evidently the home of one of the Bury Lodges in the middle of the eighteenth century. The building is now owned by Bro. Charles

BURY ST. EDMUND'S. Plate II.



G. S. Cousins, Photo.

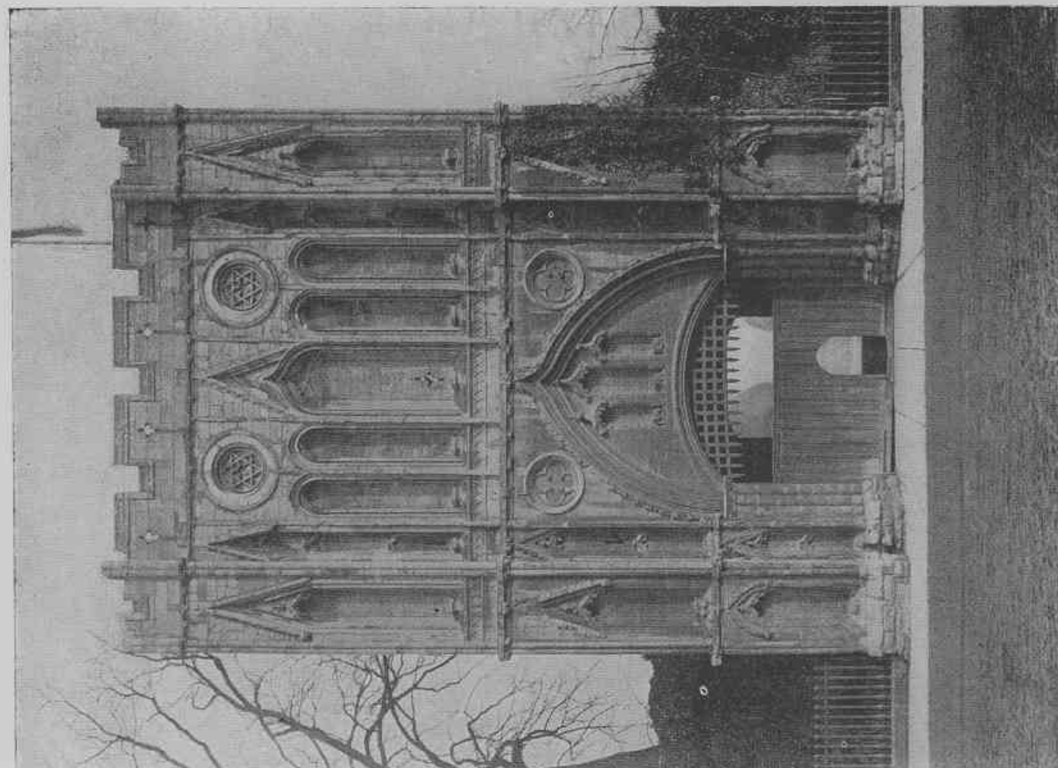
Cornhill and Moyses Hall.



G. S. Cousins, Photo.

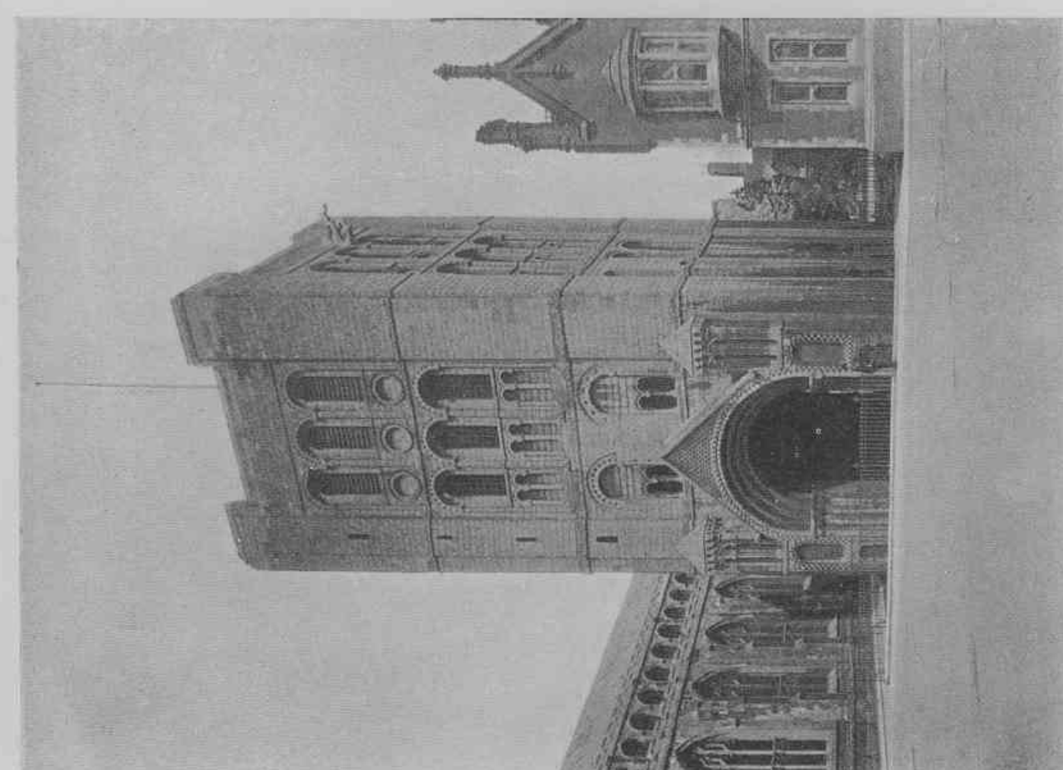
The Crypt, Moyses Hall.

BURY ST. EDMUND'S. Plate III.



G. S. Cousins, Photo.

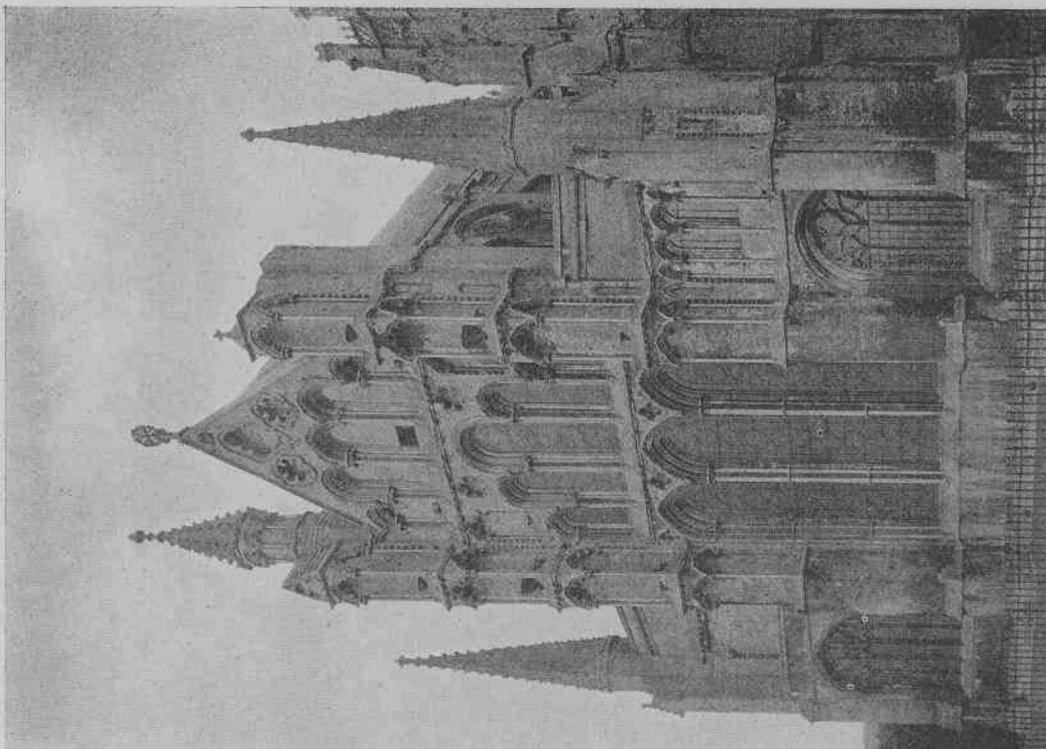
The Abbey Gateway.



G. S. Cousins, Photo.

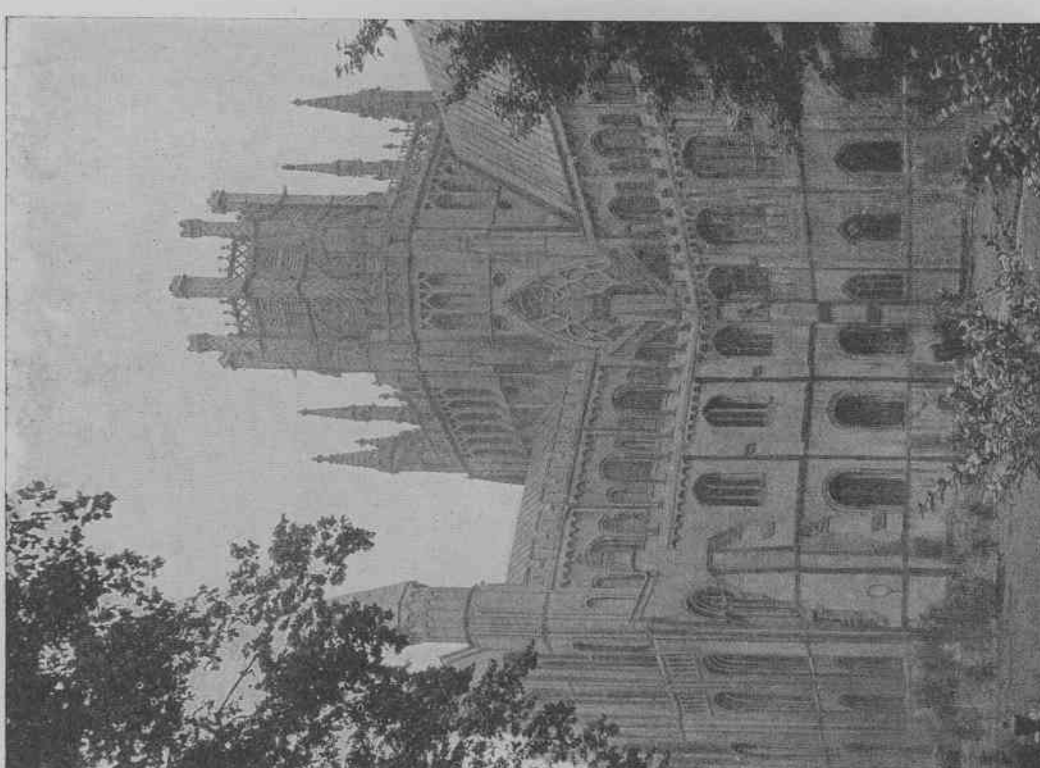
The Norman Tower.

ELY. Plate IV.



W. Wonnacott.

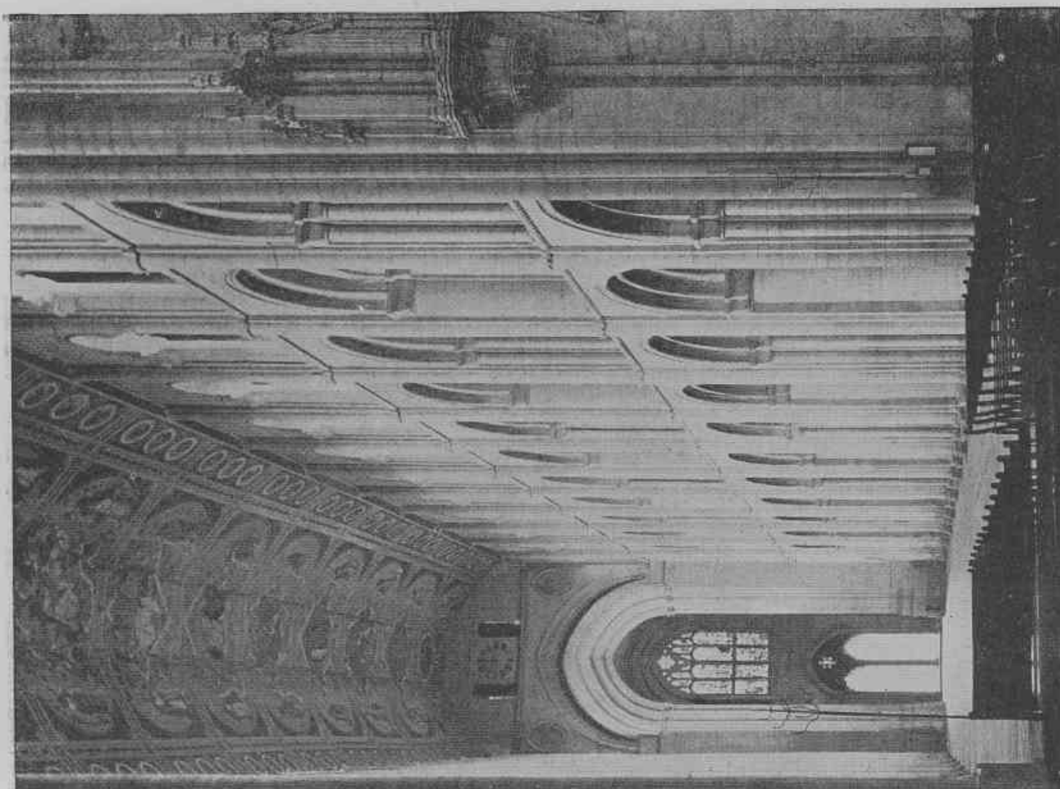
East Front.



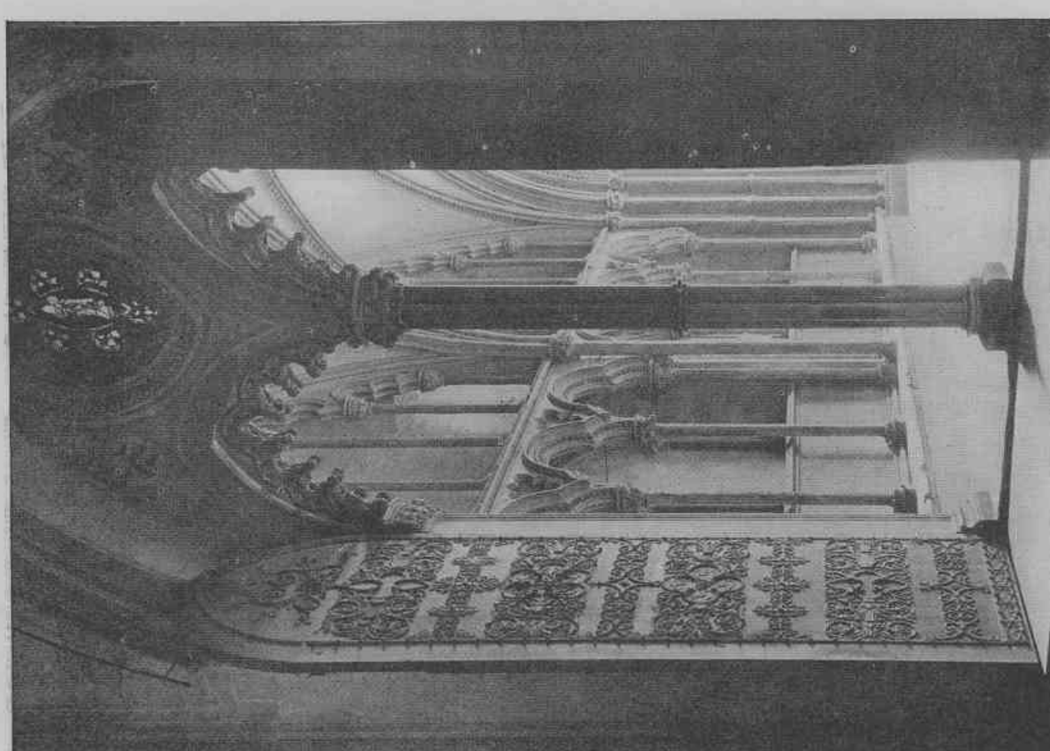
W. Wonnacott.

Octagon Tower from N.W.

ELY. Plate V.



W. Wonnacott. Nave, looking West.



W. Wonnacott. West Porch from Nave.

H. Bullen, who has kindly allowed me to give a reproduction of a picture of the sign which appeared upon the house down to 1780, when it ceased to be used as a Hostelry.

The present Lodges, Nos. 1008 and 1592, are of comparatively modern creation, having been warranted in 1864 and 1875 respectively, and it is unfortunate that very few relics of the earlier bodies have been preserved. We were, however, able to inspect a set of tracing boards dated 1805, and a pair of fine columns which probably belonged to the Royal Edwin Lodge No. 437, and on the walls of the Lodge room are placed the Armorial Bearings of several members of the Royal Edmund Lodge No. 358 who were prominent in Masonry in their day. Among these may be mentioned the Rt. Hon. Lord Petre, whose arms are dated August 31st, 1772; Rewland Holt, D.G.M., 1774; James Ward, "R.W.M. Royal Edmund Ledge, and G.T. for the County of Suffolk, A.M. 5777"; H. T. Symons, P.M., 1822; and the Rev. G. A. Browne, Grand Chaplain of England in 1815. Some of us were permitted to inspect the Minute-book of an extinct R.A. Chapter, which contains much valuable information. The book is at present in private hands but it is hoped that the owner will permit a more thorough examination and that an account of the Chapter will be forthcoming in the pages of *A.Q.C.* The name of Waller Rodwell Wright frequently appears in the book but this is not surprising when one remembers that he was for a time Recorder of the town.

Our visit to the fourteenth and fifteenth century Churches of St. James and St. Mary was under the excellent guidance of Bro. the Ven. Archdeacon Hodges, who pointed out the many interesting features, those which probably remain most prominently in our minds being the fine "Notyngham Porch" (1439) and the tombs of Drury, Carew, and Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.

For a description of the Abbey ruins as they exist to-day, I must refer my readers to the excellent hand-books which have been published. Several artists have at different times given their ideas of the appearance of the buildings before their demolition, but there is so little to guide them that their pictures must not be taken as absolutely authentic. If we may judge by the photographs we saw in the town the drawing by W. K. Hardy seems to be generally preferred locally, but for the sake of comparison I have reproduced (from a photograph by Palmer Clarke) a water-colour drawing by Arthur Lankester, which shews the Church more in the style of Ely Cathedral. Practically nothing has been attempted towards tracing even the positions of the Monastic buildings, but *Archæologia* (vol. III.) contains a good plan of the Church, and also a view of the west front shewing three houses built in the arches of the three great doors. These were published in connection with some "Remarks on the Abbey Church of Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk. By Edward King, Esquire, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary." The letter appears on p. 311, and is dated from John Street, Bedford Row, February 2nd, 1774. In the next volume (p. 119) is a further letter, which states that "Mr. Godbold, of Bury in Suffolk . . . "with great care, and much trouble, traced the foundations of the building, in such "manner as to bring to light the true and original plan of that ancient structure." The plan shews that the Church was cruciform with an apse at the east end, and small apsidal chapels in the transepts. The letter mentions that while he was engaged on this work, Mr. Godbold found the lead seal of Ranulph, Earl of Chester (*temp.* King Stephen). Some small additional exploration has been done in recent years in consequence of the discovery at Douai of a MS. which indicated the positions of five Abbots' tombs in the Chapter House. These tombs were found exactly as described, and stone slabs with inscriptions now mark the places of burial.

I have to express my thanks to Mr. G. S. Cousins of Bury for permission to reproduce his photographs of the Gateway and Norman Tower, as well as those of Moyses Hall.

After Lunch we were enabled by the courtesy of J. Wood, Esq., to inspect Hengrave Hall, built about 1525 by James Estowe, "Master Mason," for Sir Thomas Kytson. It subsequently passed into the possession of the Gage family, but unfortunately much of the original mansion was demolished at the end of the eighteenth century. It is believed to have been used as a temporary shelter for the Monks of Bury after the Dissolution.

On our return to the Town we made our way through the ancient Abbey Gateway to the Pageant ground, seats having been provided for us to witness a full-dress rehearsal of this wonderful spectacle. The scattered elements we had observed in the streets on the previous evening were now in their proper places as representatives of those who had done their share in the making of the history—not only of Bury St. Edmund's—but of that of England itself. The incongruity disappeared, the performers fitted together as in a mosaic, and we sat amazed at the conception and at the execution of the display. The main episodes were connected with the revolt of the Britons under Queen Boadicea; the pathetic story of St. Edmund, King and Martyr; the history of the Monastery to the time of Henry I.; the Abbacy of Samson, so vividly pourtrayed in the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, familiar to some of us through Carlyle's "*Past and Present*"; the meeting of the Barons, who forced King John to ratify "Magna Charta"; the Parliament of Henry VI. and murder of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; and the final Dissolution of the Monastery.

It was a surprise to most of us to find, when the great "March Past" was concluded, that we had been sitting for three hours; and so much had the spectacle interested us that some of the Brethren at once decided to extend their holiday in order to have an opportunity of seeing it again.

As spectators we all felt that the Pageant had been good for us. Our spirit of patriotism was aroused by the contemplation of the deeds of those to whom in the present day we are so much indebted for the preservation of the freedom, the rights and the privileges which are among the glories of our native land; while, as regards the performers, who had been drawn from all classes of society and who had worked for so long in a common cause, there must have been in addition a binding together of the various strata which go to form a community, and this should have a lasting effect on the happiness and prosperity of the town.

In the evening we were entertained by the local brethren at an excellent Smoking Concert organized by our versatile Brother, Owen A. Clark.

Saturday was spent at Ely, ample time being afforded for a thorough examination of the renowned Cathedral and the remains of the ancient Monastic buildings. Here again I must refrain from attempting to give any detailed description, which indeed is hardly necessary in view of the fact that Bro. Wonnacott has once more come to my aid and has placed his excellent photographs at my disposal for the illustration of my notes. Many brethren well-known in the Province of Cambridge assembled at Ely to welcome us, and the members of the St. Audrey Lodge No. 2727 were most generous in their hospitality.

In the evening we had the pleasure of entertaining our Bury brethren in the Athenæum, a short concert having been arranged by Bro. Harry Tipper. Several other of our members also kindly assisted, and among the brethren who favoured us with their

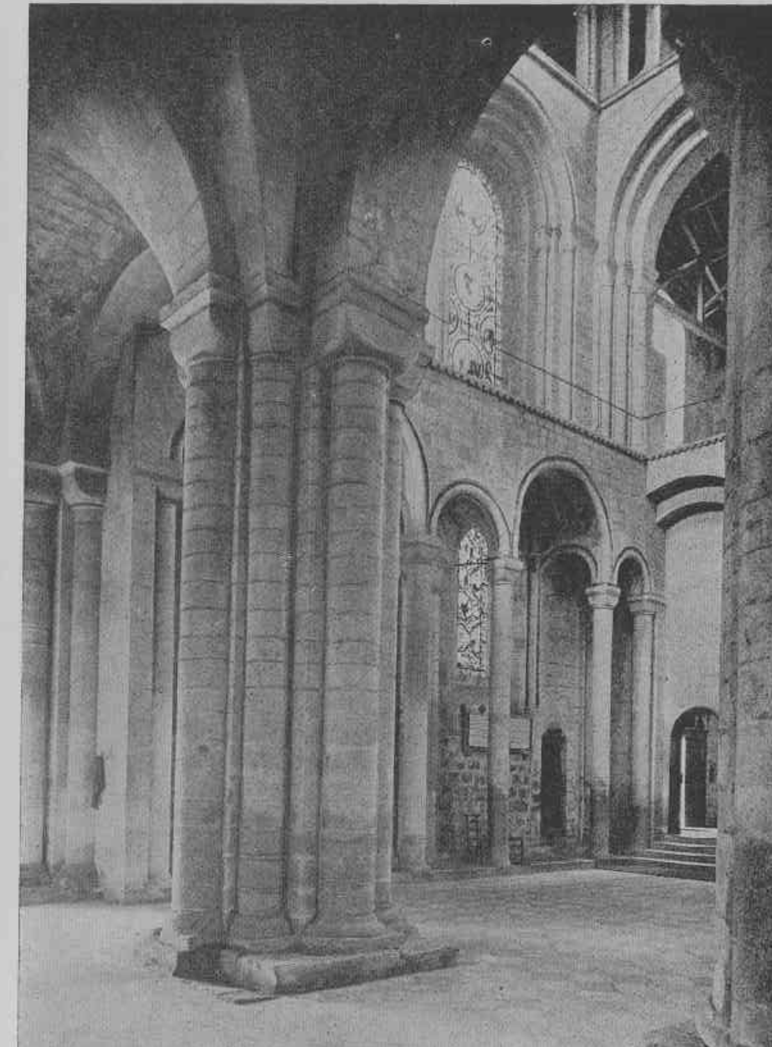
ELY.

Plate VI.



W. Wonnacott.

Nave from West Aisle.

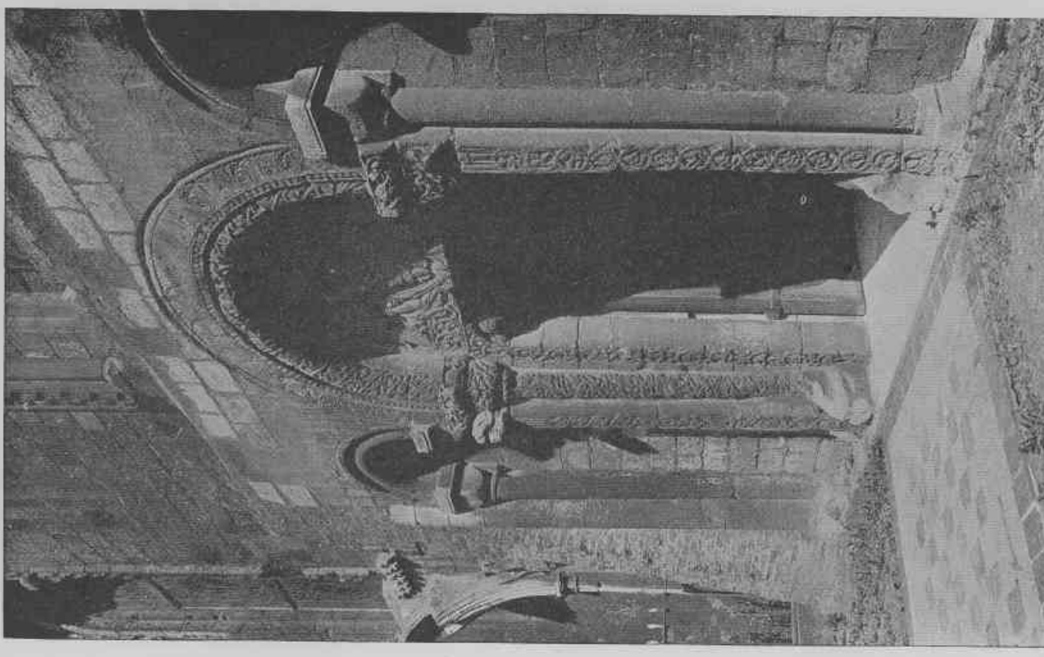


W. Wonnacott.

North Transept from West Aisle.

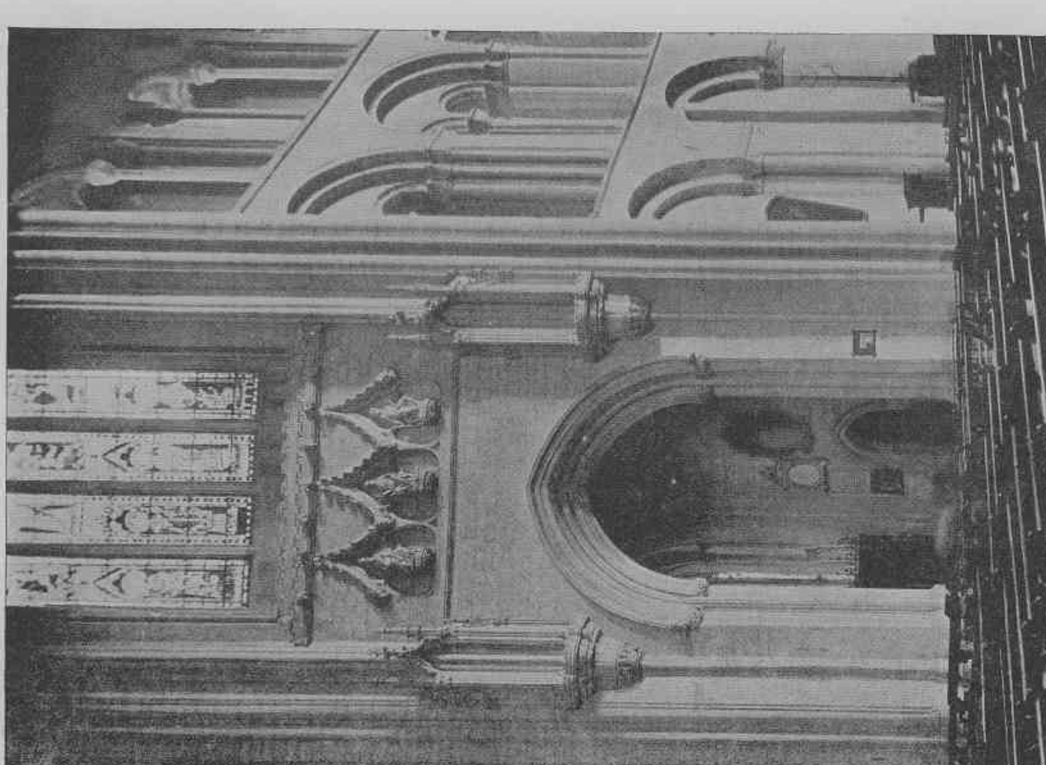
ELY.

Plate VII.



W. Wonnacott.

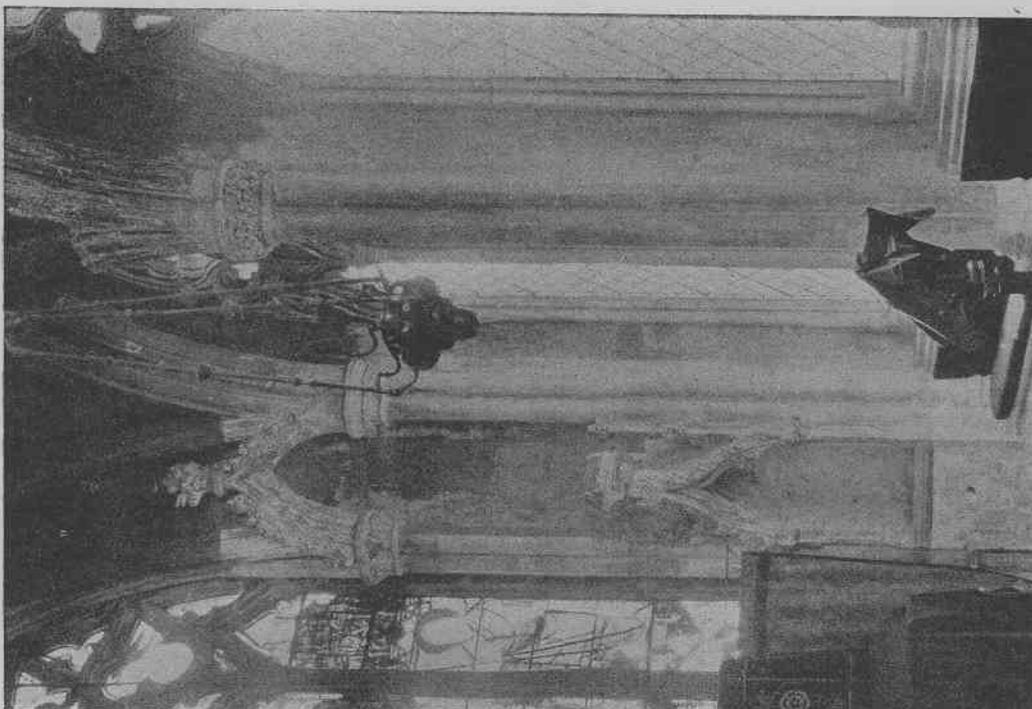
The Prior's Door.



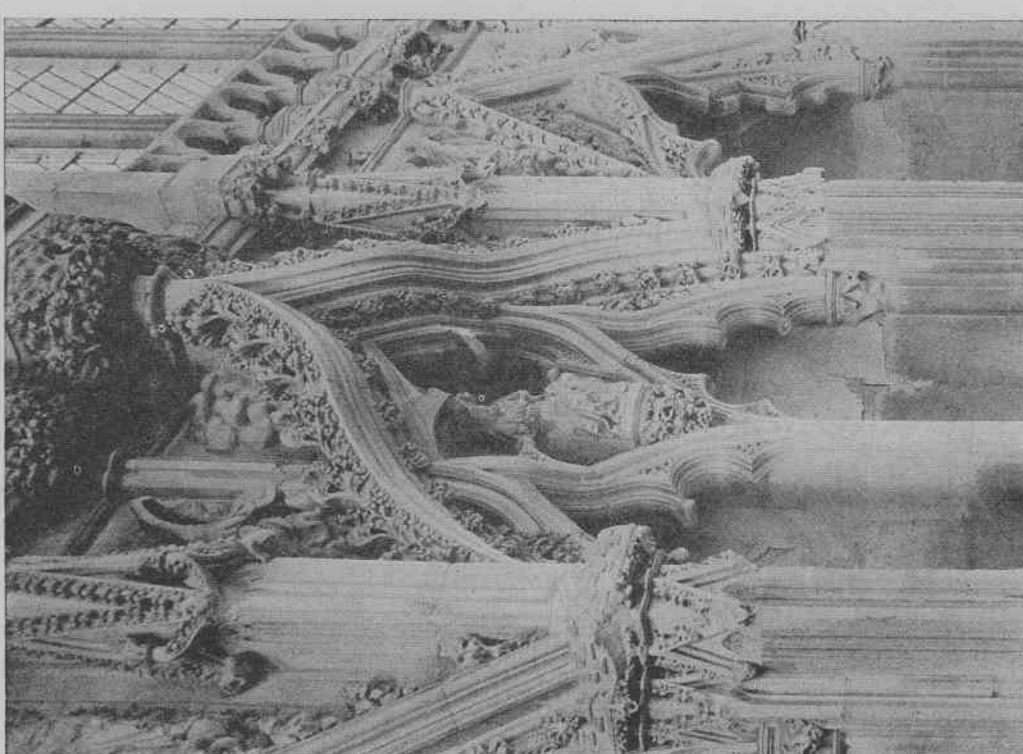
W. Wonnacott.

South-East Bay of Octagon.

ELY. Plate VIII.



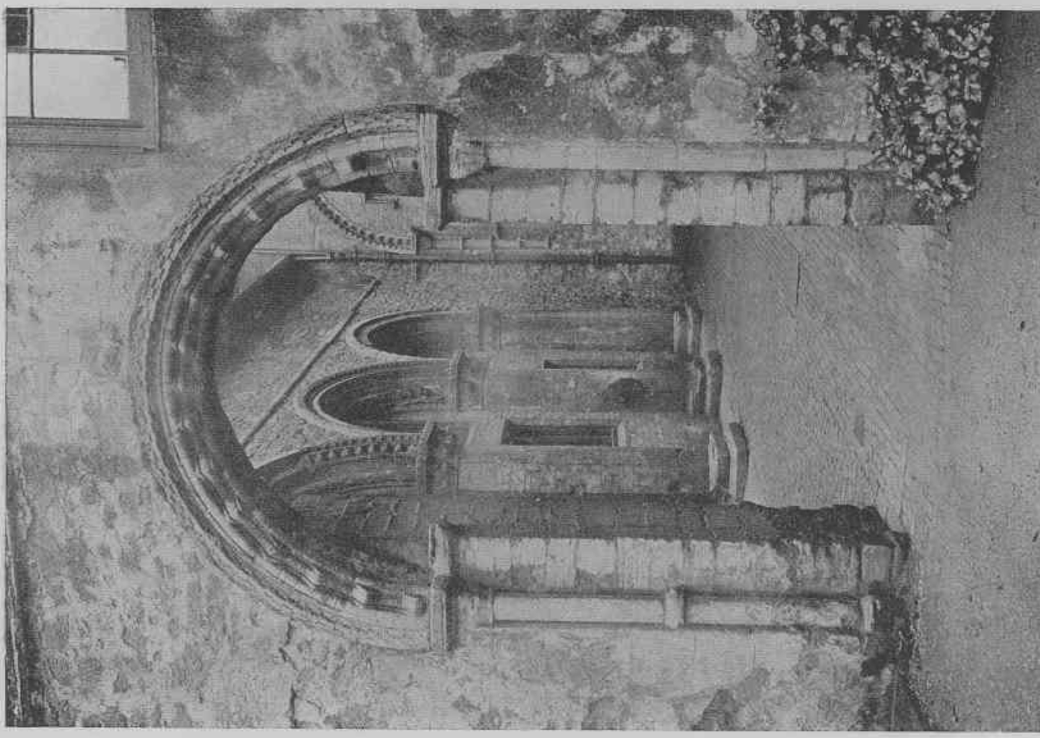
W. Wonnacott. Prior Crauden's Chapel. N.E. Corner.



W. Wonnacott. Lady Chapel. Details of North Side.

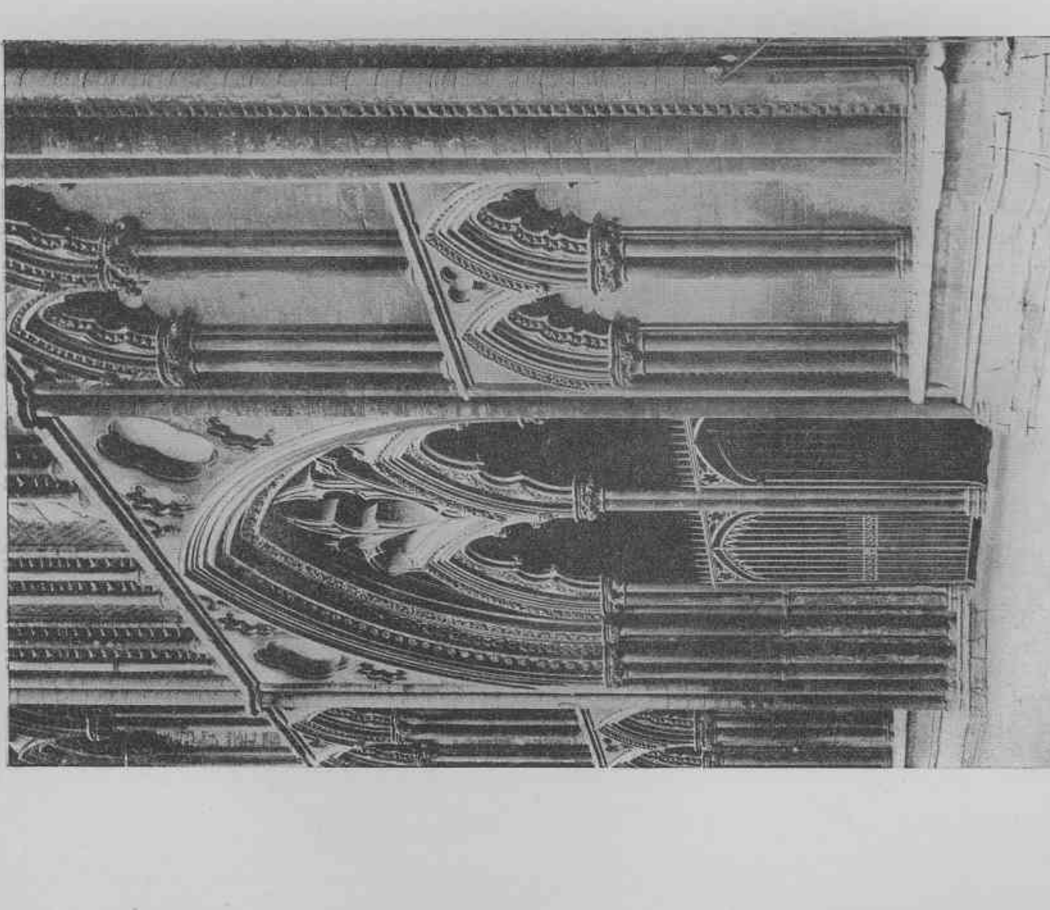
ELY.

Plate IX.



W. Wonnacott.

The Infirmary.



W. Wonnacott.

West Door of Galilee Porch.

persons that the Grand Master and others had confessed errors, he did not know what, against the Order.

No. 3. Aymericus received about 20 years at Fort Lezentort, in the diocese of Limoges. After the Receptor had placed the mantle on him, the Receptor, in the presence of the other brethren, told him to deny Jesus. After remonstrance he denied Jesus thrice, not intending by that to deny Jesus Christ his Creator as he said, &c., and to spit three times on the ground, which he did once or twice. Asked if there was any cross or if he told him to spit in contempt, he answered no. The Grand Master and others are said to have confessed something he knew not what against the Order.

No. 4. Poncius. He and a brother, Helias, were received together about 30 years at Lobertz, in the diocese of Limoges. Present, amongst others, his Father's brother. The Receptor first gave him the mantle, and then Helias and their two brethren led him towards the horn of the altar in an obscure place, and told him to deny Jesus, &c. He was then 10 or 12 years old, and he denied Jesus, but he did not understand by that, Jesus Christ, not that he did anything there to the prejudice of his soul. Afterwards they told him to spit three times on the ground. Asked if there was any cross there or if the spitting was in contempt, he said no. He had heard said that the Grand Master and others had confessed errors, he knew not what, against the Order.

No. 5. Johannes received about 9 years at Cambarello (? Chamberry). After the mantle, two brethren took him near the fonts, and one of them told him to deny Jesus thrice, and he denied with mouth, and he understood them to mean Jesus Christ, and he so believed it and still believes it. He was then told to spit three times on the ground which he did, but there was no cross there nor was he told expressly to spit in contempt, &c. And he had heard the Grand Master and others had confessed errors, he knew not what, but he rather believed what they confessed to have been against the Order.

No. 6. Hugo received about 8 years with another brother, Helias, at Buxeria, in the diocese of Limoges. After the mantle had been given them, two brethren led him to an obscure corner of the Chapel, where one of them told him to deny, &c., and to spit three times on the ground, which he did, and two other brethren took Helias also to another part of the Chapel, and, he believed, made him deny and spit. He heard the Grand Master had confessed, he knew not what, against the Order.

To the honour of the Bishop of Limoges, it does not appear that any of these witnesses had been put to torture.

On the 5th March, 1311, Raynardus de Pruino, one of the four defenders, was brought before the commissioners with two other priests, a knight and two serving brethren, who had all been condemned by the Council of Sens to perpetual imprisonment (*ad murum perpetuum*). The three priests, in addition, had been degraded from all the lesser and greater orders, deprived also of privilege of clergy and of the Templar habit. These five witnesses appear to have been sent by mistake, for though they were sworn they were not examined. It must have been a painful scene for the Commis-

ANOTHER FRENCH PRISONERS' LODGE.

BY BRO. FRED. J. W. CROWE, F.R.Hist.Soc., etc., P.G.O. Eng.

I HAVE again the pleasure to announce the discovery of another French Prisoners' Lodge, being the twenty-eighth, and its meeting place at the "Orient of Dartmoor," that is to say what is now termed Princetown. The French Officers who were taken prisoners were in most cases allowed their liberty on giving their *parole* not to attempt to leave the country, and, as told by the records of the Lodges already known, as well as from notes in newspapers, parish records, etc., they spread themselves over the greater parts of England and Scotland, and founded, doubtless, many more Lodges than have yet been traced. Prisoners below the ranks of Commissioned Officers were not allowed this freedom, and so had to be otherwise provided for. Up to 1805 six third-rate prison ships were stationed in Plymouth Sound, at an annual cost to the country of £18,000, and to these hulks there were sent batches of fresh prisoners weekly. Owing to the confined space and other causes the mortality amongst them was great, whilst there were also many escapes from durance. The Government became uneasy because of the presence in this way of so large a number of their foes in close proximity to the dockyard and arsenal of one of our most important naval bases, and in June of that year the site of Dartmoor Prison was offered them by the authorities of the Duchy of Cornwall. The buildings were commenced in December, 1805, and the first batch of prisoners arrived in 1807.

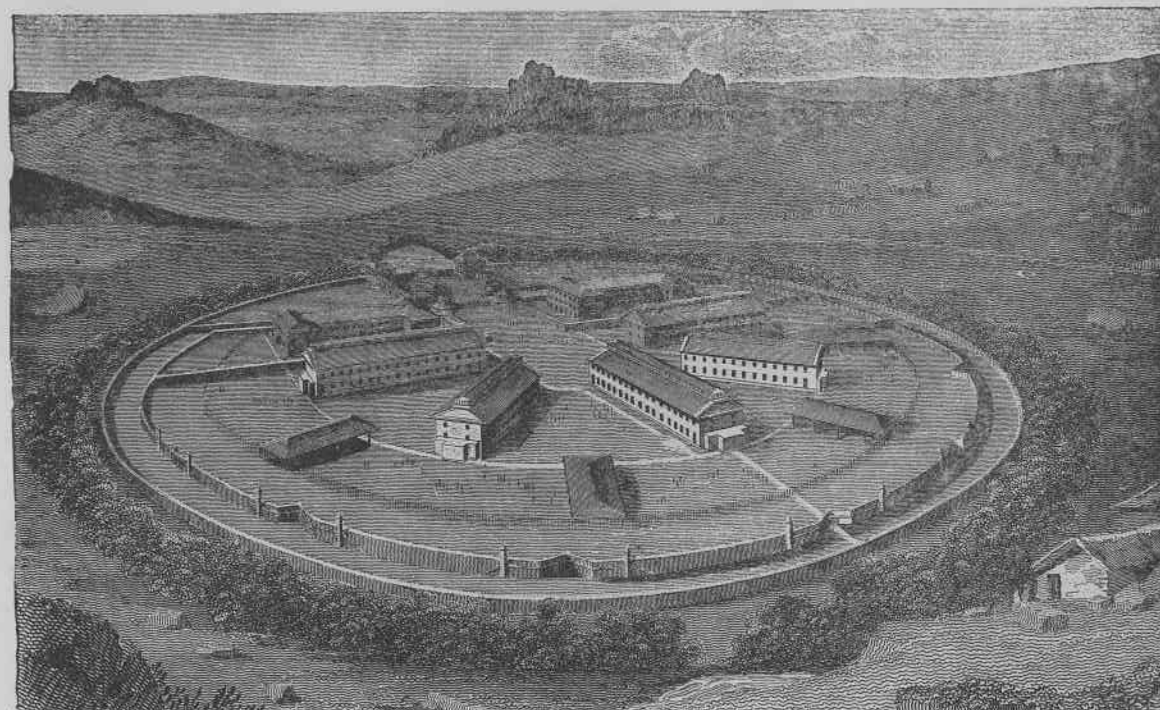
Some interesting particulars of the prisoners and their life are given in a work by a former prisoner, entitled :—

> "La Prison de Dartmoor, ou Recit Historique des infortunes et évasions Des Prisonniers Français en Angleterre sous l'empice depuis 1809 Jusqu'en 1814.
>
> par
>
> L. Catel,
>
> Paris, chez les principaux libraires
>
> 1847."

For the loan of this rare book I have to thank Mr. W. H. L. Wright, F.I.A., Borough Librarian of Plymouth.

There were six buildings, each intended for 1500 men, 500 on each floor, but at one time during the Peninsular War there were 11,000 occupants, and when Catel wrote he says there were 10,000.

The prison was about one mile in circumference, and the courtyard was divided by a wall 12ft. high. On either side of the "market court" were two large buildings, one a hospital, and the other for officers of merchantmen, as well as of the Navy, who had the misfortune to fail in their attempts to escape. There were also detached buildings for the Governor (usually a naval Captain) and his officers. Three walls, 30 feet high and 20 feet apart, surrounded the prison, and watch-towers, 10 metres apart, were built on the top of each wall, whilst sentries patrolled the walls day and night. As an additional precaution bells were hung at small intervals on a wire supported by springs just above the wall, so that the least movement of a prisoner



Perspective View of the War Prison near Tor Royal upon Dartmoor.
Designed for the accommodation of 10,000 Men, with Barracks for 2000 Men, at a Short distance, but not represented in the Plate.

From Vancouver's "Agricultural Survey of Devon,"
Reproduced in "An American Prisoner" by Eden Phillpotts.

attempting to escape would set them ringing. Inside the walls again (15 metres) was a screen of iron bars, 10 metres high, surmounted by lamps every 5 metres, which were carefully trimmed and lighted every night. One would imagine that escape under such conditions was impossible, but the successful attempts were numerous, especially during the times of mist and rain for which Dartmoor is still famous.

The prisoners fought duels on the slightest pretext, their principal weapons being halves of scissors or compasses tied to wooden handles, but one (Souillé) is related to have fought with his fists, and, being beaten, the fight was continued with razor-blades tied to sticks.

They grouped themselves into six principal classes :—

1st—The "Lords"—those who got money from their families or from trafficking in the prison.

2nd—The "Laborieux," who worked at making small articles.

3rd—The "Indifférents," who did nothing, but resigned themselves to the English Government's rations. These daily rations consisted of 21 ounces of bread ("detestable"), 2 ounces of "tough meat," and water in abundance ("not appreciated").

4th—The "Minables"—gamblers, selling even their shirts and rations to gratify their mania.

5th—The "Kaiserlics," who were also gamblers, and sold their provisions, shirts and shoes, going barefoot all the year round. They also sold their annual outfit as soon as they received it. This consisted of yellow trousers, yellow vest with TOTO printed on it in 4 inch black letters, a striped shirt, and clumsy shoes.

6th—The most extraordinary class were called "Romaines" because they lived in the highest part of each building, styled "The Capitol." These are described as "wretches who went as naked as worms." To be admitted a Romaine they had to comply with the following rules :—

1.—Possess no clothing.

2.—Consent to the sale of their hammock, the proceeds to be spent in tobacco for the use of all the Associaties.

3.—To retain only the coverlid of their hammock, with a hole in the middle to put the head through, and even this was to be considered the common property of the Society, to be used by any member when obliged to go out.

There were either 250 or 500 of these Romaines (the author gives both numbers), and some of them were young men of good families, who sent them money every quarter. When this became due they borrowed clothes to go and get it, and then usually left the Society, always giving a donation of 25 francs for potatoes and tobacco, but they were generally back within a fortnight. Oddly enough the author relates that when travelling in Picardy, in 1829, he met a "spiritually minded and eloquently spoken Curé," whom he recognised as a former Romaine.

Some of the prisoners were very dexterous with their hands and made small ornaments of various kinds, many of which I have myself seen in Devonshire houses. One sailor, named Garnier, from St. Malo, spent a year in making a tiny ship only two inches long, in which every detail was perfect, and the guns, etc. could be raised and lowered. This work of art was sold for 2,500 francs. Another less justifiable pursuit

was the forging of Bank of England notes, which they passed off on the country people who supplied the prison market.

The picture of the Dartmoor Prison in its early days is from a copy of a plate in an old Devonshire work, entitled "Vancouver's Agricultural Survey of Devon," used as an illustration to Mr. Eden Phillpotts' charming novel, "An American Prisoner," the block of which, with his consent, has been most kindly lent me by Messrs. Methuen & Co., the publishers of the book.

How a Lodge could be held in anything like privacy in these crowded buildings is rather a mystery, but the fact remains that such was the case, and presumably in "higher degrees" also, from the letters appended to the signatures.

The certificate is entirely hand-drawn and written, and reads as follows :—

Seal.

A.·. L.·. G.·. D.·. | Compasses Eye Square | G.·. A.·. D.·. L'U.·.

sous les auspices | | Du Gr.·. O.·. de France.

La R.·. L.·. de la Réunion à l'Or.·. de Dartmoor

A Tous les MM.·. R.·. Sur la Surface de la Terre.

Salut—Force—Union.

Désirant faciliter l'entrée des LL.·. regulières à ceux de nos FF.·. qui se sont rendus dignes d'y être admis, dans la confiance qu'ils répandront dans tous les lieux qu'ils parcourront, l'esprit de paix, de concorde et d'amitié fraternelle qui fait l'essence de notre Ordre, et rendant un juste témoignage aux qualités Mac.·. á l'amenité du Caractère et aux Vertus sociales du C.·. F.·. Jn. Felix Lefort, natif de Troissereux, Dept. de l'Oise, Sergt. Major au 2me. Regt. d'Artillerie de Marine, App.·. C.·. & M.·. de cette L.·. lui avons accordé le present Certificat. Prions tous les MM.·. reguliers de lui faire l' [accueil] fraternel qu'ils recevraient de nous en pareil cas, et de l'admittre après examen, aux travaux de son âge, ainsi qu'il est de coutume d'en user envers [les FF.·.] qui se [présentent] munis de Certificat authentique.

Ne Varietur.
Lefort

En foi de quoi lui avons délivré le présent Certificat le 17me. jour du 3me. mois de l'an de L.·. V.·. L.·. 5814.

2d Surv. *Fs. Parizot* Ch. d'Or.

H. Dufouz S.P.R. +

Le Vénéble *Bernand* (?) Ch. d'Or.

Pourriere Ch. d'Or.

1er Surv. *Ane. Soubirant* Ch. d'Or.

L'Orateur *F. Michel* Ch. d'Or.

Castel Ch. d'Or.

Lacheverie Ch. d'Or.

O. Manely Ch. d'Or.

Pre. Lasalle Ch. d'Or.

Pincle Ch. d'Or.

Timbré et Scellé par nous garde du Timbre et Sceaux de la R. L.

Par Mandement de la R. L.

J. Manry Ch. d'Or.

Cafiton Ch. d'Or.

Gillest Ch. d'Or.

F. Brancheu E.

Ben. Duhalle R. C.

Jh. Le Gouster Elu.

G. Guillet Ch. d'Or.

Augte. Maron Sre. Ch. d'Or.

K. Saintgilly E. S.


A∴L∴G∴D∴ G∴A∴D∴L'U∴
Sous les auspices Du Gr∴ O∴ de France
La R∴ L∴ de la Réunion à l'Or∴ de Dartmoor,
A Tous les M∴ M∴ R∴ Sur la Surface de la Terre,
Salut-Force-Union.

Certificate issued by French Prisoners of War at Dartmoor 1814.

Or in English—

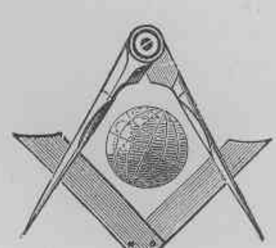
> To the Glory of the Great Architect of the Universe. Under the auspicies of the Grand Orient of France. The Respectable Lodge of the Reunion at the Orient of Dartmoor.
>
> To all Regular Masons spread over the surface of the Globe
>
> Health—Strength—Union.

Being desirous of facilitating the entry into Regular Lodges of those of our Brethren who have made themselves worthy of being admitted therein, in the confidence that they will diffuse in all places where they may travel, the spirit of peace, of concord and of fraternal friendship, which is the essence of our Order, and bearing true testimony to the Masonic qualities, to the agreeable character and to the social virtues of our dear Brother J^{n}. Felix Lefort, native of Troissereux, Department of Oise, Sergt.-Major of the 2nd Reg^{t}. of Marine Artillery, Apprentice, Companion and Master, of this Lodge, we have granted to him the present Certificate. We pray that all regular Masons will give him the fraternal [welcome] they would receive from us in similar case, and admit him after examination to the labours of his degree, as is customary towards [those Brethren] who [present themselves] furnished with authentic certificates.

In faith of which we have delivered the present Certificate to him, this 17th day of the 3rd month in the year of the True Light 5814.

The signatures are somewhat difficult to decipher, but I think I have most of them accurately. I think there can be little doubt that a Rose-Croix Chapter, with its intermediate grades was attached to the Lodge, as two signatures have S.P.R. + and R.C. respectively, three are Elu, and the remainder Knights of the East or Ch. d'Or. The general condition of the document is excellent, but some holes are burnt as if by an acid, and the ribbon and seal are unfortunately gone. I cannot trace any of the signatures in Catel's book, but out of 11,000 prisoners the number he mentions by name is so small that this should cause no surprise.

I may add that Mr. Basil Thompson, late Governor of the Prison, to whom I am also indebted for information, is writing a history of this moorland prison-fortress, which will be well worthy of perusal.



The Secretary called attention to the following

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. P. J. Dudgeon, London.

M.M. Certificate, issued in Amsterdam in 1853 to Jacobus Fritz van Oppen.

R.A. Certificate, issued by Grand Chapter of England to the same Brother on 13th January, 1858, as a member of the Chapter of Prudence No. 12, to which he was admitted 17th November, 1856.

Certificate, issued to Bro. J. V. van Oppen, by the Thistle Lodge of Mark Masters, No. 3 London, held under warrant from the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland, dated 3rd July, 1857, and signed by Thomas Alexander Adams, Mk. Mr., James Richmond Sheen, S.W., Joseph Cotterell, J.W., William Gaylor, G.S.E., for Grand Recorder.

By Bro. L. A. Engel, London.

M.M. Certificate, issued 17th January, 1852, by the Lodge "Les Amis du Commerce et la Persévérance Réunis" of Antwerp, under the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council of Belgium, to Dr. Abraham Mayer.

Certificate, of 18°, issued by the same Lodge to the same Brother in 1855.

Diploma, issued by the same Lodge to the same Brother "pour pendant l'épidemie cholérique de 5859 avoir prodigé gratuitement des soins à un grand nombre de malades pauvres, habitant le quartier réputé le plus insalubre de la ville."

Collar, worn by same Brother as a member of the 18°.

Tunic and Sash, worn by same Brother as a member of the 30°. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. J. Walter Hobbs, London.

Small Masonic Mug.

By Bro. W. B. Hextall, London.

Special Centenary Jewel, of the Albion Lodge No. 9.

By Bro. A. Davis, Croydon.

Gold Finger Ring, with "seal" in French Prisoners' work.

By Bro. John Church, London.

Large glass Tankard, probably German. The engraved design is practically the same as that shown on page 94 *ante*, but in the form of a coat of arms, with lions as supporters, and a coronet above. Below is the date, 1805, beneath which is a figure which appears to be intended for a hackle.

Large Carriage Lamp, silvered brass, with square and compasses in the front glass. It is suggested that this may have been one of a set used on a funeral carriage.

By The Lodge.

Banner, of the extinct Holy Temple Lodge No. 412, Longtown, Cumberland. Bequeathed to the Lodge by the late Bro. James Smith, of Markinch, N.B.

Two Squares, metal gilt, engraved with Masonic emblems.

Scotch P.M. Jewel.

Old diamond-shaped Mark Jewel.

Past Master's Apron and Collarette (tartan), worn by a member of a Scotch Lodge in India.

Royal Arch Apron and Sash, made reversible, so as to be used also for the Red Cross of Babylon.

Old K.T. Apron and Sash.

Rose-Croix Collar, and Collarette.

30° Collarette, Scotch.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the exhibitors and donors.

The W.M. read the following paper :—

THE GREAT LODGE, SWAFFHAM, NORFOLK, 1764-1785.

By R.W. Bro. HAMON LE STRANGE, P.G.D.;
Prov. G.M., Norfolk; W.M. 2076.

AT the date of the publication of the "History of Freemasonry in Norfolk," eleven years ago, I had not been able to discover any original documents relating to the Lodge at Swaffham; even the Registers of Grand Lodge were blank, and the returns there merely showed that it had paid in altogether the sum of £23 2s. up to the time of its erasure in 1791. Such information respecting it as I had been able to gather was procured entirely from the Memoirs of its founder, Captain Richard Gardiner, published in 1782, a year after his death, under the title of "Memoirs of the Life and Writings (prose and verse) of R—ch—rd G—rd—n—r Esqre, *alias* Dick Merry Fellow, of serious and facetious memory."

Richard Gardiner, who was born in 1723, was the son of the Rev. John Gardiner, LL.D., for thirty years Rector of Great Massingham, Norfolk, and domestic chaplain to the Earl of Orford. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and also studied at the University of Gottingen, where many young Englishmen of good family completed their education in the time of the House of Hanover. After serving some years in the Army until the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, he tried the Church, but never proceeded further than Deacon's Orders. In 1757 he rejoined the Army, and subsequently commanded a company of Marines on board the "Rippon," man-o'-war, and was present at several actions in the West Indies in 1759, of which expedition he subsequently published an account.

On his return to England in 1761 he married, and finally retired from the Army after the Peace of Paris in 1763, when he settled at the small market town of Swaffham in West Norfolk. Here he had leisure to indulge his social and literary tastes, and became the principal agent in founding the Lodge, which is the subject of the present Memoir.

By a happy accident, the original volume, in which the minutes of the Lodge were entered at great length from its foundation in 1764 to 1785, turned up last year in the possession of a lady who presented it to the "Ceres" Lodge No. 2879, in which Freemasonry had been re-established at Swaffham, in the first year of the present century.

The volume commences with a very full account of the "Proceedings on the Constitution Day, December 17th, 1764," and these give such a graphic description of the ceremonial of constituting a Lodge by Deputation from the Provincial Grand Master, and not by Grant of a Warrant, as is done to-day, that I make no apology for transcribing them in full.

"PROCEEDINGS ON THE CONSTITUTION DAY.

"Decr. 17th, 1764, A.L. 5764.

"The Provincial Grand Master, Edward Bacon, Esqr., Recorder and Member of Parliament for "the City of Norwich, having appointed monday Decr. 17th as the day to Constitute a new Lodge of "ffree & Accepted Masons, to be held at the Crown Inn at Swaffham in the County of Norfolk, and "being himself obliged to be absent by reason of his attendance at London as one of His Majesty's "Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Deputed the R: W: Benjamin Nuthall Esqre, Alderman of



SUAVITATE QUAM VI

GREAT LODGE at the Crown Constituted Dec 17. 1764

Captain Richard Gardiner Master

Wm Paulett Esqr. Senr War. | James Nelthorpe Esqr. Junr War

Sr Clement Trafford Trear | John Money Gent. Secretary

OFFICERS at the Constitution of the LODGE

MEMBERS

William Mason. } Esqrs
Henry Dashwood. }
John Warren. A. M.
Ambrose Humphrys Esqr.
Lieut. Robert Pennington.
Lieut. Robert Cron.
Thomas Holt Esqr.
Edmund Jinney Esqr.
Rt. Honble George Earl of Orford
Rt. Honble Thos. Lord Montfort
Brigr Fountaine Esqr.
Philip Poleston. A. M.
Phin. Longe Esqr. Major Norf Militia
Cornet James Nelthorpe
George Barton } Junrs
Robert Wensley }
Robert Knopwood Esqr.
Capt. Duncan Campbell.

Brother

You are desired to attend the Duties of the Lodge on Monday

at the usual Time

By Order of the Master

57

Swaffham

Dinner 4 o'Clock

MEMBERS

Admitted from other Lodges
Ben. Nuthall Esqr. D. P. G. M.
Wm. Jerningham } Esqrs
Thos. Middleton }
Cha. Chadwick A. M.
Jas. Taylor. S. W. Lynn.
Jos. Charles. A. M.
Anthony Relhan. M. D.
Thos. Hondrey Esqr. M. Lynn.
Capt. Thos. Day Norf Militia.
Philip Case Esqr. Mayor of Lynn
Thomas Brooke. M. D.
General Francis Grant.
Rt. Hon. Lord Blayney } Grand Master of Masons
Edward Bacon Esqr. P. } Grand Master of Masons
Rowland Holt Esqr.
Sr. John Tyrwell Bart.

IN QUA MANCA RUIT SEMPER FORTUNA

NB. Every Member not attending, to give a Week's notice to the Secretary
The first Monday in the Month the General Lodge Day

To be balloted for
To be made

To be Passed
To be Raised

Summons of Swaffham "Great Lodge."

(About two-thirds full size.)

"the Borough of Lynn Regis, to represent him at Swaffham on the said monday Decr. 17th 1764 and "Delegated to him a proper Authority to convene a Lodge at the Crown Inn, and to Constitute the "members into a body in due form.

"Accordingly on Monday Morning Decr. 17th The s^d R: W: Benjamin Nuthall Esq having con- "vened a Lodge of ffree and Accepted Masons open'd it in due fform at Ten o' the clock. The Morning "was ushered in with Ringing of Bells, ffiring of Guns, and other Demonstrations of Public Joy, and at "break of day The Union fflag with pendants and streamers was hoisted on top of the Church. At "Nine a Gun was ffired at the Crown as Signall for the Brethren in different parts of the Town to hold "themselves in readineſs to repair to the Lodge. At Ten three Guns were ffired as a signal for the "Brethren to clothe, & the Lodge being open'd, a Deputation preceeded by a band of Musick was sent "to the White Hart Inn with an Invitation to the Master, Wardens, & Brethren of the Duke's Head "Lodge at Lynn there aſsembled, & to escort them to the Crown. Being there arrived a second Deputa- "tion, consisting of the Master and Wardens of the Whyte Lion Lodge at Lynn with two Stewards, and "preceeded by a Band of Musick, was sent to escort the New Elected Master of the New Lodge from "his own house to the Crown, and being there arrived, and standing among the ffellow Crafts, the "R: W: Benjamin Nuthall Esqre D: P: G: M: ordered the Constitution Roll and Deputation to be read, "which was as follows:—

"Edward Bacon, P.G.M.

"To all and every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful and loving Brethren. We, Edward Bacon, "Recorder of the City of Norwich, and one of its Representatives in Parliament, Provincial Grand "Master of the Antient and Honorable Society of ffree and Accepted Masons for the Province of "Norfolk and Norwich, send Greeting.

"Know Ye that We, of the Great Trust and Confidence reposed in our Right Worshipfull and "well beloved Brother Benjamin Nuthall, of the Borough of Lynn Regis in the County of Norfolk "Esquire, At the humble Petition of Richard Gardiner Esqre, Captain of His Majestys fforces and "Member of the Hon: and Loyal Society of the Blue and Orange

"William Pawlett Esqre Captain of ffoot, and member of s^d Society.
"James Nelthorpe Esqre.
"Sr Clement Trafford K^nt.
"John Money
"Henry Dashwood
"William Mason
"Thomas Bayley } Esqu^rs.
"John Warren, M.A.
"Thomas Holt
"William Jerningham } Esq^rs
"Thomas Middleton, Captain in his Majesty's ffoot guards.
"Philip Case, Mayor of Lynn.
"ffrancis Mowatt, Adjutant to the Norfolk Militia.
"Charles Chadwick, M.A.

"and others, Do hereby Constitute and Appoint him the said Benjamin Nuthall, for Us and in Our "Name to convene our said Brethren who have signed the said Petition, and in due fform to constitute "them into a Regular Lodge of ffree and Accepted Masons, and that they do observe perform and keep all "and every the Rules, Orders and Regulations contained in the Book of Constitutions (except such as "have been, or may be, repealed or altered at any Quarterly Communication or other General Meeting "duly authorized), Also with all such other Rules, Orders, Regulations and Instructions as shall from "Time to Time be transmitted thro' Us by the Right Honble Cadwallader Lord Blayney, the present "Right Worshipful Grand Master, or by any of his Succeſsors, Grand Masters for the Time then being, "Hereby willing and requiring you the said Benjamin Nuthall as soon as conveniently may be, to send "to Us an account in writing of what you shall do by virtue of these Presents. Given at Our House at "Westminster under our Hand and Seal of Masonry this tenth day of December A: D: 1764, A: L: "5764.

"By the Right Worshipful the Provincial Grand Master's Command

"F^rs Frank P.L.T.

"This Constitution being read the R: W: the D: P: G: M: ordered the new elected Master, "Richard Gardiner, Esqre, Captain in His Majesty's fforces, to be brought up to him from amongst the

"ffellow Crafts, & after a suitable prayer on the occasion by Our Revd. Brother Joseph Charles A.M. and "after the Master's Charge had been read to him and administered, proclaimed

"Richard Gardiner Esqre

" Master of the Great Lodge at the Crown at Swaffham, and proceeded to invest him with the Master's " Jewel accordingly.

" The new appointed Master was then saluted properly by all the Members present, soon after " which he directed William Pawlett, Esqr., Captain in His Majesty's fforces, then standing amongst " the ffellow Crafts, to be brought up to him, and having named the said William Pawlett Esqre his " Senior Warden, invested him with the Senior Warden's Jewell in the following Manner:

"Brother William Pawlett

" 'By virtue of the Authority Derived to me from the R: W: the D: P: G: M: I do appoint you " Senior Warden to this new constituted Lodge, and, having no doubt of your discharging that Office " with Honour to yourself and to the Brethren, I do invest you with the Senior Warden's Jewel " accordingly.' The Master then put the Jewel pendant to a White Ribbon about his neck.

" In like manner he appointed & invested the other officers of the New Lodge, who were as " follows:

" James Nelthorpe, Esqre.	Junior Warden.
" Sr Clement Trafford	Treasurer.
" Mr. John Money, Gent.	Secretary.

" The ceremony being performed the R: W: Benjamin Nuthall Esqr after a Second Prayer by " Brother Charles, adjourned the Lodge, & ordered a procefsion of the Brethren to set forward to the " Church, to hear Divine Service, it being now Eleven o' the Clock.

" Accordingly seven guns were fired, as a Signal, where the procefsion pafsed in the following " manner:

" 1. Attendants to clear the way.
" 2. Band of Musick.
" 3. Two Stewards, with their Wands, & Red Ribbons.
" 4. Duke's Head Lodge, two and two.
" 5. White Lyon Lodge, two and two.
" 6. New Lodge, two and two.
" 7. Officers of the New Lodge.
" 8. Officers of the Grand Lodge.
" 9. Two Standard Bearers.
" 10. Cushions bearing the Bible, & Book of Constitutions.
" 11. P.G.S., with the Deputation.
" 12. D.P. Grand Master, with the new Master on his left hand.
" 13. Marshall with the Staff.

" In this Order the Procefsion pafsed from the Crown Inn across the Market Hill to Church; " before the several Lodges were carried their respective Banners and Standards: the Brethren were " all new cloathed, and the Officers wore their proper Jewels, bearing White Wands in their hands.

" On their arrival at the Church door, they opened to the Right & Left, forming a pafsage for the " R: W: the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, who, preceded by the Brethren bearing the Cushions of " Green Sattin with the Bible and Book of Constitutions, and having the New Master on his Left Hand, " carrying a blue Wand tipt with Gold, with the Master's Jewel pendant to a Garter blue Ribbon round " his neck, and his apron fringed with Gold, and lined with Garter blue, entered the Great Door of the " Church, followed by the several Lodges two and two in proper Order.

" As soon as the Brethren were seated our Revd. Brother John Warren A.M. began Divine " Service, and tho' the Church was greatly crowded, his voice, clear & exprefsive, was heard distinctly " in all parts of it. Prayers being ended, a most excellent Sermon on the occasion was preached by our " Revd. Brother Charles Chadwicke A.M. from the following words:

" 'Edify one another.' "

" Divine Service being ended the Brethren returned in the same order to the Crown, excepting " that the New Master now walked on the right hand of the D.P. Grand Master. On their coming out " of Church the Guns were ffired & the Bells rung.

" On their arrival at the Crown, the Brethren opened to the Right & Left for the New Master " & the D.P. Grand Master, who passed thro' them to the Lodge Room, where the Brethren, being all " afsembled, & the Lodge Resumed, The R : W : the New Master gave a Charge to the Members of the " New Lodge, at the same time exprefsing the Thanks of the New Lodge to the D.P. Grand Master, " The Master & Wardens of the White Lion Lodge, The Master & Wardens of the Duke's Head Lodge, " and all the visiting Brethren for their attendance in So numerous a Body on the solemnity of the " Day; after which the R.W. the New Master adjourned the Lodge for Refreshment, and a Deputation " preceded by a Band of Musick, reescorted the Duke's Head Lodge back to the White Hart.

" Dinner being over in the Afsembly Room, the Brethren returned to the Lodge Room, and the " Lodge being Resumed, the King and the Craft, The Right Hon[ble] and Right Worshipful Lord Blaney, " Grand Master of Masons, the Deputy Grand Master and Officers of the Grand Lodge, The Provincial " Grand Master, Edward Bacon, Esq[re], His Representative, The R : W : Benjamin Nuthall, Esq[re] & " other Masons Toasts were Drank in the Manner of Masons, and under a discharge of Thirteen pieces " of Cannon at each Toast.

" Present in the Lodge.

" R : W : Richard Gardiner, Esq[r] Master in the Chair.
" W : William Pawlett — Senior Warden.
" W : James Nelthorpe — Junior Warden.
" Bro : Sir Clement Trafford — Treasurer.
" Bro : John Money — Secretary.
" Bro : William Mason }
" Bro : Henry Dashwood } Stewards.
" Bro : Thomas Bailey }
" Bro : John Warren, A.M. } Members of the New Lodge.

" Representatives of the Grand Lodge and Visitors
" R : W : Benjamin Nuthall Esq[re.] D : P : G : M :
" R : W : Jenkins Marther Leet, Master of the White Lion Lodge at Lynn.
" W : John Chadwick S : W : }
" W : Joseph Taylor J : W : } of White Lion Lodge.
" Bro : Thomas Somersby, Marshall.
" Bro : Charles Chadwicke, A : M : Preacher.
" Bro : Joseph Charles, A : M :
" Bro : Thomas Hendrey.
" Bro : Thomas Case.
" Bro : John Bagg.
" Bro : William Bagg.
" Bro : Thomas Hickman.
" Bro : William Brown.
" Bro : Thomas Day.
" and many other Brethren.

" At 5 in the afternoon a Deputation was sent from the Crown to the White Hart w[th] a Mefsage " from the New Lodge to the Master, Wardens and Brethren of the Duke's Head Lodge afsembled there, " ' That the Master, Wardens, Officers and Brethren present drank their Healths and prosperity to their " Lodge,' which Compliment being returned, and the business of the day finished, the R : W : the Master " closed the Lodge in due fform at 7 o' the Clock.

" In the evening there was a Brilliant Afsembly of the Ladies, whither the Brethren repaired, " and danced in their Aprons and Jewels to the number of Two and Twenty Couple of Dancers. The " whole of the Day's Solemnity was conducted with great Regularity, and the Day passed with the " Unanimity and Harmony remarkable among Masons."

The first Regular Meeting, or, as they then called it, the first General Lodge Night, of the new Lodge took place on the 7th January, 1765, when the R.W. Master, Richard Gardiner, opened a Master's Lodge, consisting of five members, and proceeded to raise " our Rev[d]. Bro : John Warren, who had been previously pafsed a Fellow Craft, to the Hon[ble] degree of a Master Mason." The Lodge was then closed, and the

Master opened an Entered Apprentice's Lodge, at which it was resolved that in future every Member made a Mason should pay £5 5s. on his making, and half a guinea more when Raised. Lieut. Robert Pennington "in consequence of a previous nomination" (it is not clear when this could have taken place) was balloted for, elected a member of the Lodge, and admitted to the first Degree, being properly introduced by the D.J.W. Two other candidates were proposed and ordered to be balloted for at the next General Lodge Night; and the Earl of Orford, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Lord Montford, were elected members of the Lodge, and ordered to be made Masons the first opportunity. The first Monday in every month was ordered to be for the future the General Lodge Night. Three absent members were fined 2/6 each.

The next meeting recorded is that on the Second General Lodge Night, 4th February, 1765; but it appears from the first Minute that a "Convened Lodge," or, as we should now call it, a Lodge of Emergency, had been held, at which a candidate had been nominated who was now elected and admitted to the first Degree. Certain Rules and Regulations for the well governing of the Lodge were read, approved and ordered to be entered in a Book "for the entry of Bye-laws of this Society." These are not set out at length in the Minutes, but a printed copy of them is pasted into the fly leaf at the commencement of the volume. They run as follows:—

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS OF THE GREAT LODGE.

I.

"That all Members do attend the Duties of the Lodge the first Monday in every Month.

II.

"That every Member who is absent on the General Lodge Night shall be fined, unlefs he gives "Notice of his Non-Attendance to the Secretary at least ONE WEEK before the Meeting.

III.

"That every NEW CANDIDATE shall attend within the space of SIX MONTHS after he is elected a "Member of the Lodge; in case of Failure, his name to be struck off the List, and his Election to be "declared Null and Void. Penalty to the Member who proposed him FIVE GUINEAS.

IV.

"That no Member of any other Lodge shall be admitted a Member of this Lodge without a "Ballot; ONE BLACK BALL TO REJECT; visiting Brothers may be admitted ONCE without a Ballot, but "no more.

V.

"That on the General Lodge Night, the JUNIOR WARDEN shall see the Bill upon the Table at "TEN o'clock, and the Master shall close the Lodge at eleven or sooner.

VI.

"That every Member who SWEARS an OATH in the Lodge, shall pay one Shilling; and if he talks "Politicks, shall drink a Half Pint Bumper of SALT and WATER; and if he comes to the Lodge in Liquor, "shall pay a Gallon of CLARET for the Use of the Lodge; and if he is riotous, he shall be SENT TO "COVENTRY.

VII.

"That no Candidate shall be proposed or ballotted for but on GENERAL LODGE NIGHT; and that "no Candidate shall be proposed and ballotted for at the same Lodge.

VIII.

"That a NEW MASTER and OFFICERS shall be annually elected on the first Monday in June, and "shall be installed at the ANNIVERSARY FEAST of this Lodge, held on ST. JOHN'S DAY June 24th "following.

At the 3rd General Meeting, on the 4th March, 1765, no business was transacted, beyond the balloting for a Candidate who was rejected by one Black Ball; three absentees were fined 2s. 6d.

A Convened Lodge held on the 18th March, was opened as a Master's Lodge with four present, and two fellow-crafts were "raised to the highest degree of Masonry." The Master's Lodge was then closed and an Enter'd Apprentices' Lodge opened; among those present being "Bro: Rob[t] Crowe, ff: C."; a candidate was admitted to the first and second degrees. Some additions were made to the Bye-laws, and it was resolved "That for the future the Members are to meet on all Lodge Days at 4 o'clock, at wh[ch] time a dinner will be provided for them."

At the next meeting in April appeared the first indication of what subsequently gave rise to considerable trouble in the Lodge, namely what we should now consider the arbitrary way in which they dealt with members for non-attendance. A letter was ordered to be written to a Brother requiring his attendance on the next General Lodge Night, as he had never made his appearance since the day of the Constitution. The Brother's answer to this letter was subsequently read to the Lodge, and, not being considered satisfactory, his name was erased from the List of Members.

The Company of Comedians in the town having petitioned the Lodge to bespeak a Mason's Play, one was accordingly bespoke for the 6th May, 1765, on which day the Lodge was adjourned for refreshment and resumed after dinner, when, "being joined by "the R: W: the Master and Wardens of the White Lion Lodge, The Master and Wardens "of the Duke's Head Lodge at Lynn, and by other Brethren of both Lodges properly "cloathed, went in procefsion to the Theatre to see the Play of 'Love for Love,' asked "by desire of the Lodge. The Play being over the Lodge return'd to the Crown "in the same order as they went." The following epilogue, written by the Master, Captain Gardiner, and spoken by Mrs. Dyer after the play, was, by resolution of the Lodge entered in the Minute Book.

EPILOGUE.

While Royal Splendour & Theatric State
On Princely Barry & King Garrick wait,
How little can we hope our Humble Stage,
Void of all Pomp, can your applause engage?
ffor which amongst you, Ladies, can discern
A Covent Garden in a Swaffham Barn?
Yes, 'tis a Barn—yet, ffair ones, take no right,
Our's is no play—we hold a Lodge to-night;
And should our building want a slight repair,
You'll see we've ffriends amongst the Brethren there—
Reply the *Scalds*, with *Miserable* ffrown
"Masons repair!—they'd sooner pull it down—
"A sett of Ranting, Rumbling Roaring ffellows,
"Who meet to sing Old Rose and Burn the Bellows—
"Champaigne & Claret, Dozens! in a Jerk
"And then, O Lord! how hard they've been at work!
"Employ, but them, & till the Day of Doom
"You ne'er shall get a new Afsembly Room;
"Then for the Secret, of their own wise making,
"H . . . ., and B . . . . and Grand Master J . . .
"Poker and Tongs! The Sign! The Word! The Stroke!
"'Tis all a Nothing, and 'tis all a Joke;
"Nonsense on Nonsense! let them storm & rail,
"Here's the whole History of their Mop and Pail;
"ffor 'tis the sense of more than half the town,
"Their Secret is—A Bottle at the Crown."

But not so fast, ye enemies to Light,
I, tho' no Mason, am their ffriend to-night,
And, with your leaves, 'tis somewhat strange, I trow,
To slander that which none of you can know.
We Women, tho' we like good Masons well,
Sometimes are angry that they will not tell;
And then we flaunt away from rout to rout,
And swear, like you, we've found the Secret out.
But Oh, vain Boast! to all Enquiring Eyes,
Too deep the Mine, where that bright Jewel lies;
That Masons have a Secret is most true,
And you! ye Beauties, have a Secret too:
And if the Masons are so rigid grown,
To keep their Secret to themselves alone,
Be silent in your Turns, 'tis that allures,
Silence—and bid the Masons—find out yours.
Thus far conjecture in the comic way,
But let not fancy lead your thoughts astray;
The Ties of Honour only Masons bind,
ffriends to each other and to all Mankind;
True to their King, and for their Country bold,
They flew to Battle like their Sires of Old;
Banish'd the Trowell for the Barbed Spear,
And where loud Cannon thunder'd, formed the Square;
Gallant and Gay, at Minden's glorious Plain,
And the proud Moro, storm'd alas! in vain;
In Peace, with Honest Hearts they court the ffair,
And most they Triumph, when they Triumph there;
Their actions known, their bitt'rest foes approve,
ffor all that Masons ask is—Love for Love.

ffinis.

The Minutes of the 3rd June, 1765, record that "the Lodge proceeded to the Election "of Officers for the year ensuing, & the Election for Master was taken in the following manner; every "member present wrote the name of the member he voted for on a piece of paper, and put it in the "Balloting Box, and when all had given their Ballot, the Box was carried to the Master by the Junior "Warden, who delivered it to the Secretary; the Secretary took out the Ballots, and having read them, "the present Master appeared to be elected, Nem: Con:. The Master rose from his Chair and returned "his thanks to the Lodge for the honour they had done him. The W: William Pawlett Esqre, Sen$_{r}$. "Warden, was then elected Deputy Master." The Master then nominated his Wardens, the other Officers being elected by the Lodge; among them were two Stewards, a Marshal, but no Deacons.

The Anniversary Night was kept on the 1st July, when the Brethren adjourned to the Assembly Room for dinner, and on their return to the Lodge-room the Master, "in consequence of his re-election," took the Chair without any further Ceremony, and proceeded to instal and invest his Officers. Some of the details of the ceremony are worth preserving.

"The R: W: the Master having nominated W^{m}. Mason Esqre and Henry Dashwood Esqre his "Wardens for the ensuing year, and Bro: Mason advancing up to the Chair, the Master put the Senior "Warden's Jewel pendant to a red Ribbon about his neck, at the same time addressing him in the following manner: 'Bro: William Mason, by VIRTUE of the Authority Derived to me from my re-election to "'this Honourable Chair, I do appoint you SENIOR WARDEN to this GREAT LODGE, having no doubt of "'your discharging that Office with equal credit to yourself and advantage to the Brethren.' To Bro: Crowe, as Marshal, was delivered the Staff of Office. On Thomas Holt, of Redgrave, Suffolk, who had been elected a Member, claiming admittance, the Master replied that

"a Member must come in." He was then introduced and received the first Degree. The Master then proposed the R^{t}. Honble. and R^{t}. Worshipful Lord Blayney, Grand Master of Masons, and, "being a Peer, he was elected *vivâ voce* by a Unanimous Vote of the Lodge."

Another Member who was admitted to the first degree that evening was Francis Dalton, the younger, of West Bilney. He appears to have misconducted himself in some way, for on the next night the Lodge took his behaviour into consideration, and passed a resolution that "he was within the full meaning of the 9th Order and Rule in "the Book of Byelaws of this Lodge, and, as such, is hereby esteemed to be

"AT COVENTRY."

At the next meeting a letter was received and taken into consideration "from our "unfortunate brother at Coventry;" the opinion of the Members being severally asked, beginning with the youngest, they resolved "That the said letter is no submiſsion to "the Lodge, and that Mr. ffrancis Dalton continues at Coventry." In the Minutes of subsequent meetings his name is generally entered among those of the Absent Members who were fined, but in his case instead of the fine, 2/6, appearing after his name, the words AT COVENTRY are appended. At Coventry he remained for two-and-a-half years, but on the 7th December, 1767, the Brethren apparently relented, for a resolution is entered "that Mr. Secretary do Issue out a Summons requiring the attend-"ance of our Bro: DALTON from COVENTRY on the ANNIVERSARY." The pardon came too late, for, at the next meeting "the R: W: the P. MASTER acquainted the Lodge that our "late worthy Bro: FRANCE (*sic*) DALTON Esqr. died much lamented on Monday Dec^{r}. "28th of a ffractured thigh by a ffall from a young Horse who suddenly reared up and "tumbled backwards upon him."

To go back to the 1st July, 1765, the Minutes of that meeting concluded with a fine specimen of flowery writing:—

"The businefs of the Lodge being over, and the Master acquainted that a bright Constellation "of Beauties had adorned the Hemisphere this evening in Honor of Masons, and Masonry, and was "seen hov'ring over the Afsembly Room, directed the Brethren to repair to a proper place of Adoration "in their proper Cloathing, and, it being now near nine o' the Clock, closed the Lodge in DUE FORM."

Then, as now, Swaffham seems to have been addicted to the worship of Terpsichore, for, only two months later the following Resolution is recorded, "That the "Lodge gives the DEAR LADIES a BALL on Monday the 21st October next." This resolution was passed, by the way, at the house of the Junior Warden, to which the Master had adjourned the Lodge in the middle of the meeting. They also passed some regulations as to Dinners, which throw light on the customs of that day.

"I. That for the future Dinner be on the table exactly at 4 o'clock each Lodge Day, and that "the Tyler gives notice to the Wardens one Quarter of an hour before it is taken up. To wait Dinner "for no Body.

"II. That the Tyler for the future shall come into the Dining Room with his Sword exactly "as the clock strikes six, leaving a Brother to tile the Lodge Room in his absence, and shall acquaint "the SENIOR WARDEN with the hour; the Senior Warden with an Audible Voice shall inform the MASTER "that 'the Duties of the Lodge require the Attendance of the Members in the Lodge Room,' upon "which the Master and Members are to retire immediately.

"III. That after the above notice of the SENIOR WARDEN if the Master and Wardens do not "return to the Lodge Room in ffive Minutes, they shall be fined a Gallon of Claret each for the benefit "of the Lodge."

The Members further directed the Secretary to purchase a Lottery Ticket for the benefit of the Lodge; from a subsequent entry it seems that it did not win a prize.

On the 17th December, 1765, the Master "Notified to the Lodge the Great Loss "that Masonry had sustained by the death of his IMPERIAL MAJESTY OF GERMANY,[1] and "by that of his ROYAL Highness WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, our HIGH, MIGHTY, and "ILLUSTRIOUS BROTHERS, and condoled with the Lodge on those Melancholy events to the "CRAFT in general." Three months later, on the 3rd March, 1766, he congratulated the Brethren on the "Great addition of Honour to the Craft in general by the late admifsion "of two Royal Brothers, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS EDWARD DUKE OF YORK, and HIS ROYAL "HIGHNESS HENRY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER."

At the Anniversary Feast on June 24th, 1766, the fine for non-attendance on a General Lodge Night, without giving a week's notice to the Secretary, was raised from 2/6 to 5/-, "no excuse to be admitted but the Illness or Death of some Relation in his "family, and that to be declared on the WORD OF A MASON on his next appearance at the "Lodge." A significant order was made "that all Letters wrote to the Secretary by "the Members be sent to him POST PAID." At this meeting the Master, Captain Gardiner, was absent for the first time, because, as he informed the Lodge at the next meeting,

"he had attended the R^{t} Honble and R^{t} W: Lord BLAYNEY GRAND MASTER OF "MASONS and the GRAND LODGE at their ANNIVERSARY FEAST on ST. JOHN'S DAY, held at "the Grey Hound at Greenwich; that his Lordship was pleased to Signify his Great "Approbation of the proceedings of this Lodge, and of the Members composing it, and "the Spirit with which it was carried on, and, arising from his Chair, the Grand Lodge "and all the Members standing, Drank Health to the Master, Wardens, and Officers, "and Prosperity to the Great Lodge at Swaffham in the County of Norfolk, in the "manner of Masons, which compliment was returned by the Master, in the name of the "Lodge and in the manner of Masons, with thanks to the GRAND MASTER & GRAND "LODGE for the Honor done to this Lodge, and for his Worship's approbation of the "proceedings of the Members so publickly declared on this occasion."

On the 26th September, 1766, there was a good attendance for the reception of the Earl of Orford,[2] Lord Lieutenant of the County; he was admitted and received the two first degrees from the Master, Richard Gardiner, who then "acquainted the Lodge "that he had a special power from the R: W: and R: Hon: Lord BLAYNEY GRAND "MASTER OF MASONS to admit the Earl of Orford to the three several Degrees of Masonry "at his Lordship's first attendance. He accordingly proceeded to open a Master's "Lodge, when his Lordship was rais'd to the HIGHEST DEGREE OF MASONRY and the "Master's Lodge was then closed. . . . . After which the R: W: The Master "requested leave of the Brethren to resign the Chair to our New and Hon: Brother the "Earl of Orford, which being granted, his Lordship was installed accordingly and "invested with the Master's Jewell." The Lodge adjourned for refreshment, and afterwards resumed to receive propositions, &c., after which the new Master "closed the "Lodge in DUE FORM, it being now: HIGH TWELVE AT NOON." This appears to have been the only Masonic work that Lord Orford ever did; he never put in a second appearance at the Lodge, and Gardiner, as P.M., continued to do the work of the Chair.

An order was on the 17th December, 1766, that the Lodge should visit the "White Lion" Lodge, at Lynn, on St. John's Day, but no entry occurs as to the visit. The meeting of the 2nd February following had to be postponed because only four

[1] Joseph II.

[2] George, 3rd Earl of Orford, and grandson of Sir Robert Walpole, 1st Earl; succeeded his father 1st April, 1751, and died unmarried 5th December, 1791, when the honours reverted to his uncle, Horace Walpole.

members could get there, owing to deep snow, but a Convened Lodge was held on the 12th, at which Crisp Molyneux, of Garboldisham, received the first and second Degrees, though he was not elected a member until the regular Lodge in March. At these meetings Lord Orford and many other members were fined for non-attendance, but, nevertheless, his Lordship was re-elected Master at the Anniversary Feast, in June. This meeting was presided over by tho Deputy Master, William Pawlett, as Lord Orford and Gardiner were both absent, the latter owing to illness: the Lodge adjourned to his house, and passed a resolution as to the payment of fines and subscriptions overdue; the Brethren then returned to the "Crown," where they resumed and confirmed the resolution just arrived at.

Many County gentlemen joined the Lodge about this period; among them were Edmund Rolfe, of Heacham, who was "made" on the 24th September, 1767, and the Hon. George Hobart, who joined on the 2nd November following. The attendance, however, grew worse and worse, and the Minutes are full of complaints about Members who would neither come to the meetings nor pay their fines.

The Anniversary Feast of June 24th, 1768, was attended by the W.M., and Brethren of the Royal Edwin Lodge, constituted shortly after this Lodge in the neighbouring town of Fakenham. A Deputation invited them into the Lodge Room, and a procession was formed at High Twelve, which crossed the Market Place to the house of the new Master, Sir Clement Trafford, and, after being hospitably entertained there, escorted him to the "Crown," the P.M. of the Great Lodge "bringing out the Master "Elect in his hand." The P.M., having resumed the Chair, "proceeded to instal the "Master Elect having previously giving (*sic*) a charge to the Brethren, and having "proclaimed SIR CLEMENT TRAFFORD MASTER OF THE GREAT LODGE, who was received by "all the Brethren with the proper compliments of Masons, the Past Master placed "him in the Chair of SOLOMON. The NEW MASTER, being seated in the Chair, returned "the Brethren thanks for the honor they had done him in an Elegant & Polite Speech." After dinner they took into consideration their financial position, and, among other resolutions, passed one for the expulsion of a Brother who had neither paid his fees for making nor discharged his forfeits for non-attendance. The name of the offending Brother was forthwith erased from the list, and his Arms taken down from amongst those of the other Members, hung up according to seniority on the western wall of the Great Lodge. Three other defaulters were ordered to be sent to Coventry unless they attended the next Lodge, and if they failed to attend the September meeting they were to be expelled. Further defaulters were dealt with in August, and the stringent measures adopted caused several to apologize and pay up.

On the 27th September, 1768, Sir Edward Astley, Bart., M.P. (afterwards Provincial Grand Master), was proposed as a Member, and it was resolved, *nem. con.*, "that as the Peers belonging to the Lodge were elected without Ballot taken, the same "compliment be paid to the Knight of the Shire for the County." A deputation was sent to invite Sir Edward into the Lodge Room, and, on his claiming admission, the Master replied, as on a previous occasion, "that a Member must come in," on which he was duly introduced.

A list, entered on the Minutes of the 3rd October, shews 26 members of the Lodge, of whom only 7 were then in arrear. A resolution had been passed that the minutes should be printed and transmitted to all Members, and from the 5th December, 1768, to the 6th March, 1769, the Minutes were accordingly printed and are inserted in that form in the Book.

The meeting of December 5th, 1768, was attended by 19 members and several Visiting Brethren; amongst the latter was Rowland Holt, the Senior Grand Warden of England, who was "saluted properly by all the members, and in the manner of Masons." The Secretary reported that he had purchased another Lottery ticket, and such members as chose to have a share in it paid in their several proportions of the purchase: it had no better luck than the first.

In consequence of new Regulations from Grand Lodge requiring Returns of defaulters a letter was, on the 2nd January, 1769, ordered to be written to the Earl of Orford requesting to know whether he meant to attend the duties of the Lodge, or chose to retire, "it being determined by the gentlemen of the Lodge consistent with the Rules "of Masonry to have no Members belonging to it who shall be in the Neighbourhood "on General Lodge Days, and who do not then attend." It was further ordered that Edmund Rolfe, Esq. represent the Master, and J. T. Medlycott the Senior Warden of the Lodge, at the next Quarterly Communication, at the "Crown and Anchor," in the Strand, in case they shall be resident in London at the time.

A convened Lodge was held on the 14th January, 1769, to receive Lord Orford's answer, which was conveyed in a message through the Treasurer that "His Lordship "had read the Resolution of the Lodge, and returned for Answer that he would attend "the Lodge for the future, whenever he was in the Country, and as often as was con-"venient."

The Master thereon read to the Lodge, and received unanimous approval for, a Letter which he had written in reply to Lord Orford. The standpoint is different to ours, as now-a-days no amount of non-attendance alone leads to expulsion from a Lodge; but, judged by eighteenth century standards, I think that it will be agreed that a more dignified reply could hardly have been written. It runs:

"My Lord

"I am extremely glad to hear that your Lordship means to attend the duties of the Lodge for the "future.

"It never was the Intention of the respective Members to require an Inconvenient Attendance "on any one; but, when it is convenient, and Members are actually in the House, at the time of "holding a Lodge, in the Town, or in the neighbourhood, it is expected that they should then attend, "or retire altogether from the Lodge.

"The Payments of Fines and Forfeits is no part of a Mason's duty it is common to that with all "other Societies, in which they are collected from absenting Members with a scrupulous exactness.

"Attendance in the Lodge is the principal Duty of a Mason, the neglect of which will in time "bring on a sentence of Expulsion; it is not the spirit of Masonry to raise contributions on its Members, "and it is in particular very far from being the spirit of the Gentlemen who compose the Lodge at "Swaffham, by whom a continued Absence from the Lodge will ever be considered a more warrantable "cause of Expulsion than the bare Omifsion of remitting Fines and Forfeits.

"Your Lordship cannot with reason take it ill that the Members of the Lodge requested to know "by Resolution and Ballot your Lordship's Sentiments, when you are pleased to recollect that during "the whole year you was Master of the Lodge, you never attended but once, and then only when "Captain Gardiner complimented your Lordship with a Resignation of the Chair, and placed you in it.

"My Lord, the Gentlemen of the Lodge will be extremely glad to have the pleasure of Your "Lordship's Company whenever it is convenient, and in this as well as the rest I am confident that I "speak the sense of every Member of it.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord,
"Your most obedient servant,
CLEMENT TRAFFORD, M."

"Swaffham,
"January 14th, 1769.
"To the Earl of Orford.

This conduct of the Lodge received the warm approval of the authorities of Grand Lodge, as is testified by the following letter from the Grand Secretary to the Master.

"R: W: Sir

"In consequence of a letter from Brother GARDINER to Brother BERKELEY, concerning the "Minutes of your Lodge relating to the Earl of Orford, I waited on our most noble GRAND MASTER,[1] "who highly applauds the zeal so conspicuous in all your Proceedings for the Honour of the Society, "being worthy the Imitation as well as Approbation of the whole Craft.

"His Grace is sorry the Earl of Orford should have given room to the Brethren to censure his "Conduct as a Mason, but flatters himself his Lordship's regard for the Institution will prompt him to "give a more regular Attendance on the Duties of your respectable Lodge in future, and prevent any "further Reflections.

"I have the honour to subscribe myself

"R: W: Sir,

"Your most obedient servant

"and affectionate brother

"THOMAS FRENCH, GRAND SECRETARY.

"New Bond St.

"Feb: 9, 1769.

"To Sir Clement Trafford."

Perhaps Lord Orford's good intentions as to attendance were modified by the attitude of the Lodge towards another member of his family, who, unfortunately, about the same time, was involved in a similar censure. Several members had been threatened with expulsion for non-attendance and non-payment of fees; among these was the Hon. Thomas Walpole, M.P. for Lynn, and a cousin of Lord Orford. He failed to attend when summoned, or to furnish any excuse, and, consequently, at the meeting of the 6th February, 1769, he and another Brother were formally expelled, and the Minutes record that their Arms "were taken down, and being first broke in pieces, were thrown upon the fire and burnt." No doubt this indignity to his family was resented, and it is scarcely surprising that the name of Walpole is not found again in the Minute Book of the Great Lodge.

About this period the Lodge began to get into debt with their host, Mr. Breese, the Landlord of the "Crown." A minute of the 3rd April, 1769, orders, "That the "reckoning be called and paid before the Lodge is closed. Penalty to the Master or "his Deputy in the Chair to pay the whole." Letters were written to those in arrear, and, on the 1st January, 1770, the somewhat high-handed course was adopted of drawing a Bill, payable to Mr. Breese, on two members who had failed to answer the applications made to them.

The fiftieth General Lodge Night, on the 5th February, 1770, was presided over by Richard Gardiner, as D.M., and it is noticeable as the last occasion on which his name appears in the Minute Book of the Lodge which he had founded, and of which he had been the mainstay and most regular attendant. The reason, no doubt, was that at this period he moved his residence from Swaffham to the village of Ingoldisthorpe, on the Coast of the Wash, about 22 miles distant, too far for him to drive in all weathers by cross-country roads. At Ingoldisthorpe he died eleven years later, on the 15th September, 1781, during which year no meeting of the Lodge took place, and, in fact, it will be seen that it only survived its founder by about three years.

Gardiner's departure from Swaffham almost broke up the Lodge, which indeed held no meeting for nearly six years, viz., between the 5th February, 1770, and the 18th

[1] Henry, Duke of Beaufort.

December, 1775. A memorandum at the end of the volume shews that the Master, Thomas Holt, and four other members, met on the 17th July, 1775, for the purpose of settling the Lodge accounts: they were then in debt upwards of £50 to the Landlord, and this amount was apportioned among the fifteen existing members, to be paid by them to extinguish the debt to Mr. Breese. A meeting was held on the 18th December, 1775, at which three members and three visitors were present, and a full list of the then members only gives nine names; Lodge was opened, and two former members were re-admitted. On the 27th February following, Sir Clement Trafford was elected Master, and a new set of Bye-laws was passed. The principal changes in these were, that there should only be four Quarterly meetings, that the subscription should be a guinea per annum, and the fees for making a Mason two guineas; every member to forfeit 2s. 6d., instead of 5s., for non-attendance, "to be paid to Mr. Breese in consideration of the dinner provided."

One of the re-joining members was a well-known County Magistrate, William Mason, of Necton, three miles from Swaffham. As he did not attend, the Brethren, on the 24th October, 1776, resolved, *nem. con.*, "that if Bro. William Mason do not appear "at the next General Lodge, that the Lodge be then adjourned to our said Bro: Mason's "house at Necton, and there to be constantly held. Also that the Secretary do give "him notice of the above Resolution." The Lodge was closed at the somewhat unusual hour of "High Twelve at Night." The threat produced the desired effect, for, at the next meeting, Bro. William Mason appeared in his place as Senior Warden of the Lodge.

During 1777 the four Quarterly meetings were regularly held, and, at the last one, it was ordered "that a Plate be engraved for the use of the Lodge against the next Lodge Night." The Engraved Summons, of which a copy is reproduced as an illustration to this paper, was probably made in 1766, as it contains only the names of members elected up to August of that year.

Four meetings were held during 1778, but only six or seven members attended at each, and no initiations took place. In the following year the attendance was slightly better, but still no additions were made to the list of members. At the June meeting, in 1780, so few were present that the Election of Master was postponed until September, but no meeting took place for two years, until the 24th June, 1782, when seven attended, and two new members were made Masons. Another meeting was held on the 27th December of that year, at which two resignations were accepted, and notice was given of two proposals. A single meeting was held during 1783, on the 24th October, six members and one visitor being present; the two candidates proposed at the last meeting were elected, and one of them was initiated. The Secretary was ordered to "get a Copper Plate "engraved for the takeing off Official letters to the Members when they are desired to "attend the Duties of the Lodge." No copy of this Plate, or of that ordered six years previously, has survived.

Eleven months elapsed before the next meeting, which did not take place until the 20th September, 1784; five members and a visitor attended, and elected a new Master. The Treasurer was ordered to pay the yearly sum of three guineas to the General Charity of Grand Lodge, until directed to the contrary by the Lodge; apparently he acted upon this Order for some years after the Lodge had ceased to meet—perhaps as long as he had any funds in hand—as the records of Grand Lodge show that the payment was continued up to November, 1788.

The last recorded meeting of the Lodge took place on the 26th November, 1784, seven members being present. Evidently they had then no intention of discontinuing

the Lodge, as a candidate was elected and initiated, and John Briggs, the waiter at the "Crown," was "properly prepared and brought into the Lodge and admitted to the first "Degree of Masonry." The next Lodge was fixed for the 23rd February, 1785, but was afterwards postponed by order of the Master until the 24th June, but apparently it never met again. This is the last entry in the Minute Book: the Lodge seems on have died out quietly of inanition, and was finally erased from the Roll on the 13th April, 1791.

Only once in the Minute Book is the number of the Lodge given, viz., No. 329, on a printed List of Members, dated January 1st, 1769, which follows the Bye-laws of 1765, already transcribed, as printed and inserted at the commencement of the Minute Book. This list of Members is given below as an Appendix. The number of the Lodge was changed to 267 in 1770, to 211 in 1780, and finally to 213 in the following year.

It may be useful, in conclusion, to indicate some of the differences between the practice of that day and this. The Lodge flourished during the height of the quarrels between the *Ancients* and *Moderns*, and belonged to the latter, in reality the older, Jurisdiction, but no traces of the controversy appear in the Minute Book. The Master was styled Right Worshipful, and the Deputy Master, who was also elected by the Lodge, was styled Worshipful. In the absence of both Master and Deputy, the Senior Warden acted as Deputy and presided. The Master's Jewel was worn pendant to a Garter Blue ribbon, while those of the Wardens had White ribbons. The Master's Apron was fringed with gold, and lined with Garter Blue. There was no Board of Installed Masters, and though the Master's Charge was sometimes read, the Installation Ceremony was usually of the slightest, scarcely more formalities being observed than might take place in any other Society on the occasion of changing their annual Chairman. Yet there are traces of some phraseology having been usually employed which was subsequently embodied in our Ritual at the time of the Union. The Wardens were appointed by the Master, but all the other Officers were elected by the Lodge. There were, of course, no Deacons; some of their present duties, such as introducing candidates, carrying round the ballot-box, &c., were performed by the Junior Warden, who must therefore have been free to leave his Chair. A Marshal, probably the equivalent of our Director of Ceremonies, and also two Stewards were appointed. The regular meetings were termed "General Lodge Nights," and, up to the break of five years between 1770 and 1775, were numbered consecutively, that of the 5th February in 1770 being the "50th General Lodge Night." An Emergency meeting was called a "Convened Lodge." A resolution of the 6th August, 1765, directed "that for "the future a Convened Lodge shall be constantly held for the Transaction of private "Businefs on the Morning after the General Lodge Night. The Master to take the "Chair at 10 o' the clock." The only actual entry of such a meeting was on the day after the passing of the Resolution, when a Convened Lodge of Masters was opened and a Candidate received the second and third Degrees. The Master's Lodge was then closed, and an Entered Apprentice's Lodge opened, in which other business was transacted. There are, however, indications that other Convened Lodges were held without being entered on the Minutes.

Some little light is thrown upon the vexed question of Degrees by the proceedings of this Lodge; it was always opened either as an Entered Apprentice's Lodge, or as a Master's Lodge, and, as we have just seen, the Master's Lodge was sometimes opened first. It was never opened as a Fellow Crafts Lodge, though this Degree was recognized as a distinct one, necessary to be taken before the Master's Degree. It was usually conferred in an Entered Apprentice's Lodge, and frequently on the same night as the

first Degree, but on at least one occasion, that of the 3rd September, 1765, just mentioned, when a Lodge of Masters had been opened, the Minutes expressly state that a candidate was "past a ffellow Craft and soon after raised to the Highest Degree "of Masonry." The Fellow Crafts seem to have sate together in some particular part of the Lodge Room, as more than once we hear of a Brother about to receive office as "standing amongst the ffellow Crafts."

The Quorum seems to have consisted of three Brethren, as only that number were present on several occasions when the Lodge was opened, one being a Master's Lodge. The word *initiated* is never used, the term employed being "admitted to the 1st Degree," or "made a Mason." A curious use of the word "Cousin" occurs two or three times, applied, on his introduction, to a candidate who had been elected a member before the day on which he was "made." The Lodge was occasionally adjourned, in the middle of a meeting, to the private house of the Master or one of the Wardens.

This concludes my sketch of the history of this eighteenth century Lodge, which grew up, flourished, and decayed in the short space of twenty years. The Minutes, which were never signed or recorded as having been read and approved, are extraordinarily full of detail and beautifully engrossed; they give a lively picture of Masonic practice in a country Lodge in the early years of George III. One useful lesson they may, perhaps, impress upon us, that it is never desirable to overload the Bye-laws of a Lodge with arbitrary and vexatious regulations interfering with the freedom and convenience of its Members, as such restrictions tend inevitably to discourage attendance and to break up the Lodge.

APPENDIX.

No. 329.

SWAFFHAM GREAT LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

Constituted Decr. 17th, 1764.

List of Members according to Seniority.

Janry 1st 1769.

1. Richard Gardiner, Esqr, of *Swaffham, Norfolk*; M: 1764, 1765, 1766.
2. William Pawlett, Esqr., of *Kenninghall*; S: W: 1764, D: M: 1765.
3. William Mason, Esqr, of *Necton*; S: W: 1765.
4. John Money, Gent:, of *Swaffham*; S.
5. James Nelthorp, Esqr, of *Linford*; J: W: 1764, T. 1768.
6. Sir Clement Trafford, of *Dunton Hall, Lincolnshire*; M. 1768.
7. Henry Dashwood, Esqr, of *Swaffham, Norfolk*; J: W: 1765, S: W: 1766.
8. Revd John Warren, of *Saxham, Suffolk*; S: W: 1768, J: W: 1767.
9. Capt: Robert Pennington, of *Aserby, Lincolnshire.*
10. George Barton, Gent:, of *Rougham, Norfolk.*
11. Thomas Holt, Esqr., of *Redgrave, Suffolk*; J: W: 1768.
12. Robert Wensley, Esqr., of *Wisbeach, Isle of Ely.*
13. James Nelthorpe Junr., Esqr; of *Linford, Norfolk.*
14. Brigg Fountain, Esqre; of *Narford.*
15. Robert Knopwood, Esqr.; of *Threxton.*
16. Edmund Jenny, Esqr.; of *Bradfield, Suffolk.*

18. Patrick Blake, Esqr; of *Beecham Well, Member for Sudbury.*
19. Cornet Richard French, *Horse Guards Blue.*
20. R^{evd} Henry Pont, of *Langham, Suffolk.*
21. James Ward, Esqr; of *Bury S$^{t.}$ Edmunds.*
22. Crisp Molineux, Esqr, of *Garboldisham, Norfolk.*
23. Edmund Rolfe, Esqr; of *Heacham.*
24. John Thomas Medlycott, Esqr; of *Swaffham.*
25. Sir Edward Astley, Bar^{t}.; of *Melton*; *Knight of the Shire for Norfolk.*
26. Edward Parson, Esqr; of *Riddlesworth.*
27. Martin Folkes Riston, Esqr; of *Hillington.*

MASONS WHO HAVE JOINED.

28. Rowland Holt, Esqr; *of Redgrave, Suffolk*; *Senior Grand Warden*, 1768.
29. Thomas John Medlycott, Esqre; of *Thetford, Norfolk.*
30. Christopher Blake, Esqr; of *Langham, Suffolk.*

LIST OF MEMBERS ADMITTED FROM OTHER LODGES.

1.	R: W:	Benjamin Nuthall, Esqr; D: P: G: M:	March 18th,	1765.
2.		William Jerningham, Esqr^{e}; of *Corsey*	d^{o}.	'65.
3.		Thomas Middleton, Esqre; of *Belsey Castle.*	d^{o}.	'65.
4.		Charles Chadwicke, A.M.	d^{o}.	'65.
5.		Joseph Taylor; *J: W: of the White Lion Lodge, Lynn.*	d^{o}.	'65.
6.		Joseph Charles, A: M:	d^{o}.	'65.
7.		Anthony Rethan, M: D:	d^{o}.	'65.
8.		Thomas Hendry; *Master of the White Lion Lodge, Lynn.*	d^{o}.	'65.
9.		Captn. Thomas Day—*Norfolk Militia.*	April 19th,	'65.
10.		Philip Case, Esqr.; *Mayor of Lynn.*	d^{o}.	'65.
11.		R^{t}. Honble Lord Blaney - *Grand Master.*	d^{o}.	'65.
12.		Thomas Brooke, M: D:; *London*	d^{o}.	'65.
13.		General ffrancis Grant.	d^{o}.	'65.

Bro. W. J. HUGHAN *writes*:—

I warmly congratulate the Masonic Historian of Norfolk on the discovery of the minutes of "The Great Lodge" of Swaffham, the pity being it had not been met with in time to be incorporated with Bro. Hamon Le Strange's valuable historical work of A.D. 1896.

The particulars of the "Constitution" are both curious and interesting, especially the authority to constitute the Lodge by order of the R.W. the Prov.G.M., Edward Bacon, M.P., the Brother deputed for that purpose being Alderman Nuthall, the D.Prov.G.M. The document bore date 10th December, 1764, and was duly copied in the Minute Book.

It is late for such an authority, the form of Warrant, with which the Craft has since been so familiar, dating from the previous decade. On this point, Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley's "Caementaria Hibernica," vol. i., 1895, and Bro. John Lane's "Early Lodges of Freemasons," (*A.Q.C.* 1895) should be consulted, being the best on the subject. I believe the earliest known copy of a regular Warrant of "Modern" origin is of the "Palatine" No. 97, dated 14th January, 1757, a similar document being issued 25th March of the same year, for the "Friendship" No. 100, Great

Yarmouth. The "Ancients" followed the Irish usage of 1731, or earlier, but the "Moderns" kept to their plan until about the year noted.

The account given of the ceremony on December 17th, 1764, is by far the most elaborate of its kind which has been preserved. It is singular that the new W.M. was ordered "to be brought up to him (the D.Prov.G.M.) from amongst the Fellow Crafts," possibly simply the ordinary description, at the time, of brethren who had not passed the Chair of a Lodge, as apparently nearly all the members of the Lodges present were at least Master Masons. I think it is probable that the Lodge met prior to "Constitution," just as it was customary so to do, even in my time, but, later on, was wisely prohibited.

The ribbon, to which the first W.M's. jewel was attached is described as "garter blue," and that of his Senior Warden was suspended from *white* ribbon, but at the next appointment the colour of the latter was changed to *red*. So far as my memory serves me it was unusual to have a *Deputy* Master elected, but Deacons, though not provided for in the "Great Lodge," are met with about that period in some "Modern" Lodges, but not generally. I have much enjoyed the perusal of our esteemed Master's able sketch of this old extinct Lodge.

Remarks were added by Bros. F. J. W. Crowe, H. Sadler, H. R. Heyhoe, E. H. Dring, J. P. Simpson, W. Wonnacott, and the Secretary, and a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the W.M. for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Crowe, seconded by Bro. Sadler.

THE BAIN MS.

BY BRO. W. J. HUGHAN, P.G.D.

IT is most unfortunate that we know nothing of the early custody or history of the "Bain MS.," nor, for that matter, are we any better situated as respects the "Phillipps MSS.," Nos. 1 and 2, save that the senior document of the two was probably transcribed for Mr. Richard Banckes, who was elected to the Court of Assistants of the Masons' Company in 1677, and whose father was Master in 1647; or it may have been written for the latter by Mr. William Hammond who was Clerk to the Company, 1677-1678.

The discovery of the "Phillipps MSS." was due to the well directed researches of the late Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, M.A. (my lamented collaborator in the study of the "Old Charges,") and the late Bro. G. W. Speth, so long the beloved Secretary of our Lodge. Bro. Woodford found that the "Wilson MSS." were bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps, and that the present owners are the Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick and Mrs. Fenwick, Thurlestane House, Cheltenham; so he applied for permission to have what he deemed to be the "Wilson MS." (noted in the manifesto of the "Lodge of Antiquity" of A.D. 1778) duly copied. The transcript was published in the *Masonic Magazine* for April, 1876, and in the "*Archæological Library*, vol i., of A.D. 1878, with a few lines in facsimile.

In 1888, Bro. Speth went to Cheltenham to see the MSS. for himself, the result being of rather a startling character, as he discovered the MS. was not the one he believed it to be; the "Wilson MSS." having been sold by Bardwell & Sons, Sheffield, in June, 1843, whereas the one in question was obtained from Mr. Bohn *two years before!* Another correction being also needful, as the MS. thus reproduced is the "Phillipps No. 2," which occurred for sale in a catalogue by John Cochran in 1829. It is most remarkable that these two MSS., having virtually the same text, should have been secured for the same Collection from different dealers. Still more interesting is it to know that there is another copy, of about the same date of transcription, and of the same family of MSS., agreeing practically with the other two, and is known as the "Bain MS." It cannot be traced until it occurred for sale by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge in 1894, and is thus described in the printed Catalogue, viz.:—

> "1203. Freemasonry. History of Freemasonry in England, with the Rules and Regulations of the Craft. MS. on Vellum. *Sæc.* XVII."

My old friend, Bro. Geo. Washington Bain, of Sunderland, became the purchaser, after whom I named it; but during this year it has changed hands, the present owner being Bro. Reginald A. Wilson (son of the well-known D.Prov.G.M. of West Yorkshire), of West Field, Armley, Leeds, who, happily, has not altered its title, and is anxious to make its character known to the Craft, much to my satisfaction.

As soon as possible it will be well to secure copies of all such documents remaining unpublished, and I know of no medium equal to our Lodge for that purpose.

According to Dr. Begemann's able classification, this trio belongs to the Grand Lodge Family (branch A), and has as companions, the valuable "Grand Lodge MS., No. 1, A.D. 1583, (Library of Grand Lodge), the "Kilwinning" ("Mother Lodge

Kilwinning No. 0," Scotland), and the "Cama" ("Quatuor Coronati Lodge" Library). There is nothing in the text of these three MSS. under consideration requiring particular mention, and as they are virtually in agreement, the two "Phillipps" and the "Bain" may be accepted as transcripts made about the middle of the seventeenth century, from a much earlier prototype.

The "Bain," *as the other two*, is written on vellum, within two rubricated lines (7¾in. by 4½in.), the size of the leaves being fully 10in. by nearly 7in., and apparently by two different scribes. On the outside of the limp cover is the word "Masonry," and the number "B 140," of a later date; and once it had the name of the owner thereon, but I can only now decipher "——— Surgeon, Southwark Park." It seems to me to be the oldest, as respects transcription, of the trio, and the writing on the thirty-two pages (two of the eighteen leaves being blank) is larger than that of the other two codices, the caligraphy of the set being superior to several of their compeers.

Although the text of the "Bain" is not noteworthy, its great value and interest is centered in the bare possibility of its being the Masons' Company MS., but if not, the probability is in favour of it and the two others being transcripts of the original MS., which so far has eluded detection.

The queston as to the missing Masons' Company's MS. has been duly considered in Bro. Edward Conder's invaluable "Records of the Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons" (1894), and my "Old Charges of British Freemasons," 1895; but a few words on the subject may not be inappropriate just now.

There was a speculative body of Masons, known as the "Acception," which assembled under the wing of the Masons' Company; records still existing from the year 1620-1. This Lodge of Accepted Masons had one or more copies of the "Old Charges," which were used at Initiations. According to an inventory of 1665, the Company was possessed of "One book with the constitutions which Mr. fflood gave," and "One other book of Constitutions," and in an inventory of 1676, the two lines read "One book of the Constitutions of the Accepted Masons" [or "Old Charges"] and "One book of the Ancient Constitutions and Orders" [of A.D. 1481, passed by the Court of Aldermen]. Still another Inventory, of 1695, makes mention of "an old Booke of Masons' Constitutions," and that of 1722 describes at more length the MS. which particularly concerns us, viz.:—

> "A Book wrote on parchment and bound or sticht in parchment containing an account of the Antiquity, Rise and Progress of the Art and Mistery of Masonry."

This, undoubtedly, as Bro. Conder states, "is the copy of the Old Charges or Constitutions of the Accepted Masons mentioned in the previous inventories," and evidently is also the document noted by (it is supposed) Sir Francis Palgrave in the "Edinburgh Review," 1839, but, alas, it has been lost sight of, hence the interest and value of this trio of MSS. Presumably it was not in the archives of the Company in April, 1839.

I do not think it possible that either of the trio was written earlier than about 1650, which would not be old enough for the original MS. of the "Old Charges" owned by the Company, though the middle of that century would do for a transcript made and utilized for the "Acception." In that case the "Bain MS." which is "wrote on parchment, and bound or stitcht in parchment," would precisely suit the conditions, and so would either of the other two MSS., known as the "Phillipp's Nos. 1 and 2," for that matter; though the preference, I think, should be given to the senior of the

three. In fairness, however, it must be conceded that the difference of age is but little, and either would answer to the description because of their general caligraphic features, similar text, and almost identical style.

There are also scrolls that may put in claims for recognition for various reasons, though not, to my mind, of the force and probability of the foregoing. The mere fact of having the Masons' Arms at the head of a MS. would not be of any weight, for though granted to the Masons' Company in 1477, that distinction was subsequently adopted by the Fraternity generally. The most important of this class is the celebrated "William Watson MS.," but there are several more, such as the "Colne" Nos. 1 and 2, the "Colonel Clerke," the "Foxcroft," the "Scarborough," and (particularly) the "Antiquity" of A.D. 1686. The latter scroll has the Arms of the City of London, and those of the Masons' Company emblazoned on separate shields, above being the Royal Arms with the letters "I. 2. R." (James II., King); the conclusion of the MS. reading:—

> "WILLIAM BRAY FREE-MAN OF LONDON AND FREE-MASON. Written by ROBERT PADGETT Clearke to the Worshippful Society of the FREE-MASONS of the City of London in the second yeare of the RAIGNE of our most Gracious Soveraign Lord KING JAMES the Second of England, etc. Annoq Domini 1686."

Bro. Conder states that the Padgett family belonged to the regular Masons' Company, but he has failed to find the name of *Robert* Padgett, and certainly he was not the Clerk either in 1686 or at any other time.

All these codices (ten in number), having the Masons' Arms delineated thereon, are in the shape of rolls, not in *book form*, as was the original "Old Charges" of the Masons' Company; besides which there are several important variations in their text, four having the declaration that Edwin "was made Mason at Windsor," while others contain recitals of a peculiar character; whereas the "Bain" and "Phillipps MSS. Nos. 1 and 2" are practically in agreement as to their recitals, and in other ways precisely correspond to the statement in the Inventory already noted.

> "When any fellow shall be received and allowed these Charges might be *read* unto him." "*W. Watson MS.*"

It is this custom which constitutes the great value of these "Old Charges;" the copy of the Masons' Company doubtless being utilized at the meetings of the "Acception" from 1620 onwards, and still earlier, while at other Lodges copies were likewise similarly used. It is quite probable that in the "Sloane No. 3848" we have the actual MS. read to Elias Ashmole and Col. Henry Mainwaring, the other initiate, who were accepted at Warrington in 1646, for it was transcribed on the 16th day of October when the meeting was held by Edward Sankey, who was a son of Richard Sankey, a member of this Lodge. Bro. W. H. Rylands ("Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century," 1881) observes that "it is a somewhat suggestive fact" that the MS. was thus transcribed and signed, and considers that "there is not a scrap of evidence that there was a single operative Mason present." I fully accept my esteemed friend's verdict as recorded in his able paper herein noted.

Elias Ashmole in his account of his visit to the Lodge of the *Accepted* Masons on March 11th, 1682, at Masons' Hall, London, when six gentlemen were admitted "into the Fellowship of Free Masons," makes no mention of an "Old Charge" being read,

though most likely there was; and quite probably the "Bain MS.," or one of the two "Phillipps" was the one so employed, but absolute certainty as to such is at present impossible.

I congratulate Bro. Reginal A. Wilson on his acquisition of such an interesting and valuable copy of the "Old Charges"; and desire also to express my appreciation of its reproduction from a transcript made by him, which he and Bro. Watson have carefully compared with the original.

The portions in *facsimile* will serve well to test the accuracy of the transcription, which, to my mind, appears quite perfect, and worthy of being one of the series of "Masonic Reprints" of the Lodge "Quatuor Coronati," No. 2076, London.

Note.—The horizontal lines denote the termination of each page in the original MS. The old English lettering indicates the rubricated portions of the manuscript.

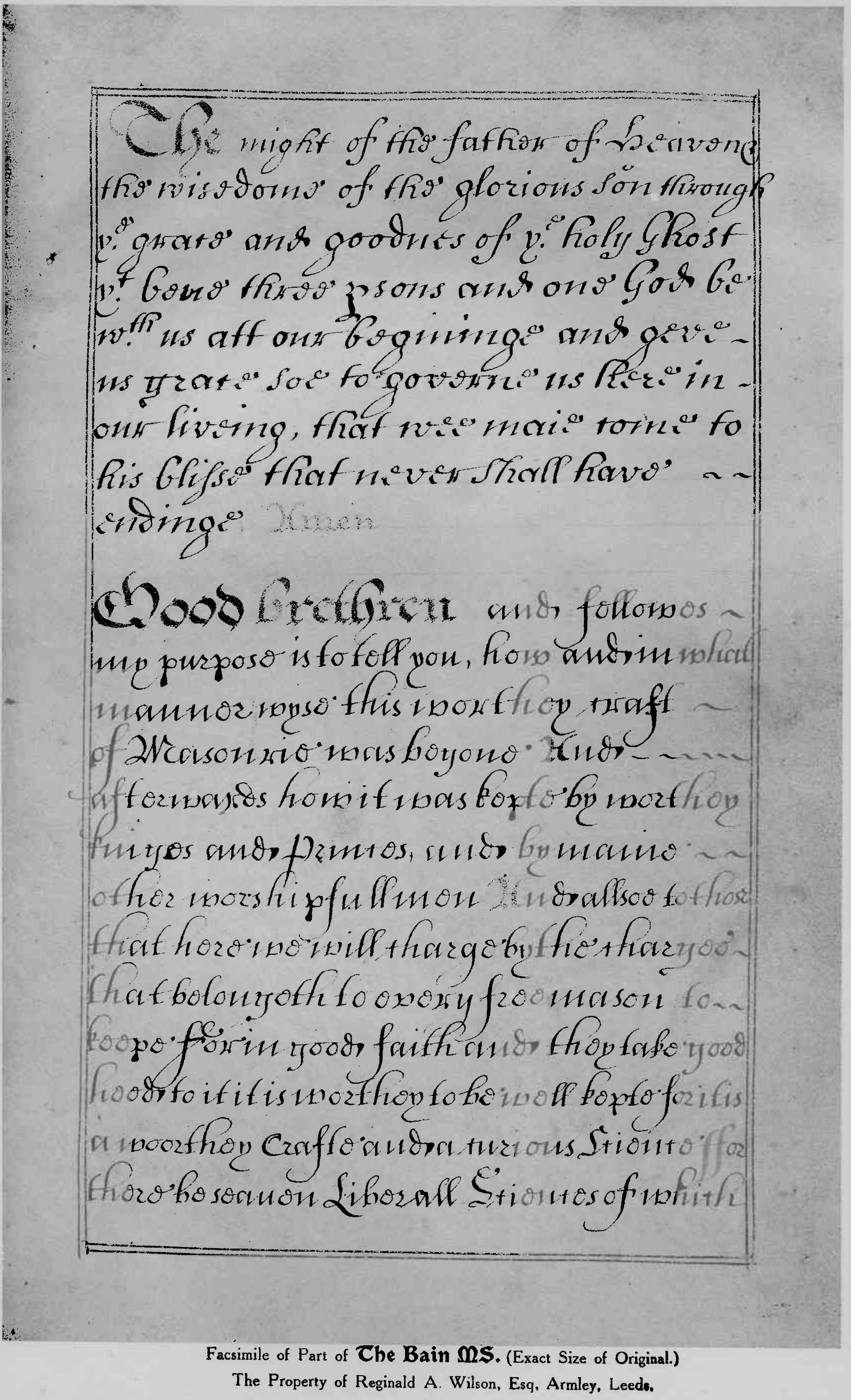
1

The might of the father of Heaven &
the wisedome of the glorious sōn through
ye grace and goodnes of ye holy Ghost
y^{t} bene three psons and one God be
wth us att our begininge and geve
us grace soe to governe us here in
our liveing, that wee maie come to
his blisse that never shall have
endinge, **Amen**

Good brethren and fellowes
my purpose is to tell you, how and in what
manner wyse this worthey craft
of Masonrie was begone **A**nd
afterwards how it was kepte by worthey
kinges and princes, and by manie
other worshipfull men **A**nd allsoe to those
that here we will charge by the charges
that belongeth to every free mason to
keepe **F**or in good faith and they take good
heed to it it is worthey to be well kepte for it is
a woorthey Crafte and a curious Science **ff**or
there be seauen Liberall Sciences of which

2

seaven it is one of them **A**nd ye names
of the seaven sciences be theis **The**
first is **Gramar** and that teach-
-eth a man to speake truelie and to
write trulie **The** second is **Rhetorick**
and that teacheth a man to speake
faire in soft termes, **T**he thirde is



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Facsimile of Part of **The Bain MS.** (Exact Size of Original.)
The Property of Reginald A. Wilson, Esq, Armley, Leeds.

Dialectick or **Logique** and that teacheth a man for to deserne or knowe truth from falshood **A**nd the forth is **Arithmetick**, which teacheth a man to recon and to count all manner of number, **T**he fifte is **Geometrie**, and that teacheth a man the mete and measure of earth and of all other things, the wch science is called **Masonrie**, And the sixt Science is called **Musicke**, and that teacheth a man the crafte of Song and voice of tongue and Organ Harpe and trũpe **A**nd the vijth Science is called **Astronomy** and that teacheth a man to know the course of the

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3

sonne, of the moone, and of the Starr's, **These** be the seaven liberall Sciences, The wch seaven be all found by one Science that is to say **Geometrie**, And this maie a man prove that all the Science in the world is found by **Geometrie**, for **Geometrie** teacheth a man measure ponderacoñ, and waight of all manner of things on earth **ffor** there is noe man that worketh anie crafte, but he worketh by some measure, **Nor** noe man buyeth or selleth, but by some measure, or some waight, **And** all this is **Geometrie** And theise Marchannts, Craftesmen and all other of the vij Sciences, and especially the plowman and the tillers of all manner of graine and seedes, vyneplanters, and setters of other fruites are hereby directed ffor by **Grammar** nor nor **Astronomie** ne by anie other

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4

of all the vij Sciences noe man findeth mett or measure wthout **Geometrie**, wherefore methinketh

that the Science of **Geometrie** is
most worthy that fyndeth all other,

Howe this worthy Science
was first begoone I shall tell you,
Before **Noes** floude there was a man
that was called Lameth (as itt is
written in the Bible in the iiijth.
Chapter of **G**enesis **A**nd this
Lameth had twoe wyves, the one
wyfe hight Ada, the othe Sella,
By his first wife Ada he gott two
Sonnes the one hight Jabell, the
other Juball, **A**nd by the other wyfe
Sella he gatt a sonne and a daughter
And theis four Children founde the
begininge of all the Craftes in the wõrld
And this elder Sonne Jabell founde
the Crafte of **Geometry** and the
flockes of sheepe, and Lande in the
filde, and first wrought a houses of

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stone and tree as it is noted in
the chapter abovesaid **A**nd
his brother Juball found
the craft of Musick, songe
of Tonge harpe and Organ
and the third brother Tuball
cayn found Smith's
craft of gould, silver, copper
yron, and steell, **A**nd the
Daughter found the craft
of weaving, **A**nd theis chil:
: dren knew well that God
would doe vengeance for
sin either by fyre or water
wherefore they wrott their
sciences that they had found
in twoe pillers of stone that
they might be found
after **N**oes floud And the
one was Marble for that
will not burne with anie
fire. And the other Stone was called Laternes
[for y^{t} would not drowne in any water
Our intent is to tell you

trulie howe and in what
manner theis stones were

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found wherein theis sciences
were written The greate
Hermarines that was
Cubeis sone, the which
Cube was Sem's sonne This
same Hermarines was after :
: ward called Hermes, the
father of wisedome, he found
one of the pillers of stone and
founde the sciences written therein
and he taught it to other men
And att the makeinge of the
Tower of Babylon there was masonry
made mutch of And the
king of Babylon that hight
Nemrod was a mason himself
(as it is said with maisters of
History's And when the Cittie
of Ninivie and other citties
of the East should bee made
Nemrod the king of Baby :
: lon sent thyther
masons att the request of
the king of Ninivie his

7

cozen And when he sent
them forth he gave them a
charge in this manner.
That they should be true one
to another And that they
should love trulie together
And that they should serve
their Lord truely for their paye
soe that their Mr maie have
worship, and all that longe
to him, And other moe
charges he gave, and this
was the first time that ever
anie mason had anie charge of
his craft.

Moreover when Abra :
: ham and Sara his wife
went into Egypt, and there

taught the seaven sciences
to the Egyptians, he had a
woorthie schollar that hight
Euclide, and he learned
right well and was a maister

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of the 7 sciences And in his 8
day's it befell, that Lords &
the Estates of the Realm
had soe manie sonnes that
they had gotten, some by their
wyfes, and some by other
lady's of the Realme (for
that land is a hot land &
plenteous of generation)
And they had not anie
competent livelyhood to
fynd their children wherefore
they took much care And then
the king of the land made a
great counsell and a parlia:
: ment, to witt howe they might
fynd their children honestlie
as gentlemen, and they
could fynd noe manner of
good anie waye. And then
did they proclaim through
all ye Realme that if there
were anie man, that could
enforme them, that he should

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come unto them, and he should 9
be soe rewarded for his travell,
that he should hold him well
pleased, And after that this
crye was made then cam this
woorthy Clarke Euclid and
said to the King, and all
his great Lordes If ye will
take me your children to go:
: vern, I will teach them one
of the seaven sciences, where:
: with they may live honestlie
as gentlemen should onder
a condic̃on that ye will grante
me them that I may have

power to rule them, as the science ought to be ruled, And that, the kyng and all his counsail graunted anon & sealed the Commission, And then this woorthy Clerke tooke to him theis Lordes sonnes and taught them the seience of **Geometrie** in

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10

practicke & for to worke in stones all manner of worthy woorkes that belongeth to building, churches, Temples, Castells, Towers, and manners & all other manner building and he gave them a charge in this manner.

The first is that they should be true to the Kinge, and to the Lord that they serve And that they should love well together & be true each to other And that they should call each other his fellowe or els his brother, & not his servaunt nor his knave, nor none other fowle name, and that they should trulie deserve their paye of their Lorde or the

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11

maister of the woorke that they serve & that they should ordain the wisest of them to bee maister of the woorke and neyther for love nor linage, riches nor favour to sett another that hath litle cunninge to bee maister of the Lordes wooke where: : by the Lorde should be evil served and they ashamed And also that they should call the governors of the worke

maister in the time that they worke with him And manie moe other charges that are to long to tell And to all these charges hee made them sweare a great oath that men vsed in that time And ordained for them reasonable paye where : : by they might live honestlie And alsoe that they should come and assemble together

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12

every year once howe they might worke best to serve their Lord for his profitt and to their own worshipp And to correct within them : : selves him that had trespassed against the crafte And thus was the Crafte grounded theare And that woorthie clerke Euclid gave it the name of **Geometrie** and now it is called through all this Land **Masonrie.**

Sithen longe after when the children of Israel were come into the Lande of behest that is nowe called amongst us ye Countrie of **Jerusalem** king David began temple that is called Templum Domini, and is named with us the Temple of

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13

Jerusalem And the same kinge David loved well Mason's & cherished them much & gave them good paye And the charges and the manners as he had learned in Egipte given by Euclid and other moe charges which yee shall hear afterwards And after the decease of king David Salomon that was king Davids sonne performed

out the Temple that his
father had begoone, & hee
sent for Masons into diverse
countries and Landes and
gathered them together soe
that he had fourescore
thousand woorkemen that
were woorkers of stones, &
were all named Masons
and he chose of them three
thousand that were ordained
to be maister's & govern^{rs}
of his woorke.

14

And furthermore there
was a king of another
Region that men called
Iram and hee loved well king
Salomon, And he gave him
timber to his woorke And
had a son that hight
Hynon and he was a mais :
: ter of **Geometrie** and was
cheife maister of all his
Masons and was maister
of his graveinge and carve :
: ing, and all other manner
of Masonry that longeth
to the Temple And this is
witnessed in the **Bible** in
the iiijth booke of kings the
third chapter And this
same Salomon confirmed
both Charges and manners
that his ffather had geven
to Masons and thus was
that woorthy Crafte of

15

Masonrie confirmed in the
Countrie of Jerusalem & ma :
: nie other kingdomes.

Curious craftesmen walked
about full wyde in divers countries
some to learn more crafte &
cunning and some to teach

them that had but little cun :
: ninge and soe it befell there was a curious Mason
hight Grœcus
that had been att the woork :
: ing of Salomon's temple, &
he came into ffrance and
theare he taught the science
of Masonry to men of
ffrance And theare was one
of a regall lyne of ffrance
that hight Charles Martell
and he was a man that loved
well such a crafte and drew
to this Grœcus &
learned of him the crafte

16

and tooke upon him the charges
and the manners And after :
warde by the grace of he was
elected to be kinge of ffrance
And when he was in his estate
he tooke Masons, and did
help to make men masons
that were none, and sett them
a woorke and gave them
hee
had learned of other ma :
: sons, and confirmed them
a charter from year to year
to hold theire assemblie
where they would and
cherished them right much
and thus came the crafte
into ffrance.

England in all this
season stood void of anie
charge of Masonrie untill
St. Alban's time And in

17

his days the king of England
that was a Paynime did
wall the towne abt that was W
called St Alban's And St
Alban was awoorthie
knight and steward of the

kinge's household, and he
had the governm^{t} of the realme
and also towne walls, and
loved masons well, and
cherished them much, and
he made theire paye right
good, (standing as the realme
did, for he gave ij^{s} a weeke and
iij^{d} to theare cheer for before
that time throwe all the
land, a mason had but a
penny a day, and his meat
untill St Alban amended
it, And them a char:
: ter of the kinge and his
counsaile for to
and gave it the name of
an assemblie, and was

18

thereat himself, and help:
: ed for to make masons
& gave them charges as
yee shall hear afterwards
right soon.

After the death of
St Albans there came
into
England of diverse nationes
soe that the good rule of
masonrie was destroyed
untill the time of king,
Athelston that was a woor:
: thie kinge of England &
brought all this land
into rest and peace **And**
builded manie great woorkes
of Abbies
and other build:
ings, And he loved well
masons, and had a sonne

19

that hight Edwyn and hee
loved masons much more
than his ffather dyd And
hee was a great practizer

of **Geometrie** and he
drue himself much to com :
: mon and talke with mas :
: ons to learne of them the
crafte, And afterward for
love, that hee had to masons
and to the crafte, he was,
made a mason & hee gatt
of the kinge his father a
charter of commission to
hold an
assemblie where they would
the Realme once a year, &
to correct within themselves
faultes and tresspasses that
were done within the Crafte
And he held an assemblie
himself att Yorke and there
he made masons and gave
them charges and taught

20

them and
commanded them to keep that
rule for ever after And
gave them the charter and
the commission to keepe, and
made an ordinance that it
should be renewed from
kinge to kinge And when
the assemblie * * * * was
gathered together, he made
a crye that all olde masons
and younge that had anie
writeing or understandinge
of the charges and manners
that were made before in
this land or in anie other
that they should bringe
and shew them furth,
And when it was proved
there were found some
in french, some in Greek,
some in English, and
some in other languages
and they were all to

21

one intent And hee made a
booke thereof how the
Crafte was founded & hee
himself bad and comanded
that it should be read or
told when anie mason
should be made, and for to
geve him his charges, And
from that daie antill this
time manners of masons
have been kepte in that
founde as well as men might
governe it, ffurthermore
att divers assemblies
certaine charges have
been made and ordain'd
by the best advice of maisters
and fellowes.

Tunc unus ex senioribus
tenet librum, et ille vel illi
apponunt manus sup libru
et tunc precepta debent legi.

22

Everie man that is
* * * * a mason take right
good heed to these charges
and if anie man find him :
: self guilty in of theis char :
: ges, that he amend him :
self against God, And es :
: pescially yee that are to
be charged take good heed
that yee maie keep theis
charges right well, for it
is a great perrill a man
to forswear himself upon
a booke, The first charge
is this that yee shall be
true men to God and holy
Church And that yee use noe
error nor heresie by your un :
: derstanding or discretion, but
bee ye discreet or wisemen in

each thinge * And alsoe that yee
know no treason nor treachery
but you amend it if

* And also that yee should be liege men
to the king of England witht Treason or
any other falsehood.

23

if yee maye or els
warne the kinge or his
councell thereof And alsoe
yee shall bee true each on to
other, that is to say to every
mason of the Crafte of Ma :
: sonrie that be masons al :
: lowed ye shall doe unto
them as would they should
doe unto you And alsoe
that you keep all the coun :
: cells of your fellowes truelie
be it in lodge or in Chamber
and all other councells that
ought to be kept by the waie
of Brotherhood, And alsoe
that noe mason shall be
a Theif or farr forth
as he maie witt or know
And alsoe that ye shall be
true each unto other, and
to the Lord or maister that
ye serve and truelie to see
to his profitts, and his

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and his advantage And
alsoe you shall call ma :
: sons fellowes or brethren
and non other fowle names
And alsoe ye shall not take
your fellowes wyfe in vil :
: lany nor desire ungodlie
his daughter nor his ser :
: vaunt nor putt him to noe
disworshipp And alsoe that
ye paie treulie for your meat
and drinke there where you
goe to bord where :
: by the Crafte mighte be

slaundered Theis be the
charges in generall y^{t}
longeth to every true ma :
: son to keepe both maisters
& fellowes.

Reherse I will other char :
: ges in singuler for mais :
: ters and fellowes ffirst
that noe maister or fellowe

25

shall take upon him anie
Lordes worke nor anie other
man's worke unlesse he
knowe himself able and suffi :
cient of cunning to performe
the same, Soe that the crafte
have noe Slaunder nor dis :
: woorshipp thereby, but that
the Lord maie be well and
truelie served Also that
noe maister take noe worke
but that he take it reasonablie
soe that the Lord maie be
well served with his owne
good and the maister to
live honestlie and paie his
fellowes truelie their paie
as the manner is Allsoe
that no maisters nor fellowes
shall not supplant anie
other of their woorke that
is to say, if he have taken
a woorke in hand or els
stand M^{r} of the Lordes

26

worke, he shall not putt him
out except he be unable of
cunninge to end the woorke
And alsoe that noe maister
or fellowe take noe prentice
but for the terme of vij
years and that the prentice
be able of Birth that is
to say freeborn and hole

of limnes as a man ought
to be and alsoe that noe
maisters nor fellowes take
noe allowannce to be made
mason with the assent
and councells of his fellowes
and that he take him for
noe less time then vij
years and y^t he which
shall be made a mason be
able in all manner of
degrees that is to saie free :
: born come of good kindre
true and no bondman
and alsoe that he have his

27

lymnes as a man ought to have
Alsoe that noe mason take anie
prentice unless he have an sufficient occu :
pacõn to sett him on or to sett
three of his fellowes or two att
the least on woorke And alsoe
that noe maister or fellowe shall
take noe man's woorke to taske
that was wont to goe to Jornie
Allso that every maister shall
geve paye to his fellowe but as they
deserve soe they be not deceived
by false woorkemen

Also that noe mason slander
another behind his backe to
make him loose his good name
or his woorldelie goods allso that
noe fellowe within the lodge or
without misannswere another
ungodlie or reproachfully with :
out some reasonable cause

28

Alsoe that every maison shall
reverence his elder and put him
to woorshipp And alsoe that
noe maison shall be
common player att hazard
or att dice, nor att anie other

slaundered **Theis** be the
charges in generall yt
longeth to every true ma :
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Alsoe that every maison shall
reverente his elder and put him
to worshipp And alsoe that
noe maison shall be
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or att dice nor att anie other..
unlawfull playes whereby
the Crafte might be slaundered
And alsoe that noe fellowe goe
into the towne night tymes
of fellowes w^th
out that hee have a fellowe w^th
him that maie beare him wit=
nes, that he was in honest
places Alsoe that every M^r
and fellowe shall come to the
assemblie if that it bee within
ffiftie Myles ab^t him if he have
anie warning And if he have
Trespassed against the Crafte
then for to abide the awarde
of the Maisters and fellowes
Alsoe that everie maister & fellowe
y^t have trespassed ag^t the
Crafte shall stand to ye awarde of y^e

Facsimile of Part of **The Bain MS.** (Exact Size of Original.)
The Property of Reginald A. Wilson, Esq, Armley, Leeds.

unlawfull playes, whereby
the Crafte might be slaundered
And alsoe that noe fellowe goe
into the towne night times
of fellows w^th^
: out that hee have a fellowe w^th^
him that maie beare him wit :
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then for to abide the awarde
of the Maisters and fellowes
Alsoe that everie maister & fellowe
y^t^ have trespassed ag^t^ the
Crafte shall stand to ye awarde of y^e^

29

maisters and fellowes to make
them accorded if they can and
if they cannot accorde them
then to goe to the Cōmon lawe.
Also that noe maister
fellowe make noe moulde nor
square nor rule to noe leyare
nor sett noe leyare within
the Lodge nor without to hewe
noe moulde stones And alsoe
that every mason receeve and
cherish strange fellowes when
they come over the Countries
and sett them a woorke if they
will as the manner is That
is to say if they have moulde
stones in his place, or els hee
shall refresh him with money
to the next Lodgeing And
allsoe that every maison shall
trulie serve the Lorde for his
paie And every maister trulie
to make an end of his worke
bee it taske or Jornie if he have

30

his demandes & all that he ought to have.

Theis charges that wee have now rehearsed vnto you and all other that belonge to masons yee shall keepe, **S**oe helpe you **G**od & your Hallidome.

Transcribed by me from the MS. in my possession, June, 1907.

REGINALD A. WILSON.



Book-Plate of Lord Petre, Grand Master 1772-1777.
From the original in the collection of
Bro. F. H. Goldney, P.G.D.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE TEMPLARS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND FOR HERESY, ETC., A.D. 1307-11.

TAKEN FROM THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE PERIOD.

BY BRO. E. J. CASTLE, K.C., *P.M.*

PART 3.

In the previous part (2) an account was given of the proceedings against the Templars in England. In the present part (3) it is proposed to deal with the proceedings against the Templars in France before the Pope's Commissioners.

In part (1) the circumstances have been given which led to the appointment of this Commission by Clement. The Commission it appears sat in Paris, and daily reports of its proceedings were written out by Notaries, in Latin, and at the close of the Commission two copies of these reports were made—one on vellum, according to Michelet, was sent to the Pope—it was, no doubt, accompanied by the finding of the Commissioners. Michelet says it is now to be found under the triple key of the Vatican. This however is not so, enquiries have been made by the author as to the whereabouts of this copy, and the answer is that it is not in the Vatican. Possibly it was destroyed before the Pope's return to Rome from France. There was, however, a second copy written on paper, which Michelet says, from its corrections and erasures, was probably the original statement written down day by day. This copy was not sent to the Pope, but was deposited in the treasury of the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, with a statement that it had been placed there by way of precaution, not to be shewn to anyone without special letters from the Pope. The Pope and King, and all concerned, soon passed away, and it appears that this copy had been taken from Notre Dame, and was found in private hands. It has been published by Michelet in 1841, who says that, "in order that the reader may be able to judge for himself, we put into his hands the most ancient criminal process of which there remains a detailed report, which will be found on enquiry singularly curious in the history of rites, manners and customs."

Unfortunately this record is in Latin and is very voluminous, there are nearly 1,000 pages, of a small folio size, containing the depositions of 231 witnesses, whose evidence for the most part is repetition—the same examination over and over again. It is evident that in a paper like the present, matters must be very much condensed, without, at the same time, omitting anything that really throws light upon the dispute. This requires careful reading, but the task is rendered somewhat easier by confining the enquiry to what was really the principal charge brought by Philip against the Templars, namely, that at the Reception of the Candidate the Second Person was denied and His cross insulted.

In the two volumes of Michelet there are to be found, not only an account of the proceedings before the Pope's Commissioners, but copies of the confessions obtained from the Templars by torture in 1307, two years before the Commission sat. These confessions were probably sent to the Pope's Commissioners by the King's party. We know that the alleged confessions of Robert de Sancto Justo and Gaufridus de Gonavilla, Preceptor of Acquitaine, were sent to England where they had been received[1],

[1] See part 2.

the object being to show that there was only one mode of reception, and as Gonavilla and Sancto Justo both confessed that at their reception in London at the Temple they denied the Saviour and insulted the Cross, it was to be presumed that at other receptions the same blasphemy took place. This matter has already been dealt with in part (2) and is only mentioned here as showing a probability that the copies of the confessions of 1307 were sent to the Commissioners. It will be seen, however, that they made an entirely independent examination, except in the case of the Grand Master, to whom they did read what he was alleged to have confessed in 1307. What took place at this interview between the Grand Master and the Pope's Commissioners will be dealt with in due course.

The proceedings before the Papal Commissioners may be divided into three distinct sittings.

The first sitting came to an end because they could not get anyone to defend the Order, owing to the Bishops not allowing those who were willing to do so, to appear before the Commissioners.

The second sitting took place after Philip came forward and ordered the Bishops to allow those willing to defend to appear. During this sitting proper defenders were appointed, and the enquiry was proceeding regularly until it was brought to a close by 54 of the Templars being burned. At this the Commissioners, in disgust, again adjourned.

During the third and last sitting the Commissioners met, but there was no longer any real enquiry. The Bishops sent up batch after batch of witnesses, telling similar tales, evidently agreed to and arranged beforehand. The Commissioners, those who chose to attend, listened to what they did not believe. This the King's party appears to have realised, until at last both sides grew weary of the farce, and the Commissioners, with the consent of the King, brought the proceedings to a close.

FIRST SITTING.

This commenced in November, 1309, with the reading of the Pope's Commission before a notary public, and other notaries and witnesses, of which the following is a *precis*.

> "Clement Bishop, servant of the servants of God to the venerable Brothers, the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishops of Bayeux and Mende and Limoges and his loved sons, the Masters, Matthew of Naples &c. our notary, the Archdeacon, John of Mantua, &c., &c."

In the citation afterwards issued for bringing up the Templars the Commissioners are described as persons, prudent and discreet, experts in law and fact (*personas providas et discretas in jure ac in facto expertas*). One of them no doubt was a trained lawyer, Matthew, the Pope's Notary, and no one who reads the depositions can fail to notice the dignity, firmness and great consideration for the unfortunate Templars with which the enquiry was conducted. It has already been stated that the Papal Bulls sent by Clement to the English Bishops and others about the Templars commenced with reciting the fact that there had been rumours about the Templars, this recital began with the words "Sane dudum." And we find the same words and the same recital in the Pope's Commission, which continues as follows :—"Sane dudum, &c."

> "Not long since, about the time of our promotion in the Apostolic See (November, 1305), and even before we came to Lyons, where we received the insignia of our Coronation, &c., a secret intimation was given to us that the Master Preceptors and the other Brethren of the Military Order of the Temple, and even the Order itself, who had been

> sent abroad for the defence of the land of our Lord Jesus Christ, had lapsed in unspeakable apostasy against God, detestable idolatory, execrable vice and many heresies. And because it did not seem reasonable and credible that men of such religion who were believed to often shed their blood and frequently risk their lives for Christ's name, and who showed such great and many signs of devotion both in divine offices as well in fasts, as in other observances, should be so forgetful of their Salvation as to do those things, we were unwilling to give ear to this insinuation and secret accusation.
>
> But afterwards our dearest Son in Christ, Philip the Illustrious, King of France, to whom these facts had been told (not prompted by avarice since he desired to keep or appropriate for himself no part of the property of the Templars, but liberally and devotedly left them to us and the Church to be administered, &c., in his kingdom by those deputed by us, and thenceforth to remove his hand from them altogether, but following the footsteps of his predecessors with the fervor of orthodox faith), angry at the premises, as well he might be, he sent us much and full information by his messengers and letters."

The Pope then says

> "That the scandal against the Templars about these wickednesses increasing, and because also a certain Knight of the Order, of great nobility, and who was held in no slight esteem, secretly deposed before us that at the reception of the Brethren this custom, or more correctly speaking, this abomination, took place, that at the suggestion of the Receptor, or of someone deputed by him, he who was received denied Jesus Christ and spat upon a cross shown to him in contempt of the 'Crucified,' and the Receptor and the Received did other things which are not lawful nor, humanly speaking, decent."

The Bull then recites the different steps that had been taken by the Pope to inform himself of these matters,

> "Especially when it came to our hearing that the Master Preceptors and other Brethren, and even the Order itself, were implicated in many other crimes, and that the premises appeared to be proved by the confessions of the Master Preceptors and other Brethren made before the Bishops and Inquisitors and shown to us."

Clement adds that he examined 72 Brethren himself, whose confessions were by public writers reduced into writing in the Pope's and their presence, and after the lapse of some days he had them read to them in public consistory and their purport explained to each one in their own language, which they acknowledged expressly and willingly as they were read and approved. The Pope then said, intending to examine the Master himself and the various Preceptors, he ordered them to come before him at Poictiers, but as some of them were infirm and could not ride, &c., he commissioned certain Cardinals to examine the Master and Preceptors not only as against themselves and the individual Brethren, but against the Order itself about the premises, &c., and to send their confessions to him, authorising the Cardinals to give the Masters and Preceptors absolution from the sentence of excommunication which, if the premises were true, they had incurred, if they humbly and devotedly asked for such absolution, &c., and that the said Master and Preceptors before the three Cardinals in the presence of

four Notaries (*tabellionibus publicis*) and many other good men, being sworn in the Holy Gospels of God to tell the truth, individually, freely and spontaneously, without any restraint or fear, deposed and confessed, amongst other matters, the denial of Christ, the spitting on the Cross when they were received into the Order of the Temple, and that some of them in the same way, that is to say, with the denial of Christ and the spitting on the Cross, had received many Brethren, and there were some of them who confessed other horrible and indecent matters, about which, for the present, for the sake of shame we hold our peace. And they also confessed that those things were true which they had confessed to the Inquisitor. That the Cardinals gave those who had confessed the absolution, which, with bended knees and folded hands and many tears, they had asked for, as the Church does not shut the fold to those returning, &c. These confessions were, the Pope says, reduced into writing and sent to him.

But the Pope was not prepared to act on these examinations (possibly it was too well known how they were obtained) otherwise he would not have issued the present Commission. His letter goes on to say,

> "From these confessions and depositions, and by relation, we find that the Master and brethren in and about the premises, some in many matters, others in fewer, have gravely sinned. But as we are not able to enquire ourselves about these things in all parts of the world where the Order is spread and the brethren live, we order you, in your discretion, by the advice of our brethren, and by apostolic writing, that you proceed personally to Paris, and to the diocese and province of Sens, and those being summoned who should be, by the public edict of the citation to be made by you in those places you consider expedient, you enquire with diligence and by our authority the truth against the Order on the articles which we enclose with our Bull, and upon any other which in your prudence may seem expedient, and what you find to be truth being reduced into writing by a public notary you faithfully under your seals transmit to us."

And that the witnesses which are summoned may give true testimony upon the said articles they are to be asked whether from prayer or payment, favor or fear, hate or love, they kept from giving evidence, and the Commissioners, armed with the ecclesiastical censure if anyone interfered with the witnesses, were directed if necessary, to call in the civil power. Authority was given, if all the Commissioners could not be present, for seven, six, five or four to sit. This Commission was dated as given at Poictiers the Ides of August, in the third year of our Pontificate. The Pope's Bull for the Commission having been read, together with other documents addressed to the Bishops and the King, authorising the Bishops to continue their proceedings against the individual members of the Order, the Commissioners issued their citation, which recited the appointment of the Archbishop of Narbonne and his colleagues, the rumours that had come to the Pope's ears, and then proceeded,

> "We call and cite peremptorily by the authority of the powers given us, by this public citation the said Order of the Temple, the brethren of the said Order and those summoned, on the first day not a holiday after the festival of St. Martin, should appear before us in the Episcopal Hall at Paris, to proceed in the premises, and those matters touching them, as far as shall be right."

The Bishops, in whose custody the Templars were, were required, in virtue of their sacred obedience, to publish and have read this citation when it reached them, in the Cathedrals and the great collegiate Churches, Schools, &c., and in the places where the Templars were detained, and messengers were sent out to the different provinces (Dioceses), who were sworn, touching the holy gospels, to faithfully, &c., to deliver the Commissioner's letters to those to whom they were addressed. This was on the 9th August.

On the Thursday, November 12th, the morrow of St. Martin, the Commissioners met in the Episcopal Hall, but no one appeared on behalf of the Order or the Brethren, and after waiting to the third hour and celebrating Mass in the Church of the Blessed Mary, the Commissioner called John Alladent, the sworn apparitor of the official court at Paris, and having sworn him to execute faithfully their orders, he was ordered to proclaim in a loud voice, in the Hall and Church, and at the principal door of the said Hall, that anyone who wished to appear for the said Order, brethren and others summoned, or to say anything to them, should come before them, who were ready to benignly hear them and to do what should be done. But the unhappy Templars were under lock and key, and the Bishops and others having them in custody made no attempt to produce them. The report goes on to say that, no one answering, the Commissioners adjourned to the morrow. But no one appeared on the following day (Friday) and another adjournment took place, and the same thing occurred on the Saturday and and Monday following. In the meantime the Commissioners had been reading the letters from the Bishops and others, some stating that they had executed the orders of the Commissioners as to the publication of the citation, others appearing not to have done so, and no reply seems to have been sent by the Bishop of Paris, whereupon the Commissioners on the Tuesday adjourned to the following Saturday, but, before doing so, directed letters to be sent as follows: After reciting their former citation, &c., the Bishops were ordered that if any of the brethren wished to speak for the Order their jailers were to produce them in safe custody before the Commissioners, so that the Commission might proceed, and they explained that they did not intend to enquire about the brethren as individuals or into any matter touching them personally, but only against the Order, and they did not require anyone to be forced to come, but only those who wished to come voluntarily.

On the Saturday, the 22nd November, the Bishop of Paris came in person and informed the Commissioners that he had personally gone to the places, where the Grand Master of the Temple, and Hugh de Payraudo, the visitor of the Order in France, and some of the Brethren were confined, and he had read to them in Latin and explained with care in French the Apostolic Bull and the letters of the Commissioners and their citations, and that the Master Visitor, &c., said they wished to appear before the Commission and others, that they wished to defend the Order, whereupon the Commissioners ordered Philip, the Prepositor of the Church at Poictiers, and John de Jamville, who had charge of the Templars, to bring before them the Master, Visitor and those who wished to defend the Order when they wished to come, which the said Philip and John de Jamville replied should be promptly done.

These two guardians or jailors of the Templars, Philip of Poictiers and John de Jamville appear in the course of this enquiry in a very unfavourable light. They seem to be the heavy villains of the piece. Yet they in some ways differed in their treatment of their unhappy victims, as the two ruffians did in the tale of the "Babes of the Wood," who we were told in the nursery, fought to the death, because whilst one proposed to

cut the children's throats the other wished more mercifully, to lose them in the forest, and so to leave them to the peaceable death of starvation.

But at present they were on their good behaviour, and accordingly on this Saturday, the report says, they brought six Templars before the Commissioners. Those six, whose names are given, apparently did not know why they were there, or what they were supposed to say or do. The following is a short account of their examination :—

> "Brother Gerald Knight, asked as to the cause of his coming, replied he had come because he believed from something said by the Bishop of Paris and others at the publication of the citation that the Commissioners wished him to appear before them, and to be informed by him of the doings of the said Order, or to know from him whence he came, and he was ready to reply if they wished to ask him about anything, or to be informed by him, to whom the Commissioners said that they had not called anyone to come of necessity by their citation, nor was it their intention that anyone should be induced to come before them at present, and they were not enquiring about individuals but about the Order, and by the citation they had not summoned anyone to give evidence, but to come if they wished to defend the Order, because they were waiting to hear him as far as was reasonable. On being asked whether he wished to defend the Order he finally said after many words that he was a simple Knight without horses, arms or lands, and he neither was able nor of sufficient knowledge to defend the Order. And the other five, asked about the cause of their coming, replied in effect as Brother Gerald had, and said they were not willing to defend the Order, as they were illiterate (*quia simplices erant*), and they were not able, and did not know how to do so."

The next two witnesses produced by Philip and Jamville were by no means "simplices," for they were the visitor, Hugh de Payraudo, and the Grand Master James de Molay. It has already been stated that both of these, with 142 other Templars, had been examined by William of Paris, the Grand Inquisitor, either by himself or deputy, in the months of October and November, 1307, and that copies of their alleged depositions or confessions are published by M. Michelet at the end of the second volume of the *Procès des Templiers.*

These confessions if true appear to be conclusive of the guilt of the Order. For they all admit in the clearest way the denial of the Saviour and the insult to his Cross, and nearly all of them admit that at their reception permission was given them to commit the crime. These confessions purport to be made before witnesses whose names are given, and generally they were written out and signed by three public notaries, one acting under the authority of the Roman Church, one under the Imperial authority, and one under that of the Pope, so that on their face they have every appearance of being *bonâ fide* and true. Yet if M. Michelet's test is to be applied to them they bear evidence of being not so. For not only is the language used the same in all cases, but the order in which the incidents occur are all equally so. With the exception of the Grand Master and the Visitor, whose confessions differ from all the others, witness after witness says when being asked how he was received into the Order; that after being told about keeping the statutes and secrets of the Order the mantle was put on his neck, the Receptor, or some one deputed by him, led him apart, and showed him a cross on which was depicted the figure of Jesus Christ crucified, which he was

told to deny, and which he did with his mouth, not heart (*ore non mente*), and spat on the Cross, which he did near, not on (*non supra sed juxta*). Then he was given permission for the crime, each one using the same words, &c.[1] This is the common form of the evidence. The depositions are very short, as many as seven or eight witnesses were examined in a day, a short period in which such terrible admissions would likely to be made. If they were true one would have expected hesitation, erasures and attempted excuses. Instead of which we have an almost brutal form of confession. The 144 witnesses were examined between the 17th day of October and the 21st November. Five witnesses were examined on the first day, six on the second, eleven on the third, and so on.

It seems impossible that witnesses received in different parts of the world, some years and years before the others, would have had the same words used to them and the same things done in the same order. This we shall realise better when the depositions which were taken before the Commissioners are compared with those taken before the Grand Inquisitor. In the latter, as stated, we have almost a common form, in the former it will be seen that every witness tells the story in his own way, except that there is generally something in common between the different sets or batches of witnesses when sent up from the same prison by the same Bishop.

Hugh de Payraudo, visitor of France, the next witness, had, it was alleged, confessed everything before the Inquisitor in 1307. Unfortunately in his examination before the Commissioners no reference was made to this confession, as was done in the case of the Grand Master, so that we do not know whether he would have repudiated such confession as the latter did. For it must be remembered that the Templars were all under lock and key, they did not know what was being said about them in the outer world. It is recited in the Pope's Bulls that they or some of them acknowledged these confessions and persisted in them. But if the confessions were false those who forged them would have no difficulty in forging statements that the witnesses acknowledged their truth, for the only time, for instance, that we know authentically that the Grand Master heard what he and others were stated to have confessed, it will be seen he indignantly called their authors liars.

> Hugh de Payraudo, Knight Visitor of France, was brought before the Commissioners by Philip and de Jamville, he was asked the reason of his coming, and if he wished to defend the Order. He replied he came to their presence to see them, for the Bishop of Paris told him that it pleased the Commissioners that those who wished to say anything about the Order should appear before them, and he had come that they should urge the Pope and King not to waste or consume the wealth of the Temple, but preserve and apply it to the aid of the Holy Land, for which it was from the first intended. He also said he had discussed many matters concerning the Order with the Lord Pope and the three Cardinals sent to enquire of him or others, and he was ready now to speak in the presence of the Pope, but he wished to say nothing to the Commissioners, and they stated that they were ready to hear him, as far as was reasonable, if he wished to defend the Order. And when he had said he should say nothing more then, permission was given him to return to whence he came.

[1] See Appendix.

This deposition should be compared with De Payraudo's alleged confession in 1307,[1] in which he admitted the deni l, &c., as well as the permission to commit crime, and that he had received a great many brethren and indecently kissed them, and had told them it was permitted to commit the crime, but he said this was not with his heart but mouth. Asked why he did so, said, on his oath, because it was the use of the Order. He said he believed all the brethren had been received in the same way, and he had seen the head, which he adored with his mouth and not his heart, that he did not know whether others adored with their hearts, &c. He said the head was at a house at Monteposulam, but he did not know if the King's officers found it there. He said it had four feet—two in front and two behind, and asked if he, by fear of torture, prison, or from any other cause, he had added falsehood to his deposition, or had been silent about any truth, on his oath, he said No, he had told the mere truth without any falsehood.

It is a great pity that this confession was not read to him by the Commissioners, we should then have heard what he thought about it. It refers to the head It will be seen later on how that lie was exposed.

There was one possible explanation about these alleged confessions, in 1307, before the Grand Inquisitor, and that is they were the answers to certain fixed questions put to the witnesses when either on the rack or so terrified by the fear of it that the witnesses answered in the affirmative to each question, such as: "Was the mantle put on your neck? "Yes" Did the Receptor then take you on one side? "Yes." Did he shew you a cross? "Yes," &c. Were you asked to deny him whose image was thereon? "Yes." Did you do this with your mouth or heart? "Mouth." &c. This would account for the uniform way in which these confessions were answered, and is borne out by at least one witness. Larchent whose confession was read to him, in his examination before the Commissioners, denied everything in the fullest terms; whereas before the Inquisitors he confessed the denial, insult, crime, &c. Before the Commissioners he was asked if he had not confessed errors before the Bishop of Paris. He said he did not recollect, adding, that before the Bishop examined him he had been tortured.

After the retirement of De Payraudo the following incidents occurred, which shew the danger there was of even being thought a Templar. The report is,

> "On the same day, Saturday, it came to the knowledge of some of the Commissioners, from information secretly received, that some men were imprisoned in Paris who said they had come for the Templars and to defend the Order. This being told to the rest of the Commissioners, they had brought before them the Governor of the Citadel of Paris, who, being asked if he kept in prison some persons who said they had come to defend the Order, said he had seven men in his custody whom he seized in lay attire, by the order of some of the King's Counsel, to whom it had been told that they were fugitive Templars who had come to Paris in disguise with money to find Advocates and Counsel, and to find out what was doing in the Temple matter, and that he had spoken with two of them, and even put them to the question, and he found out it was not true as he had been told. He was ordered to bring these persons immediately before the Commissioners, and when they came, in secular habit, they were diligently examined as to their names, condition and cause of coming, and if they wished to defend the

[1] See Appendix, and Michelet, vol. ii., p. 361.

> Order. It appeared only one of the seven admitted that he was and had been a Templar. They were all unwilling to defend the Order, and the Commissioners told the Governor he was in no way to prevent persons from coming before the Commissioners who wished to defend the Order, &c., nor permit others to do so. Whereupon the Governor, with the consent of a Knight of the King, whom the Commissioners had sent for, as it was by his orders the men had been arrested, promised not to hinder or withdraw any one from the defence of the Order. The Templar was handed over to the Bishop of Paris, but the rest were ordered to be released."

No one else appearing, the Apparitor was sent to cry out, as before, if anyone wished to appear, &c., and no one appeared, upon which the Commission adjourned to the Monday, November 24th, and, as again, no one came forward, the Apparitor was told to cry outside the Hall, but without effect, and the Commission adjourned to the Tuesday. A fortnight had therefore elapsed, and nothing done.

On the Tuesday, the 26th November, 1309, Philip and de Jamville brought up the Grand Master to be examined by the Commissioners. It has already been stated that he was one of those who it was said had been examined by the Grand Inquisitor in the House of the Temple at Paris. His confession, or alleged confession, is published by M. Michelet.[1] It will be seen it is a much more moderate confession than those said to have been made by the Visitor, Preceptors, &c. There is no reason why De Molay, who must have been as other Templars were whilst young and unknown, should have been received differently from the rest, or not have had anything said to him about the crime. But there may have been a reason, looking at his high position and influence, for toning down the more objectionable features to be found in the other confessions. His deposition is very short, and, as it is referred to and read to him by the Commissioners at his examination before them, and repudiated by him, it is advisable to state what he was said to have confessed to the Grand Inquisitor, October 24th, 1307. At this time he was an old man, having been, as he said, 42 years in the Order.

> James de Molay, Grand Master, &c., in the presence of William of Paris, Inquisitor, sworn on the Holy Evangelist put before him and bodily touched by him, to tell the full plain and whole truth about himself and others, was asked about the time and mode of his reception. He said, on his oath, that 42 years had passed since he was received near Belna by Brother Imbertus de Parado, present, Almarico and many others whose names he did not recollect. He said, on his oath, that after many promises made by him on the observances and statutes of the Order, they put the mantle on his neck. The Receiving Brother had a brass cross, on which was the figure of the crucified, brought into his presence, and he told him and ordered him to deny Christ, whose figure was there, which he unwillingly did, and then the Receptor ordered him to spit on it, and he spat on the ground. Asked how often? on his oath he said he only spat once, and this he clearly remembered. Asked when he took the vow of chastity if anything was said to him about the crime, he said, on his oath, "No," nor did he ever commit it. Asked, upon his oath, what other Brethren of the Order were received in the same way, he said he believed nothing was

[1] Vol. ii., p. 316.

> done to him which was not done to others, however, he said he had received very few. He said, upon his oath, after he had received those he did, he ordered some of the bystanders to take them on one side and to do to them what they ought. He said, on his oath, that his intention was that they should do and order, that to them (the received) what was done to him, and that they should be received in the same way. Asked if through force, or fear of torture, or prison or from any other cause, he had stated any falsehood in his deposition, or concealed any truth, he said, on his oath, "No," but he had spoken the simple truth, on account of the salvation of his soul.

This statement, no doubt, sounds as if it were a true report. But some things must be remembered. The Pope was not satisfied with this confession of the Grand Master, supported, as it was, by similar confessions of the Visitor, of the Grand Preceptors of Cyprus, Normandy Poictiers, and many other Preceptors and Knights. Though this confession was read to him, De Molay repudiated it before the Papal Commission, and at the stake he withdrew all admissions he had made against the Order. But in whatever light we look upon this confession, it is difficult to explain it, either to suppose it was true, or that it was a fabrication by William of Paris. But, to return to the proceedings of the Commissioners their report is as follows:—

> "After reading to De Molay in French the citation, &c., he said he wished to come. Asked if he wished to defend the Order or say anything for it, he said that the Order was confirmed and privileged by the Apostolic See, and it seemed very wonderful to him that the Roman Church wished suddenly to proceed to the destruction of this Order when the sentence of deposition against the Emperor Frederick occupied thirty-two years. He also said he was not so wise as he should be, nor of such counsel that he could defend the Order by himself, but he was prepared, as far as he could, to defend it, for otherwise he would consider himself vile and miserable, and might be so considered by others, unless he defended the Order from which he had received such advantages and honours; however, it seemed to him difficult to do so when he was a prisoner of the Lords, Pope and King, nor had he anything, not fourpence, which he could expend for this defence or other matters, except as he was helped. On this account he asked for help and advice to be given to him, saying that his intention was that the truth of the matters of which the Order was accused should be known not only to those of the Order but in all parts of the world by Kings, Princes, Priests, Dukes, Counts and Barons, &c. And he was ready to rely upon the depositions and testimony of Kings, Princes, &c., and other worthy men. But the task was a difficult one, and he had no one with him except a serving brother, with whom he could consult. The Commissioner told him he should well and fully deliberate on the defence, which he offered to undertake, and that he should refer to what he had confessed against himself and the Order, and they said they were willing to accept him as Defender as far as was reasonable if he persisted, and to give him time if he wished to think the matter over. They, however, wished him to know that in cases of heresy of faith the proceedings were simple and without the noisy arguments and pleadings of Advocates and Judges."

That the Master might be able to think the matter over fully, the Commissioners caused the different documents against the Order, in which were recited the matters which he was said to have confessed, to be read. The report says:—

> "He, by making the sign of the Cross twice before his face, and by other signs, seemed to pretend to be so greatly stupified at those things set out in his and other confessions in the Apostolic letters, saying, evidently in anger, 'If the Commissioners were other than they were, persons who might hear such things, he would have a different tale to tell" (*quod si dicti commissarii fuissent alii, quibus liceret hoc audire ipse diceret aliud*), and when they replied that they were not there to receive challenges for a duel, the Master said he did not intend to say so. But would that it pleased God that what was the practice of the Saracens, or Tartars, might happen to such liars (*perversos*) in this case. For the Saracens and Tartars cut off the heads of found out liars (*perversis inventis*) or cut them in halves. And then the Commissioners remarked that the Church judged those heretics who were found out to be heretics, and delivered those who were obstinate to the civil power."

From this passage of arms it is clear that the Master was either acting a part or he was surprised and indignant at the statements in the confession he was alleged to have made. It must be remembered that he was in captivity, and ignorant of what was being said of him in the outer world. It is therefore possible that the confession was a forgery. At all events he denied it before the Commissioners. This is about the only case where the Commissioners in any way threatened the witnesses, as they did De Molay, by telling him that "the Roman Church delivered obstinate heretics to the civil power," in other words had them burned at the stake. The Roman Catholic Church has always attached a peculiar merit to Confession, and the practice of the Inquisitors was to make their victims confess, even if the confession was extorted by fear and torture. If after confession the accused committed fresh heresy he was treated as a relapsed Heretic, and if he either refused to confess, or went back from his confession, he was called "obstinate" and burned. It will be seen that a great number of the Templars were burned, De Molay himself among the number, for being "obstinate." This view it seems obtained in the Spanish Inquisition down to the time of its suppression. In its history, by its former Secretary, the following passage occurs.[1]

> "According to the Laws of the Inquisition they do not deliver over to the secular arm any but such as are relapsed or unwilling to confess the crimes laid to their charge. It may be observed that those who have escaped the flames are strictly obliged as soon as ever they are set free from prison to publish abroad that they have been treated with the utmost goodness and clemency, because the man who having declared himself guilty should attempt after his enlargement to demonstrate his innocence would be instantly seized and burned at the first *auto da fé*, without the smallest hope of mercy or pardon."

What the result of the passage of arms between De Molay and the Commissioners would have been, cannot be known, for, unfortunately for the former, there was at his side a knight of the King, William de Plasiano, an emissary from the King's party, sent to keep De Molay from saying too much. The Commissioners are careful to say that he had not come there by their invitation. It appears that at this period of his examination,

[1] History of the Inquisition, p. 243.

De Molay and De Plasiano consulted together. De Plasiano had informed the Commissioners that he loved, and had loved, De Molay, because both were knights, and he had, as he told the Commissioners, to take care that De Molay neither blamed nor destroyed himself without cause. Unfortunately, De Molay heard what De Plasiano said, hesitated and then said, "He plainly saw that unless he fully considered matters, he might easily fall into a trap, and he therefore wished to consider, and asked the Commissioners to give him an adjournment till next Friday, which they granted him, offering longer time if he wished it."

No one else appearing, the Commissioners adjourned till Thursday, 27th November, intending to take other witnesses, on which day Rudolph de Gisiaco, Preceptor of Belvicanis et Latigniaco Sico, on being asked why he came, and if he wished to defend the Order, replied: "He did not wish to say anything for the Order, nor to defend it, nor to say anything other than what he had said in his confession." His confession does not appear to have come down to us, but as he was the Receptor for Campania, he is mentioned by several of those examined before the Inquisition in 1307, as having received them. Before the Commissioners he seemed to have been in an insolent mood. For he told them he had only come because the Bishop of Paris said that those who asked to come could, and because he wished to see the said Lords Commissioners (*quod volebat dictos dominos commissarios videre.*)

The evidence of the next witness, Ponzardus de Gisi, is worth being set out at length. It will be seen he also refers to his examination, but it has not been preserved; perhaps because it was not what the Inquisition wanted.

> On being asked if he wished to defend the Order; said the articles charged against the Order (*articuli qui sunt impositi dicto ordini*), viz., to deny Christ, to spit on the cross, and to have permission to commit the crime and other enormities were false, and whatever he or other brethren of the Order had confessed before the Bishop of Paris or elsewhere was false, and said in consequence of violence and on account of danger and fear, because they were tortured by Florian, Prior of Montefalcon

(He was one of the two Templars who, being in prison, first brought these charges. One need hardly remark upon the cruelty and injustice of allowing one in Florian's position to torture. Torture is bad enough in itself, but it seems hard to believe that anyone with the smallest scruples of conscience could allow it to be administered by one who had such a direct interest in obtaining the required confessions)

> and William Robert, a monk, their enemies, and giving as further reasons for these false confessions the information given against them before they were detained in prison, the fear of death, because thirty-six of their brethren died in Paris, by starvation (*jainnam*) and torture, and many others in different places. He also said he was ready to defend the Order for himself and those with him if he was supplied from the funds of the Temple, and he asked that Reginald, of Orleans, and Peter, of Bonona, Priests of the Order, might help and advise him. And he produced a list of those he said were the enemies of the Order:—William Robert, the Monk who put them to torture; Florian, formerly the Prior of Montefalcon; Bernard Peletus Prior, (see part 2 for this gentleman's performances in England), with others.
>
> Asked if he had ever been tortured, he replied that for three months before he confessed to the Bishop of Paris his hands were tied so tightly that his blood ran to his nails, in a dungeon, where he remained for a

long time (*spacium unius leugæ*), and he protested and said that if he was now put in torture he would deny all things which he said just now and would say what anyone wished. Much as he was able to suffer for a short time, the burning fire or boiling water, for the honour of the Order, he could not bear the long torment which he went through two years or more, subsisting in prison. Asked if he wished to say anything against the Commissioners proceeding well and faithfully with the enquiry, he answered "No," and that he wished them to examine good men."

The King's party had not, however, allowed so strong a partizan to go before the Commissioners unless they had some answer. In this case it appears that Ponzardus had at one time sent to the Prepositor, Philip, a schedule of matters against the Order. These Philip produced, and they were read. The matters referred to were sufficiently scandalous against a holy and uncorrupt Order. Possibly they were true, and, being so, were the real reasons why the Templars should have been suppressed. But it will be seen that there is nothing in them that savours of heresy, or of revolting crimes, and seeing that they were the charges brought forward in anger, presumably were the worst Ponzardus could think of. On the principle that *expresio unius exclusio alterius*, these articles, though their production threw Ponzardus into confusion, rather confirm his statement that Templars were not guilty of the heretical and disgraceful crimes imputed to them.

"Item, when Philip, the Prepositor of Poictiers had delivered to my Lords the Commissioners a document in the presence of Ponzardus, and read it to him, the latter said "truth did not lurk in corners" (*Veritas non quæsit angulos*)[1] That he had written such a document, which he gave to Philip that he should bring it before the Commissioners and have it read. He also said he had written it when angry against the Order, because the Treasurer of the Temple had spoken contemptuously of him."

The schedule was headed:—

Here are the articles on which the brethren should be examined, which as yet they have not been.

It is not necessary to give them at length, as they are only a negative proof. They complain of the brethren not taking infants to receive baptism. Making sisters of the Order, swearing them to chastity, promising to treat them with respect as sisters, and seducing them when admitted, and bringing up the children as brethren of the Order, and though they were to make only fit and proper persons brethren, with all their limbs, not bastards, and of good life and conversation, they would make a thief, others would put to death a brother if only he had money. The Order was accused of simony, in admitting brethren for money for which they ought to have been excommunicated, in which case they would only be absolved by the Pope himself, and they made a brother so received swear and perjure himself that he has not been admitted by gift or promises. That the chiefs, if any brother said anything to annoy, bribed the Provincial Commander to send them abroad to die in a strange land; or by the duel or poverty, brought them to death. If they escaped from the religion and were caught they were put in prison, and he brought charges against Brother Gust. de Villiers for losing l'ille de Tourtose, &c., and this he was willing to prove by his glove, &c., &c.

[1] See *Measure for Measure.*

These charges were very possibly true, and were matters that might have well been enquired into but as stated, they in no ways weaken the evidence of Ponzardus about the charges brought by the King. The reading however, of the document, seems to have shaken his courage, for he said he feared that by offering to defend the Order, the severity of his imprisonment would be increased, and he asked the Commissioners to say that he should not be treated more severely, and the Commissioners told Philip and Jamville that in no way should this be done on account of his offering himself to defend the Order, and they replied that on this account the severity should not be increased.

Raynouard speaks very highly of his witness as being the first who had the courage of offering to defend the Order. He does not, however, mention the fact of Ponzardus having made out his own list of charges against the brethren.

[1]The rest of the day was occupied with the examination of ten witnesses, all refused to defend the Order. Those who were asked the question said they persevered in their confession made to the Bishop of Paris. The witness, John de Furno, said he did not wish to quarrel (*litigare*) with the Pope and King. The Commissioners said that it was not quarreling but the truth they wanted, they were not Commissioners of the King but of the Pope, who according to his duty desired to know the truth, &c. To this he made no reply, but said he did not wish to defend the Order. He also, when asked if he persevered in his confession, said yes, except the disgraceful sin (crime) which confession, if he had made it, he had elsewhere he believed recalled, and he did now recall it. Asked why he had made such confession, he replied he had been tortured for three months before doing so, believed he would be put to torture again, and had been ill for a year on account of these tortures.

We shall see, later on, that Philip and Jamville, the jailors, were telling the witnesses that if they went back from their confessions they would be burned, and we shall also see that this was no idle threat. As already stated those who did not keep to their confessions, however obtained, were treated as "obstinate" heretics by the Inquisition, and burned. This is the probable explanation of these ten witnesses confirming their so-called confessions and de Furno was allowed to withdraw his about the crime.

On the morrow, Friday, the day up to which De Molay had asked for time, he was brought again before the Commissioners by the two gaolers, Philip and De Jamville. De Molay first thanked the Commissioners for the adjournment given him for deliberation, and for their having offered him a longer one if he had been pleased to accept it, and by this he said they had placed a bridle on his neck. Asked if he wished to defend the Order, he replied he was an illiterate Knight, and he had heard in an apostolic letter read to him, that his case, and that of other chiefs of the Order, the Pope had reserved for himself, and therefore for the present he was unwilling to do anything in the matter.

On more than one occasion it is stated that the Pope had reserved the cases of the Grand Master and the heads of the Order for his own consideration, *i.e.*, we have seen that De la Moore, the Master in England, was left for the Pope's decision,[2] and De Molay also refers to his case being considered by the Pope. The Pope, however, never did take his case. But, as we know from history, he was burnt, in 1314, as an obstinate heretic.

The full account of what passed between him and the Commissioners is of interest.

[1] Vol. 1, p. 39. [2] See part 2.

Asked expressly whether at present he wished otherwise to defend the Order, he said "No," but he would go before the Pope when the Pope pleased, praying the Commissioners and asking them, as he and other men were mortals, and might have no other time than now, that they would communicate with the Pope, so that he might summon the Grand Master before him as quickly as he could, because then he might say much to the Pope of what would be for the honor of Christ and the power of his Church.

Asked if he wished to say anything why the Commissioners, who were not concerned with the cases of individuals, but only that of the Order, should not proceed well and faithfully in the matter of the Inquisition against the Order committed to them by the Pope, &c., he replied "No," only asking them to proceed well and faithfully in the matter. Which done the Master said that he wished, for the exoneration of his conscience, to bring forward three things about the Order That he knew of no religious Order in which the churches and chapels of the religion had better and more beautiful ornaments and relics belonging to Divine worship, nor any in which the latter was conducted better, except in Cathedral churches. The second was he knew no religious Order in which they gave more in charity than in theirs. In all the Houses of the Order, by a general ordinance of the Order, they gave alms three times a week to all who asked to receive them. The third was he knew of no other religious body, nor any persons, who had so readily exposed themselves to death and shed so much of their blood, for the defence of their Christian faith against its enemies, and who had caused more fear to the enemies of the Christian Faith, and he mentioned the case of Count Atrabalensis, who died abroad in battle, who apparently lost his life by not trusting to the then Master of the Templars, &c. But when he was answered that these things did not profit the salvation of souls when the Catholic Faith had ceased to be the foundation, he replied this was true, and that he believed in one God and in the Trinity of Persons, and in other things appertaining to the Catholic Faith, that there was one God, and one Faith, and one baptism, and one Church, and when the soul separated from the body, then it would appear who was good and who bad. and therefore he wished us to know the truth of the matter now under consideration.

It appears that William de Nogaret, Chancellor to Philip, was present, a fact of which Raynouard makes complaint. He intervened at this point—when, as the report puts it—after the answer of the Master, who had refused to defend the Order except as above stated, Nogaret told him.

That in the chronicles at St. Deny's it was stated that in the time of Saladin (about the time of Richard I.) the then Master of the Temple, and the other chiefs of the Order did homage to Saladin, and that Saladin, hearing of the great adversities the Templars were suffering from, said, in public, that the Templars underwent this adversity because they were guilty of the disgraceful crime, and because they were false (*prevaricati*) to their faith and law. The Master was very stupified at these words, saying that up to then he had never heard them. But,

> however, he well knew that when he was abroad, during the time De Bellojoco was Master of the Order, he (De Molay) and many brethren of the Order, young, longing for war, as the custom is of young Knights who want to see feats of arms, and others outside their Order, murmured against the said Master, because during the truce which the deceased King of England[1] had made between the Christians and Saracens, he submitted (*serviebat*) to the Soldan and kept him friendly. But finally De Molay and others of the company of the Order of the Temple were satisfied about this, seeing that the said Master (De Bellojoco) could not do otherwise, because their Order at that time held in its power and under its charge many cities and many fortresses within the borders of the Soldan's territories, naming the places, which otherwise they could not have retained, and even then they would have been lost, if the King of England had not sent assistance.
>
> Afterwards the aforesaid James, Master of the Temple, humbly asked the Commissioners and the King's Chancellor that it would please them to order and arrange that he the Master might hear Mass and the other sacred offices, and have his chapel and chaplains, and the Commissioners and Chancellor, praising the devotion which he showed (*pretendebat*) said they would arrange for these things.

As stated, the Pope never did see him or deal with his case, and it is said the great object of Philip was to keep the two apart. However much one may blame De Molay in not undertaking the defence of the Order, the report of his examination shows that he never admitted that the Order had denied the Saviour, &c. On the contrary he would hardly have referred to the beauty of their churches, the way in which the services were celebrated in those Churches, &c, if he knew that he had admitted, and it was common knowledge, that the Order made a point of denying the Second Person and insulting His Cross. In such a case the more admirable the way they outwardly performed their religious duties the greater would be their hypocrisy. It was this, no doubt, that made the Commissioners say that these matters did not bring Salvation where the Catholic Faith was not their foundation. But the Commissioners and De Molay seem to have been at cross purposes. They did not on the one hand charge him with having confessed the Denial and Insult, but on the other argued as if he had done so; whilst De Molay never seems to have realised the terrible charges which he and others were supposed to have confessed. It is as if one charged with having confessed murder urged that he always went to Church.

The examination of De Molay appears to have taken some time, as there was only one other witness called the same day, 28th November, who only said that the Order had good defenders in the Pope and King, and he was satisfied with their defence. Upon the question however being pressed if he wished to defend, he said he did not, and wished the Commissioners to proceed and act well and faithfully. This witness, Petrus de Safel, was a serving Brother, and was the cook or servant of the Grand Master. He was one of those who confessed everything in 1307 to the Inquisitor.

No one else appeared, and the Commissioners during the day read the letters they had received from the Archbishops and Bishops about the publication of the Citation, many of these letters were unsatisfactory, and some had not answered,

[1] Edward I. who was in the Holy Land 40 years before the period, when, according to some, the errors in the Order began.

especially where the Templars were confined, and those who were summoned did not come. The Commissioners felt it useless to proceed, and being unwilling in such a difficult matter to be precipitate, they determined to send another public edict to the Archbishops, &c. In this, after reciting their former citation and the little attention paid to it, they issued a peremptory citation that all who wished to defend the Order, &c., should appear before them the first lawful day (*die juridica*) after the next Feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary, and under criminal penalties, "if anyone of the said Order said he wished to defend it, he is to be sent under proper custody before us, &c."

In order to make this second Citation more effectual than the first the Commissioners obtained from Philip his Royal Letters directed to his Seneschals and Bailiffs.

> To bring those who wished to defend not themselves or individuals but the Order, to Paris, before the presence of the Pope's deputies (the Commissioners), but under such superior, safe and certain custody that they could not escape, and so carefully and separately so that they might not be able to suborn one another, nor to arrange any collusion, falsehood, contrivances or subterfuges. (*Parisius ad presentiam deputatorum ipsorum sub'tam fide tutâ et certâ custodiâ quod non possint aufugere; et ita caute et segragatim quod se invicem non valeant subornare aut aliquas collusiones falsitates machinaciones aut subterfugia fabricare*). They were to be brought without delay or contradiction of any kind, so that the Commissioners (*deputati*) might proceed, the first lawful day after the Purification, &c.

Before these letters of Philip, the Commissioners had been treated somewhat contemptuously, but both the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Bayeux are stated to have been with Philip and not sitting.

It has already been stated that, according to Michelet, Philip was trying to make Clement have a public trial for Heresy of the late Pope Boniface, who was charged with openly scoffing at the Christian religion of whhich he was the head. Philip and his Chancellor Noyard had been his enemies in life and were pushing matters rigorously and relentlessly against him when dead, and had evidence of his remarks and conversations that could not be contradicted. Terrible scandal would have ensued if the Pope had had to try his predecessor for heresy, and Michelet says that Clement agreed to give up the Templars if Philip would let the Boniface prosecution drop, and so sacrificed the living to save the reputation of the dead. Whatever the reason we see a change did take place and the King ordered all the Templars within his dominions to be brought before the Commissioners. But this concession was more apparent than real; Philip did not intend to let his prey escape. During the vacancy in the See of Sens, already referred to, the Bishop of Orleans had acted, and it appears that he had absolved and reconciled to the Church several Templars, for, as the Pope said, the Church doors are not to be shut to those who wish to return.

But only some appear to have been thus reconciled. There were others who were left in prison unreconciled, and the part taken by the Archbishop of Sens and his Bishops was to revive the process against these, and so counteract the action of the Commissioners by coercing the witnesses before they could be heard, and either compelling them to confirm these confessions or sending them to the stake if they refused. But this was in the future.

In the meantime the Commissioners adjourned to the day mentioned in the second citation and the King's letter, and so the first sitting of the Papal Commission came to an end.

SECOND SITTING.

The Commissioners met after the adjournment on Monday the 3rd of February, 1310. There were present the Bishops of Bayeux, &c. The Archbishop of Narbonne, being, as he said, summoned by the King, asked to be excused for that day and all other days on which he happened to be absent, wishing the Commissioners, however, to proceed in the enquiry, notwithstanding his absence.

Accordingly the Commissioners, after hearing Mass in the Church of the Blessed Mary of Paris (Notre Dame), waited there, but no one appeared, and no one was brought before them owing to the floods being out, the asperity of the weather and other hindrances which took place on account of the short interval allowed. They adjourned first to the next day, Tuesday, then to Thursday, on which day, no one still appearing, they ordered Philip of Poictiers and De Jamville to bring before them on the morrow certain Templars which were said to have arrived from the diocese Maliscenensis.

On Friday they met again, the Archbishop retiring, saying he was summoned by the King, but it was arranged that all the Templars in Paris who might be willing to defend the Order should be brought before the Commissioners and asked individually if they wished to defend, and their answers were to be taken down in writing. Accordingly, certain Templars were examined separately, some being left together in one part of the hall, the one under examination taken by himself, and after his reply sent to another room.

It is not necessary to give the individual answers of the witnesses at length, for it will be seen that though the Commissioners separated those that had answered from those to be examined, the witnesses practically gave their answers in a common form, as if the matter had been discussed between themselves and perhaps their gaolers.

It will be seen that at first the answer was "Yes, except the bad points in the Order." One or two said, they did not believe there were any; another declined to defend because there were so many, but all the witnesses followed the same idea. Someone then seemed to have suggested that the proper persons to defend were, first the Grand Master and next the heads of the Order, and that no Templar had a right to defend without the authority of the master or the other chiefs, thereupon the Brethren said they would defend, but they must have the authority or help of the Master and the chiefs.

The first witness called said he wished to defend the order, but not the bad points in it, if any, which he did not believe, nor that there were many bad persons in it. The second said practically the same. The third wished to defend as he knew no evil in the Order. And so on. All these were serving Brethren, about a dozen. One brother only, Gerardus, refused to defend the Order because it was very bad, and there were many bad points (*multa mala puncta*) in it.

On this and the following days no evidence was taken. Those who appeared were only asked if they wished to defend. The Templars, as stated, were plucking up courage, trusting in the Commissioners being able to protect them if they came forward. If so it will be seen they trusted to a broken reed, but whatever the reason the number of the defenders grew. It appears that the King's party were carefully watching what was taking place, for on Saturday, the 13th March, after a great number of Brethren had come before the Commissioners and said they were willing to defend, but asking for the help and advice of the Grand Master, one of the witnesses,

John de Cochiaco, produced a letter which was sealed with two seals, of which the devices did not appear, which letter had been given by a cleric to the Brethren and many others who were then at Sens when the Bishop of Orleans came to examine them. This letter shows the spirit with which the King's party were determined to treat the Templars who attempted to recant, and foreshadowed the tragedy shortly to take place. It was as follows:—

> Philip provost of the Church of Poictiers, and John de Jamville, &c., deputed as the Guardians in Sens, &c., to our beloved brother Lorent de Bearne, lately commander of Apulia, and the other Brethren who are in prison at Sens "Salut et Amor. We inform you that we have obtained that the King our lord sends you to Bishop of Orleans to reconcile you (to the Church) so we require and pray you to continue in the good confession in which we leave you, and behave so devoutedly, &c. before the said Bishop, that he may have no reason to say that through you we have put him to trouble, nor hear lies, and you are to listen to John Chapini our Clerk and believe what he will tell you."

The letter concludes by saying:—

> "And know that our father the Pope has ordered that all those who have made confessions before the Inquisitors, his envoys, *who do not persevere in their confession, will be sent to damnation and destroyed by fire.*"

Philip of Poictiers alone was asked about this letter. He said his Clerk had his seal. That it was not sealed by his order or consent as he said, asserting that neither by a message nor by letter nor otherwise had he ever induced any brother of the Order, nor told anyone that he should say anything but the pure truth, wishing that the Brethren themselves might be asked about this, and the Brother who produced the letter and another both then said that the Prepositor had never told them to say anything that was not good and true.

The matter then dropped. John de Jamville, the other gaoler from whom the letter also purported to come, was not examined. It is to be seen that according to the Prepositor the letter was written without his authority. But the letter itself makes use of the Pope's name, and says that he threatened with damnation and death at the stake all those who did not persevere in their confession. This threat was afterwards carried out by the King and his nominees, the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishop of Paris, who was under him. But there is no reason to think that the Pope ever contemplated these enormities. Perhaps if the Commissioners had had this letter followed up, the tragedy which did happen might have been prevented.

Day by day the members increased. On the 20th February Ponzardus came before the Commissioners a second time, and said he was willing to defend the Order. On the same day Brother G. de Caus, a knight, made a long statement, that no one could defend who was imprisoned and not master of himself (*qui non est dominus sui ipsius*), and that a defender should be set at liberty, so that he may proceed by way of law before the Commissioners if it pleased the Pope and our Lord the King, and he answered thus without offence, that by his defection the religion of the Temple should suffer no detriment.

The Commissioners replied that they had not the power of liberating him from prison, but only the power of enquiring against the whole Order of the Temple. And they showed him how as often as he wished to come before them, they would have him brought in their presence and freely and favourably hear him.

On Monday, the 2nd March, the Grand Master was brought before the Commissioners for the third and last time. As usual, he was asked if he wished to defend the Order. The influence that had been brought to bear upon him is shown in his answer. He replied that the Lord Pope had reserved his case for himself, and he, therefore, asked the Commissioners to discharge him upon these matters till the time he should be in the presence of the Lord Pope, and then he would say what seemed to be proper. And the Lord Commissioners expressly declared that against his person as against any individual they neither wished nor could do or enquire anything, but only to proceed in the inquisitions committed to them according to the form delivered to them which it behoved them to do. And the Master asked that the Commissioners would write to the Lord Pope that him and the others reserved by the Pope he would summon to his presence. And the Commissioners replied that they would do this as quickly as possible.

The Master here disappears until the closing scenes of his life. It may, however, be remarked that Raynouard, in his defence of the Templars, makes a great point that when so many of the Brethren expressed a wish to be guided by the Master, and left the defence to him, they were not put into communication with him. But we have seen he himself declined, and separated himself from his Brethren as being one reserved by the Pope for his personal judgment.

On the Friday Brother Gaufredus de Gonavilla, Knight,[1] offered to speak if brought to the Pope. The Commissioners replied that he could speak with safety before them, nor should he fear any violence, injuries or tortures, which they neither inflict nor permit to be inflicted (*inferri*) but would stop if they should be inflicted. (We shall see how the Commissioners failed to carry out this promised protection.) But Gaufredus would not say anything, except that he asked to be brought before the Pope. Other Brethren, however, wished to defend.

On Saturday, the 14th March, the articles[2] were read to about 100 Brethren who wished to defend, first in Latin and afterwards in ordinary French, and the Pope's Commission, and these were explained.

On the Saturday, 28th March, there was a meeting between the Commissioners and a large number of the Brethren in the garden behind the Hall and House of the Bishop of Paris, and the Commission and articles upon which the enquiry was to be made were read in Latin. But when the Commissioners wished, as was their custom, to explain them in French, the Brethren replied that they were satisfied (*contenti*) with the reading in Latin, and they did not wish that so many infamies, which they asserted were altogether untrue and not to be named, should be stated to them in French (*vulgo*).

After this, apparently there was a good deal of discussion, seeing so many ready to defend, it was apparent that all could not be present and heard, at the same time without confusion. The Commissioners said they were ready to hear eight, ten or more if they named them to them, &c. Upon this the Brethren deliberated, the Commissioners, withdrawing themselves on one side, and, after deliberation, two Brethren, Raynaldus de Pruino and Petrus de Bononia, both Priests, and men of education, came forward for themselves and all the Brethren, and said:

> It seems a hardship to the Brethren, first that they were deprived of the Church's Sacraments and were from the time of their arrest deprived of their religious habit and all temporal goods, and all were most vilely imprisoned and put in fetters, and were so now.

[1] Preceptor of Poictiers and Acquitaine.

[2] As to these articles see appendix.

Item, because they were badly found in all things.

Item, all the Brethren who had died while at Paris had been buried not in consecrated ground or cemeteries.

Item, because at the hour of death they were denied the Church's Sacraments.

Item, that it did not seem to them that it was possible to appoint a procurator (to defend them) without the consent of the Master, under obedience to him, they and all the Brethren are and ought to be.

Item, that nearly all (the Brethren) are uneducated and simple, wherefore they ask to have the counsel of prudent and wise men, and they also said there were many who wished to come and defend the Order, but were not permitted and they named two Brethren.

Item, they asked that the Master and Brethren and other Preceptors of the Provinces should meet together that they might fully deliberate about choosing procurators and other things to be done.

Item, they said and protested that if the said Masters and the Preceptors were not able to work or to be present with them, nevertheless they themselves had done what they ought.

These matters were written down by the Commissioners' Notaries, at the dictation of the two priests, in Latin, and read in both Latin and French to the Brethren present and the Commissioners said they were willing to receive procurators and to hear them courteously whenever they wished to come before them, and they told them that the Master, the Visitor of France and other principal Preceptors of the Order had answered, being asked, that they did not wish, in the position in which they were in, to defend the Order before the Commissioners, &c., and finally they ordered that the two Priests should be brought to their presence whenever they wished.

And then the Archbishop of Narbonne made a short address, his colleagues being present, to the Brethren gathered together in that pleasure garden (*Viridarium*) on that day in March. The last time for many there, had they but known it, of liberty, of companionship and of pleasant places. For the Archbishop said:—

Brethren you have heard what things have been said and offered you by us and our colleagues. Arrange some things to-day while you are here. Because the business requires dispatch, and the time fixed for the General Council approaches, and it is for your advantage to shorten matters and select who will appear before us and act in the defence of the Order, and we will do what is reasonable. For you must know that we do not intend to bring you together again, but to proceed with the matter according to the premises given to us.

And the Lord Bajorcensis in the presence of his colleagues said:—

Brethren, come together about these things which are told you. To-morrow will be Sunday, and we shall not proceed, nor on the Monday, but on the Tuesday, and from thence we shall proceed in the matter, as far as it can be done, and we will send you our Notaries (*tabelliones*) to write and listen to whatever you wish done ordered or arranged, about the premises, and thereupon the Commissioners retired.

[1] It is said that there were 546 Templars in the garden. There are some nine pages of names given, each page averaging about sixty names, so that the number is probably correct. On the Tuesday one witness in secular dress refused to defend, saying he would not have quitted the Order if he wished to defend it, another witness gave a qualified answer.

The Commissioners sent their Notaries to those Templars who had been present in the Bishop's garden, to hear what they wished done, and the Commissioners directed two gaolers on the morrow to bring before them four Templars, naming them P. de Bononia, Reginaldus de Pruino (the two Priests already mentioned), Guillelmus de Chambonnet and Bertrandus de Sartiges, who had been spoken of at the meeting, and some other leaders, to the number of nine, ten or twelve, which they, the gaolers, promised should be done.

These Notaries accordingly visited at the different Houses in Paris where the Templars were confined, four or more in each house, and took down in writing what the Brethren wished to say. This took several days. The first place they went to was the Temple itself, where they found a considerable number of Brethren, and enquired whether they had appointed procurators. Petrus de Bononia, already mentioned, acted as spokesman, the Notaries writing at his dictation. His case for the defence was put forcibly as follows:—

> That because they had a head (the Grand Master) they could and ought not to do this without his leave, they did not intend nor asked to appoint procurators for the defence of the Order, offering themselves as ready to appear before the Commissioners and defend the Order as far as reason went. They said besides, and asserted it in defence of the Order, that all the Articles sent by the Lord Pope under his Bull as read and explained to them were disgraceful, most filthy, unreasonable, detestable and horrible; they were false; yes, most false and wicked lies fabricated out of deceit and invented for the occasion by witnesses, either tale bearers or harbingers of enemies,[2] and that the religion of the Temple is, and always had been, clean and immaculate from all the articles, vices and sins aforesaid, and whoever say or have said the contrary speak as heretics and infidels desiring to sow heresy and the foulest[3] outcry against the faith of Christ, and these matters they were ready to defend and sustain with heart, mouth and will in every way in which it best could and ought to be done and they asked for freedom and leave to attend or be represented at the present Council, and those who could not go might commit their pleas to other Brethren who did go, which they could do when they found themselves in their own power and liberty, free from prison. Item, they said that all the Brethren of the Temple who said these lies were true, or any part of them, lied and spoke falsely. However, they said it was not to be of weight on those who spoke in the fear of death, nor on the religion, or even the persons of those who, in the fear of death and in consequence of most grievous torments which they had suffered, were known to have said these things, terrified by the fear of torture.

[1] Raynouard.

[2] Vol. i., p. 115. Some idea of Gallic Latin may be seen in this passage. *Silicet inhonesti, turpissimi et inracionabiles, et detestabiles, et orrendi, sunt mendaces, falsi, imo falsissimi, et iniqui, et per testes, seu sursurones, et sugetores inimicos de falso fabricati, et de novo facti.*

[3] Literally the cry of the panther.

> Seeing others so tortured, they said what the torturers wished, which was not to be imputed to them, for the pain of one is the fear of many, and because they saw that in no other way could they escape punishment and the fear of death except by extravagant lying, and were strongly corrupted by fear, reward, blandishments, or great promises or threats.[1]

P. de Bononia finished by saying

> That all those things were so public and notorious that nothing could be concealed by subterfuges. And they asked by the mercy of God that justice might be done to them who, for so long a time, wrongfully and unjustly had been and are oppressed, and as good and faithful Christians they asked to have the ecclesiastical Sacraments administered to them. He nevertheless said he was the general Procurator of the Order of the Temple, even in the Roman Curia, in which Court his procuratorship existed. That in his own and procuratorial name for the whole Order, and for his adherents in this part, and for those wishing to be so now and in the future, in both capacities, and as brother of the Order, he wished to defend it as well as he could and ought.

This P. de Bononia, who said he was the recognised Procurator of the whole Order in Roman Curia, most ably managed the defence. But as we shall see he mysteriously disappeared, with his work incomplete.

The Notaries continued to visit the different houses. In one twenty Brethren said the articles were false, and one of them handed to the Notaries a document containing a long prayer, as showing the real faith of the Templars.

Reginald de Pruino, the other priest, made a formal protest.

> That without the presence of the Master, &c., they cannot appoint Procurators, and asks for counsel and advocates, and money to pay them. That those who confessed should be asked if in their confession they said anything against the Order, and that the Commissioners could only proceed against the Order in three ways, or one of them, by accusation, denunciation, or by the office of the Judge, and asked, if they wish to proceed by accusation, that the accuser may appear, and he should be bound over, &c. If by way of denunciation the denunciator should not be heard, for he should have warned us of the corruption which he did not do. Lastly, if you intend to proceed judicially, "I reserve to myself and adherents the right to bring forward arguments and defences, &c."

There was then a 'St. Martins in the Fields' in Paris as well as London. The Brethren at St. Martin de Campis put in a document in French in which they asked for the assistance of the two priests, Reginald de Pruino and Piere de Bonona and others, and that they might not be prejudiced, and for God that they might have the Church like good men, and that their allowances might be increased because they are too little (*et por Dieu que nos aieux l'eglise comme bonne gents et por Dieu que nos gages soient creu quar il sont trop petit*) (*sic*).[2]

It is advisable to note the different kinds of defences put forward or proposed to be at this period. The Brethren had taken heart, and though still in prison had some opportunity of considering matters, and this was the only opportunity of stating the points they thought ought to be urged in their defence. But it is not necessary te do

[1] p. 115. [2] Vol. i., p. 129.

more than refer to those statements or answers which do not meet the real charge. For example, on two occasions defences are put in written in old French, showing that the Brethren were not educated men. But these defences only set forth the excellent way in which the Templars practised their religion and the good work they had done against the Saracens, but do not deny or meet the charge of heretical practices at their Initiations, &c. On the 3rd April, 1309, a document, in French, was read to the Commissioners on behalf of those present and of the Order, which set forth that the Order was founded and approved of by the Holy Church of Rome, and the Brethren from that time to the present were made, initiated well and honestly, and without any sin, according to the Catholic Faith of Rome, &c.

> [1] *Item propousant que touit li frere que furent fez (de cel da jusque ici furent fez bien et honestement et senz tout pecheè segun la foy Catholica de Roma), &c.* This document contained a great many statements or claims shewing the devotion and bravery of the Templars, and was endorsed on the back, "And if the other side wish to plead (*proponere*) anything, we ask for a copy and a day for its deliberation."

The answer to this form of argument was already given by the Commissioners, when the Master relied upon the magnificent services in the Temple Churches, *i.e.*, "that these things did not benefit the salvation of the soul where the foundation of the Catholic Faith was wanting."[2]

These Brethren also, for themselves and the Order, asked for the Sacraments, and that the bodies of the deceased Brethren might have ecclesiastical burial, and they said they were laymen and asked for counsel, &c. On the same day another document was put in by eleven Brethren, also in French, to very much the same effect as the one just referred to.[3]

> "*Primeremant que la religion deu Temple fu fete et fondée e nom de Dieu, damada Sancta Maria et fu divisea et establie per Monsegnur Sant Bernart et des plusieurs prudomes, &c.*

After this the Commissioners sent notice by their Notaries that all arguments and defences which the Brethren wished to say and put forward for the defence of the Order they were ready to receive if and as much as should be right. And accordingly the Notaries, with *Magister Amisio*, went the round of the Houses, asking the Brethren whether they wished to send in some one for themselves, or P. de Pruino, P. de Bononia or Lord Guillelmus de Chambonnet, mentioned before, because whether they did or not the Commissioners intended to proceed with the case on the following Tuesday. But these particular Brethren seemed unwilling to send representatives. From one house a document in French was sent

> Saying that they were all willing to defend, &c., but said they were in fetters joined together, &c. That their allowances were not sufficient, having so much to pay, 3 pence a day for their bed, &c., specifying the different ways their money went. And they prayed the Commissioners to make despatch for there was danger in delay. The Pope might die and they might remain for ever in prison. But they appointed P. de Pruino and P. de Bononia to represent them.[4]

The Notaries continued through the Friday, Saturday and Sunday, and finally they reported they had seen a great number of the Brethren, nearly all of whom chose P. de Pruino and P. de Bononia, and to these were added when they were told the

[1] p. 140. [2] *Ante.* [3] p. 145. [4] p. 147.

Commissioners intended to proceed on the Tuesday, Guillelmus de Chambonnet and Bertrandus de Sartiges, Knights. Afterwards the Notaries took these four defenders with them to see the Brethren and deliberate with them, and they nearly all wished these four to speak for them, and they said they did not want to send any other Procurators for the defence of the Order, and at last this was generally agreed to, though some still objected that they had not obtained the consent of the Master. The Notaries occupied some part of the Tuesday, the 7th April, in still seeing the different houses where the Brethren were confined, and, finally, on the Tuesday, the Notaries, with the four named Brethren and five others appeared before the Commissioners. And Brother P. de Bononia addressed the Commissioners, on behalf of those present, as follows :—

[1] "Before you, Reverend Fathers and Commissioners, appointed by the greatest Lord Pontifex to enquire of the state of the Religion of the Temple upon certain terrible articles given against the Order of the Temple, the underwritten Brethren of this Order propound and say, not with the intention of contesting the matter in dispute, but simply by way of a reply, that they are not able to appoint Proctors, nor ought they to, nor do they wish to without the presence, counsel and assent of the Master and the Brotherhood in so great a case, by right they are not able nor ought (to do) this.

Item, that all offer themselves personally, generally and individually, for the defence of the religion and ask and pray to attend by themselves the General Council and whenever the state of the religion shall be considered.

Item. They say when they shall be fully at liberty they intend in every way if they can, to go. But if they cannot, to send their substitutes and to choose Proctors from the Brethren of the Order, who, in their own name, for the others, may in this way prosecute the affair.

Item. They appoint and commission the Brothers Reginaldus de Pruino, P. de Bononia, Priests, Guillelmus de Chambonnet and Bertrandus de Sartiges, Knights, who are authorised to produce, offer to say and put in writing to you Reverend Fathers all allegations and good arguments which they make and can make for the defence of the status and house of the said religion, and if they should offer or say anything to redound to the prejudice or loss of the said religion, they in no ways consent to it but ask a wish that it may in every way be of no effect and void.

Item. They protest that if the Brethren of the Templars have said, do or in the future shall say anything while they are in prison against themselves or the Order, they should not prejudice the said Order when it is notorious that they spoke, or will speak under constraint and compulsion or corrupted by prayer, price and fear, and they say they will shew these things when they enjoy full security or are fully restored to their integrity.

Item. They ask that all Brethren of the said Order, who, having left the secular habit, speak disgracefully in dishonour of the said religion and the Holy Church, shall be placed in the hand of the Church, in safe custody, until it may be known whether they have given false or true testimony.[2]

[1] p. 165. [2] p. 166.

Item. They ask, supplicate and require that when any Brethren are examined no laymen shall be present who can hear them, nor other persons about whose worthiness it is possible to doubt, lest by any pretext of terror or fear, falsehood may be said or truth hidden, because all the Brethren are generally struck with so much fear and terror that it is not to be wondered at in any way about those who lie about these things, but rather about those who keep to the truth, seeing the tribulations and hardships which the truth-tellers continually suffer, and the threats, insults and other evils they daily have to bear, and the good, the privileges, the pleasure and liberty the false speakers have, and the great promises that are daily made to them, when it is a wonderful thing and most astonishing to all that greater faith is given to these liars who so corrupted, witness to such things for the benefit of their bodies, than to those who have died as it were martyrs of Christ, with the palm of the martyr in witness for the support of truth, and also to the greater and more rational part of those living, who, for the support of truth itself at the prompting of conscience alone have suffered so many tortures, pains, tribulations and hardships, improprieties, calamities and miseries, and daily in prison do suffer.

Item. They say that outside the French kingdom no brother of the Temple will be found in the whole world who says or has said these lies, on which account it is evident why they are said in France, because those who speak have been proved corrupted by fear, prayer or price.

They say, simply, in defence of the religion,—that the religion of the Temple was founded and handed down in the charity and true love of Brotherhood, and is (to the honour of the Glorious Virgin Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the honour and defence of the Holy Church, and of all the Christian Faith, and to the overthrow of the enemies of the Cross, that is of infidels, Pagans or Saracens everywhere, and especially in the Holy Land of Jerusalem, which the Son of God himself by dying for our redemption consecrated with his own blood), a holy religion, clean and immaculate after God and the Father, free from all lapse and from all stain of any vices; in which state it has always grown and will grow a regular institution and healthy observance, and, as such, has been approved, confirmed and enriched with many privileges by the Holy See. Whoever enters this religion, promises four substantial things: obedience, chastity, poverty and to devote himself with all his strength in the service of the Holy Land, that is to the acquiring and acquisition of the Holy Land of Jerusalem, if God should grant the grace of acquiring, the preserving, guarding and defending, as far as possible. He is received with the honest kiss of peace, and receives the habit with the Cross, which is worn continually about the heart, on account of the reverence for him crucified for us, in memory of his passion; and he is taught to keep the rules and ancient customs given to them by the Roman Church and holy Fathers, and this is the one common profession of the Brethren of the Temple which is observed throughout the world, and has been observed by all Brethren of the Order from the foundation of the religion to the present day; and

whoever says otherwise, or believes otherwise, is in total error and sins mortally and in every way departs from the truth.

It follows that with regard to the disgraceful, horrible, terrible, and also impossible, and most shameful articles given against the religion, they say that these articles are lies and falsehoods. And that those who have suggested these lies and falsehoods to our Lord the Most High Pontifex and to our Most Serene Lord the King of France are false Christians and altogether heretics, slanderers and seducers of the Holy Church and the whole Christian faith. Who, prompted by cupidity and undue hate, the most wicked sowers of scandal, have sought out the apostates or fugitive brethren of the Order, who, on account of their wickedness, like diseased cattle, have been cast out of the fold, that is from the congregation of the Brethren, inventing and fabricating one with the other these wicked and horrible lies which have falsely been attributed to the Brethren and the Order, leading astray all those they sought out, and brought together as many as they were able to, first seducing them all to their suggestions. They altered and improved upon these lies brought to the King and his Council, so that whatever is brought from divers parts of the world is so suborned and tampered with that all agree in the same thing. On account of this they induced the minds of the Lord King and his Council to believe these matters. For they believe the things they say proceed from the vice of the Religion and the Brothers, which really proceed from the minds of suggesters and suborners.

From all these matters so many dangers afterwards proceeded as the arrest, spoiling torments and slaughter and compulsion of the brethren, who by fear of death, confessed against their conscience, forced to this by satellites and were compelled to confess these deeds, wherefore the said Lord, being so deceived by these betrayers, informed the Lord Pope upon all these things, and so both Pope and King were deceived by these false suggestions.

Item, they say that by the way given to you, *i.e.*, as a duty, you are not able to proceed as a matter of law. They were not charged with these articles before their arrest, nor did public favour speak against the Order, and this is certain, that we and they are not in a position of safety, when they are constantly, and have been, in the power of those suggesting falsehood to the Lord King, because daily, by themselves and others, they advise and persuade, by word, messengers and letters, less they should recede from their false depositions, extorted by the cause of fear, and if they should recant, as they say, they shall be altogether burnt.

Item, they say that the Brethren of the Order, who have said and confessed these things, spoke on account of torture, or fear of torture, and they would willingly recant if they dared, but they are so stricken and terrified with so many such tortures that they do not dare, because of the threat daily made them. Whence they ask that in their examination such and so much security may be given them that without fear they may return to the truth.

> They urge and say all these things, saving always all defence given or to be given by any Brethren of the Temple, individually, specially or generally, now or in the future, for the protection and assistance of the said Religion. And if anything has been brought forward, or urged or said, which may redound to the damage or prejudice of the said Order, may they be altogether null and void and of no effect.

It appears that in addition to this very admirable defence put forward by P. de Bononia, Johannes de Monteyali put in a separate document on behalf of himself and certain other brethren. It is given in the *Process des Templier*,[1] it is in old French and raises a similar defence to that already given.

It sets out by stating that the Brethren of the Order who made the lying confessions did so by fear of torture which the Temporal Court put them to, and after, they had been placed in the power of the Inquisitors and of the ordinary, which was against the privileges of the Order; the Brethren being exempt by special privilege from Justice, and not having to appear before any judge, ecclesiastical or other; only before the Pope or before whom he should appoint for that office, wherefore they asked that these lying confessions so made should be annulled by our Lord the Pope as being made in prejudice of the Order.

The defence went on to urge that no confessions of individuals nor of the Master should prejudice the Order, and it added that eighty Brethren of the Temple, rather than renounce God at the request of their captor, lost their lives, etc., etc.

It may be noticed that Peter in his defence, after taking the point that the Brethren could not appoint a Proctor for their defence without the consent of the Master of the Preceptors, says that he appears not as contesting a law-suit, but only as replying for the Brethren. This seems to be a little bit of legal fencing. He wanted to have two strings to his bow, the principal one being to do the best he could for the Order, the other to say that the Order not being legally represented no formal judgment could be given against it. But the Notaries who were assisting the Commissioners had forestalled this position for they had obtained for him a confession that he was the properly constituted Proctor of the Order, and that his appointment was in the Roman Curia, and it will be seen that this status of Peter was carefully noted and insisted upon. But apart from this fencing the principal point urged by Peter was that the confessions had been obtained by torture and that those who had so confessed were daily threatened by words, messengers and letters, lest they should go back from their confessions, and they were told if they did so, they would be burned at the stake, and therefore Peter urged the necessity that proper security should be given to them that they might revert to the truth.

Knowing as we do the terrible tragedy that was soon to happen there was good reason for this security being asked for. Let us see how the Commissioners deal with this application. The depositions after the second defence continue as follows :—

> "Which documents being read and heard by the said Lord Commissioners and other things, which the Brethren (in addition to the documents) said to them, the said Commissioners replied that they had not arrested the Brethren nor seized their goods, and that they were in the keeping of the Pope, and the property of the Order was in his hand, and that of the Church, wherefore they could not release their persons nor restore their property to them, nor ought they so to do.

[1] p. 169.

Item. Though they say they were not defamed, the Commissioners replied that on the contrary there was a great scandal (*infamia*) against them, and had been and was, as appears by the Bull of our Lord Pope, and according to the terms of the Apostolic letters sent to them, that it was about this scandal before the rest of the articles that they had to inquire.

Item. As to that which they said *i.e.*, that the Ordinary or the General Inquisitor could not enquire against them because of the privileges conceded to the Order, and that, therefore, the confessions made to them are worthless and should not prejudice anyone, the Commissioners replied that in law it was the contrary, and that those who knew anything of the crime of heresy, and particularly Inquisitors with the Apostolic authority, and the ordinary authority of law approving it, could proceed, and were able to prosecute. But with these prosecutions, at present, they had nothing to do.

Item, with regard to what they said about the Grand Master of the Order, they replied that the Master several times called by them, and asked whether he wished to defend the said Order if the Commissioners wished to admit him to do so, had answered them that he was not before them because he was reserved for the Lord Pope, and when he should be before him he would say what seemed to him (right), (according to the reply of the said Master, more fully set out before *supra, &c.*).

Item, with regard to the many other matters, which these Brethren had asked for from the Commissioners, both in writing and without writing, they replied that their power did not extend to these things, but they would willingly ask those in whose province they were, that what good they could do to the Brethren they should do, and that they should treat them legally (*curialiter*) and humanely according to the ordinances and injunctions of the Reverend Father Lord P., by the divine providence Bishop of Penestrinus, who, by the command of the Lord Pope had the custody of them. And with these words the said Lords Commissioners said to the Brethren for themselves and the others that they wished to proceed, and they were going on with the matter of the inquiry to be made upon the articles sent them by the Lord Pope, according to the form delivered to them, offering and saying to them that whenever, even up to the end of the enquiry, they wished to say anything for the defence of the Order, that they were ready to receive it, and would receive it and insert it in the inquest, and would do what they ought.

This, as we have seen, was on Tuesday, the 7th April, and on Saturday, the 11th April, the Commissioners met to take evidence. For up to this, the time had been spent in arranging for the defence and selecting the Brethren who were to undertake it. Before we consider the evidence brought forward it may not be out of place to remind the reader that there were some five hundred and fifty Templars who had been present in the garden of the Bishop of Paris, who were ready to come forward to defend the Order. But it was only according to general rule that the witnesses for the prosecution should be heard first, for until the King's party had made out some case against the Templars there was nothing for the defence to answer. Now these witnesses were in the custody of the Bishop of Paris, or his superior the Archbishop of Sens,

and they had only to send the witnesses they relied on, before the Commissioners, and it is not uninstructive to see what witnesses at this period they were able to produce.

The Record states first that on this Saturday before Palm Sunday, the 12th April, the Commissioners met, and they deliberated amongst themselves agreeing that the Brethren, P. de Bononia, the Proctor of the Order of the Temple in the Roman Curia, R. de Pruino, Priest, and the two Knights who had been nominated by the Brethren, and who had brought forward and reduced into writing the matters before the Commissioners for their Brethren, and for the defence of the Order, as appears already; should be called before and by the said Commissioners, when it should seem proper. Because, as, they said, they were more fitted than others to be present when the witnesses were sworn, &c. For this it seemed to the Commissioners that *no danger would threaten them*, but they were careful to add that they did not intend by that to receive the said four Brethren as defenders of the Order for themselves and the other Brethren mentioned, nor as taking any part in the matter, nor as instructors; only so far and as much as they should be right (*de jure*) in admitting them, and therefore they called the said four Brethren before them and ordered their deliberation to be entered in the Process.

Thereupon several Templars were brought in by the two *custodes*, the Prepositor of Poictiers and John de Jamville, and were duly sworn with some outside witnesses. Amongst the latter Master Radulphus, learned in the law. He gave the usual hearsay evidence, how a certain Gervasius, a Templar, told him, between five and six years before the arrest, that there was a matter (*quidam punctus*) in the Order, so wonderful and necessary to be concealed that he would rather have his head cut off than reveal it, and he also said that in the General Chapter of the Templars there was a matter so secret that if the witness should see it, even by misfortune, or even if the King of France saw it, notwithstanding any fear or penalty, and without respect to any authority, the members in Chapter would kill him who so saw it. And that there was besides the ordinary book of the Statutes of the Order, which Gervasius often showed, a secret one which for the whole world he would not show. That Gervasius invited the witness to join the Order and promised he should soon be Grand Master.

It appears that Peter and the other defenders were present, for the witness was cross-examined. He said he knew nothing about the charges in the articles, except about the compulsion by imprisonment, which he had heard from Gervasius was worse than that in ordinary prisons, and that those resisting were kept there cruelly till they died. He was asked who were present when Gervasius said all these things. He gave the names of some witnesses. He was asked where &c.

The next witness was also a non-Templar, said he knew nothing about the truth of the articles but he suspected the Order was not good. Asked the cause of his suspicion, said he had an uncle in the Order who asked him to enter the Order but he would not because he had heard that Gervasius, of whom Radulphus had just given evidence, had a book of the statutes which were good, but that there were other statutes than those, and that Gervasius said as it were with groans, that there were certain matters (*puncta*) in the Order which he did not dare reveal. He was asked who were present and where this took place. He said he suspected these things because after the death of his wife he thought of entering the Order, and Gervasius was asked to arrange this, as the witness had sufficient fortune. And Gervasius said, "Ha, ha, he would have enough to do there" (*Ha! ha! il i auriaye trop á faire*). Asked if he knew anything more about these matters, he said no.

The Commissioners next step was to send a sub-committee to take the depositions of a dying Templar, which was done on the Monday following. This witness, John, of St. Benedict, said he was 60 years of age. But at his reception he was asked to deny our Lord, and was told he might deny him with mouth, not heart, which he did as it was commonly done in the Order. He said, however, that he had received several himself, but he had never done this to them, nor known it done to others except himself, nor did he believe it was. The witness then said he spat near not on a cross. To the rest of the articles about the cat, absolution, the crime, &c., he said he knew nothing.

After taking this deposition the deputed Commissioners returned to Paris to the other Commissioners. Another outside witness, Guischard, a Knight, gave evidence. He said he knew nothing about the articles, except that it was a common rumour that at the reception an indecent kiss was given or received by the Candidate. He was asked where he had heard this rumour. He said he had heard it in various places, Toulouse, Lyons, Paris, &c., from Knights and citizens and others when gathered together. He was asked what he meant by public rumour (*famam publicam*). He replied, what is publicly stated in different places and by different people. Asked if he knew the origin of this rumour, he replied "No," but it came from good and grave men. He then told a long story about one Hugo, whom he had made a Knight in the great Hall of the Templars at Toulouse, who was afterwards taken by the Brethren into some room to complete his reception as a Templar, and care was taken that no one could see into the room, and after they had grown tired of waiting Hugo was brought out in Templar clothing. He was very pale and disturbed and stupified, at which the witness said he was much astonished because Hugo had joined willingly, and before he entered was in good spirits, strong and robust (*valde letus et fortis et robustus*). The next day he made enquiries of Hugo, and asked him why he was so changed from his going in to coming out, and he said he would never be joyful again, but would give no other reply. Asked when this was, said about 10 years ago. He then said that in the week of his reception, Hugo, he was told, had a seal made. In the circumference were the words, "Seal of the lost Hugo" (*Sigilium Hugonis Perditi*), his informant saying he believed Hugo was desperate, upon which the witness said he sent for Hugo to get the seal and break it, but Hugo would not give it to him, but made an impression in red wax, which the learned who could read the letters told the witness were "*Sigillum Hugonis Perditi*," and the witness asked Hugo why he had the seal made, and implored him to break it, but he could not succeed, nor know why he called himself lost, and he said that after Hugo had been two months in the Order he returned to the witness and his other relations, and when he had lived with them a year and a half in Lyons he was seized with illness, in which illness he confessed to a Minor Friar the witness summoned, and having received the Sacraments with great devotion as appeared outwardly, died. On the next day, Tuesday, the 14th April, Guischard was again before the Commissioners to be cross-examined upon his story about Hugo. He was first asked by them, For what reason did he think Hugo called himself lost, and if he believed he said so for the loss of his soul, or because he had given up the world. He replied that he at first thought, on account of what was said against the Order, that Hugo called himself lost because of the loss of his soul. For the witness, then the Seneschal of Toulouse, had fitted Hugo out sumptuously with horses and arms and other military requisites, and wished to make him magnificent in the Order. But then, said the witness, he thought Hugo called himself lost on account of the austerities which the Brethren and the Order were believed to observe. Asked if

he recollected by whom he had the letters on the seal read, he answered "No," as many learned persons helped him. Asked if he remembered the name of the Minor Friar, he replied "No," but he came from the Convent of Lyons.

The witness was asked about the other articles but his answers are not very material, except that he had heard that the Christians had suffered much from the too great familiarity that existed between Bello Joco, then Master of the Order, and the Soldan and Saracens. But he believed the contrary, for he had heard that Bello Joco fought strenuously at the battle of Acre against the Saracens and died there.

The evidence of these three non-Templar witnesses have been given at some length, because they show how valueless their testimony was. Yet we find that both the idea of the public and secret statutes, as well as the story of Hugo the lost, have crept into the literature of the Templars in the same way as we find Michelet, remarking that the worst and most indecent stories came from the English witnesses *who were not tortured*, forgetting that these stories came from witnesses not Templars, but hostile to them.[1]

Hearsay evidence is in itself of very little value. If, for example, Gervasius did say what the two first witnesses state, without the knowledge of the circumstances, we can arrive at no conclusion. If it were true that there were secret statutes as well as those openly known it is not likely he would have said so to non-Templars. Yet the idea that the Book of ordinary Statutes, which are well known, as they have come down to us, was supplemented by secret statutes has been accepted by writers as if it were a matter free from doubt; and so with the story of the lost Hugo.

After these outside witnesses had been disposed of, the Commissioners proceeded with the examination of the different Templars who were sent up by the Bishops. These witnesses were cross-examined by Peter and his juniors at considerable length. If a witness is telling the truth the more he is asked about details the more he remembers, as a rule, and the more information he can give. But if he is not telling what he remembers, the more he is questioned about details the more he has to fabricate, and this leads sometimes to his getting confused, contradicting himself, &c. Peter seems to have had considerable knowledge in the art of cross-examination. Each of the witnesses examined seemed to have taken more than one day, and apparently all was going on as if at an ordinary trial. But as we shall see this state of things did not last long, and the examination of the witnesses and even the sitting of the Commissioners was brought to an abrupt conclusion owing to the violent action taken by the King's party.

In the meantime, however, the witnesses and the Commissioners were in ignorance of the future, and the enquiry was being proceeded with in the ordinary way. It will been seen that each witness came prepared to admit that at his reception he "denied" and insulted the cross. But always using the cut and dried formula that he denied with mouth not heart (*ore non corde*), and spat not on but near the cross (*non supra sed juxta*). The nature of their evidence may be sufficiently understood from that of the first witness as follows.

> Johannes Taylafer,[2] with his beard shaved and not in Templar habit, 35 years of age. Said he was three years in the Order, was received &c., by Brother Stephen, present six or seven Brethren, whose names he did not recollect, and said at his reception he denied Christ once, but with his "mouth not heart," and spat once near the cross but

[1] p. 187. [2] Ante.

> not on it out of reverence. Asked what kind of cross, said it was of wood, antique and painted. Asked if any force was used when he denied, he answered "No," but they threatened unless he did these things to put him in such a place that he would not be able to see his hands or feet. He said only Brethren were present, that he was received about dawn. There were two candles in the chapel because it was not possible to see clearly, nevertheless, he could see the cross all right, but he did not remember if it was painted nor the color. Asked if he was ordered to do anything but what he had stated, he said no. At the time he said he was about 20, and they suddenly made him do these things, telling him that he would be better informed about the points of the Order hereafter, but he never was, for he never went to them nor to their Chapters because they had frightened him so.
>
> He said he had heard that Brethren trampled on the cross but had never seen them do so. He said of many of the charges including the crime, that he had never heard of them before the "arrest." The witness also gave evidence about a head which was put on the altar and he was asked to adore, but he would not say whether it was gold, silver, iron or wood, as he did not approach near, but it seemed to have a human face, &c., and to be of a red colour, &c. He also spoke of a cord which they told him had been bound round the head of the idol which he was to wear day and night, but he said he did not but threw it away. He was asked if he had been instructed or questioned as to what he was to say, or whether by prayer, precept, love or hate, or temporal advantage, he had given his evidence, he replied "No."

On the following day, John, an Englishman, from London, gave evidence; 36 years of age. As to his reception he said the Receptor led him behind an altar and ordered him to deny Jesus and spit on a cross, then adding that at this order he denied thrice "with mouth not heart," and spat thrice near the cross. He also spoke about the cord which he was to wear night and day, and said he was told by the Chaplain there was a head that had been bound by this cord but he neither knew nor saw it, and spoke of a kiss, &c.

This witness's examination was interrupted, as the Commissioners adjourned for a week for the feast of Paschal, ordering this witness to be brought back on the Thursday after Paschal, the 23rd April. His evidence on that day was on the rest of the articles and did not touch the "denial" or "insult."

During the week it appears that Peter of Bononia and his assistants had been drawing up a memorial in writing which they presented to the Commissioners at the conclusion of the last witness's evidence. It commences by stating [1]

> That they, Peter, &c., in their own names, and that of all the Brethren they represented say that the proceedings against them had been rapid, violent, hasty, hostile and unjust, without any justice, but wholly injurious, containing the gravest and most intolerable error, no rule of law being kept, but with exterminating power all the Brethren were suddenly arrested in France, and like sheep led to the slaughter, spoiled suddenly of their goods and things, shut up in cruel prisons, and by

[1] p. 201.

> divers and varied kinds of torment from which many had died, many were permanently injured, and many at the time driven to lie against themselves and their Order, and by these arrests, spoilings, violences, and torment, all independence of mind, (*liberium arbitrium*), which is what every good man should have, was entirely taken away from them, for who loses his mental freedom loses everything good, wisdom, memory and understanding. Therefore, whatever any one in such a state may say, neither can nor ought to prejudice himself nor his Order. Therefore they (Peter, &c.) protest, and say if any Brethren of the Temple should give evidence or speak against their Brotherhood (*religionem*) or against themselves should not count against either.

The memorial then continues:

> In order to induce the independent Brethren to lie and give evidence against the Order and themselves, they had been given letters with the Bull of the King attached, promising them preservation of limbs and life, of liberty from all punishment, and earnestly reminding them of the good provision and annuity to be given them for life, always providing that the Order of the Temple was utterly condemned; whence whatever they say against the Order is corrupt for these reasons. All these matters are so public and notorious that by no way can they be concealed. Wherefore they (Peter, &c.), protest that they should not injure the Order (*religioni*) when they are ready and they offer themselves to prove the following.
>
> Item, all presumptions are in favour of the Temple against which proofs ought not to be received. 1st. That no one would be so foolish or insane as to enter and remain in a religion to the loss of his soul. That many Nobles and Princes of different countries, some of great antiquity, many men famous in the world, honest persons, and sprung from great ancestors, from zeal and orthodox faith have entered the Temple remaining in it until the end of their life. Whereas if such and so many had known, seen, or heard anything disgraceful in the Order of the Temple especially such detestable wickedness and blasphemy of the name of Jesus Christ, they would have loudly protested (*reclamassent omnino*) and divulged all these matters to the notice of the whole world.
>
> The Memorial then asks that the defenders may be shown a copy of the commission and of the articles. They ask for the names of the witnesses and that those who have given evidence may be kept apart from those who have not, so that they may not speak, and they ask that the evidence may be kept secret, otherwise (and they spoke prophetically), danger and scandal may threaten.

Unfortunately the evidence could not be kept secret, the two gaolers, the Prepositor of Poictiers, and Jamville were either present, or, there is evidence, by threats or torture found out what each witness had said. So much so, that on more than one occasion witnesses came and retracted one day what they had said before.

> The Memorial also asked that each witness might be told, "he could speak the truth with safety, for whatever he said would be secret and revealed to no one until it came to the knowledge of the Pope." The defenders also asked that those who had the custody of the Templars

and their servants, where any died, might be asked how they died and what they said about the Order of the Temple at their death, and especially those who were reconciled; and that all who refused to defend the Religion should be asked why, and sworn to answer, so that they might know the truth, &c.

The Memorial rather weakens itself by then telling the story of one Adam de Valincuria, a Noble Knight, long time a Templar, who, wishing to enter a stricter Religion, became a Carthusian, and afterwards wished to return to the Temple, and came with bare legs, praying and asking for mercy, &c., and fasting and receiving discipline from the Priest, and was so received back; and they ask as this Adam had not come to the defence of the Religion, that he should be brought before the Commissioners and be sworn to tell the truth, because it is not reasonable that such a man would undergo all these things, and such penalties if the Religion were wicked, &c.

The Commissioners promised to give an answer to the Memorial in due course, and give copies of the documents asked for.

In the meantime, on Friday, 24th April, Hugh de Buris was examined. He gives the usual evidence. That whilst changing his clothing there was the indecent kiss, and afterwards he was told he must spit on and trample on the Cross, as it was a point of the Order. If he did not they would know how to treat him, and that thereupon his own brother, now dead, who was present told him to do these things, and thereupon he denied Jesus thrice, as he said with "Mouth, not heart," and he spat near the Cross, but did not trample on it. He then spoke of the head and the cord, which he was to wear always, but however he said he had not worn it. This witness was cross-examined at some length, but nothing very material was elicited. He said he "denied" in these words, "Je reney Dieu, Je reney Dieu, Je reney Dieu," and that the head was not wood, but appeared silver, or copper, or gold, and had a human face and a long beard, but he did not see it afterwards, as he was only in the House two days, and the Receptor after the ceremony put the Head back in a cupboard.

It is to be noticed that the witnesses at this examination were evidently using phrases and speaking as arranged beforehand. They all not only use the expressions, "With mouth, not heart," "Near, not on," but they speak of the head and the cord which had been bound round it, which had been given to them to wear always, but would not, and of the indecent kiss given to the Receptor. In most other examinations we find that no mention is made of these. This witness said he knew nothing about the crime, nor had he ever heard of it, nor did he believe there was any truth in the article about it.

[1] The next witness, Gerard, was examined on Monday, 27th April. His evidence almost follows the words of the others. His examination lasted two days. He said at his reception he was shown a wooden cross, and he was asked if he believed it to be God, and when he replied it was the likeness of the "Crucified" he was told not to believe this, but it was made of wood, and our Lord was in Heaven. Afterwards he was ordered to spit on this Cross and to trample on it, and he spat on it (this is about the only witness who did not use the expression, "Near, not on,") but he refused to trample on it on account of reverence. He was asked at great length if any persuasion was used to induce him to do these things, or that any advantage to his soul or body was to be gained thereby. He replied "No," but he was ordered to do them. Asked by what words, he replied by the obligation of the oath he had taken. Did he not

[1] p. 212.

think it a sin to spit on the Cross. Answer, "Yes," but he did as he was required to do so under his oath. Asked where the Cross was when he spat on it and where when he trampled. Answer, the Receptor held the Cross in his hands when he spat, and put it on the ground when he trampled, &c. The witness denied many of the articles, and said for refusing to confess them to the Bayliff of Maius he had been horribly tortured up to the examination. [1] (*Fuit questionatus ponderibus apensis in genetalibus suis et in aliis membris quasi usque ad examinacionem*).

The next witness, Gaupedus, said at his reception he was ordered and did deny Jesus thrice, "Je reney Jhesu, Je reney Jhesu, Je reney Jhesu," and spat not on but near the Cross. He was asked by what words he was induced to do these things, or if the Receptor said any good in this world or another was to follow. Answer, the Receptor told him to do them as they were points of the Order, &c., but he did not promise him any advantage in this world or the other, but the Preceptor told him unless he did he would be put in such a place that he would never see his feet. The report says the witness was asked about these threatening words several times, as he appeared to shuffle, twice he replied that no threats were used, and three times that they were, as written above, and in this he persevered. He was cross-examined about the Cross, who brought it, &c. Said he had heard that a cat appeared to the Brethren, &c. As to the crime he said he knew nothing about it, nor had not heard of it except from the Archbishop (Turonensis) who examined him, nor did he believe there was any truth in the articles about it.

At this period a considerable number of Brethren came before the Commissioners, saying they were willing to defend the Order as far as it was good and lawful. The Commissioners also determined not to examine any witness who had been examined by the Pope.

Up to this time the witnesses seem to have spoken of an actual cross. The next witness made a new departure, Raymond said he was received by Sir Francis Bort, who ordered the witness to put the mantle, which had just been placed on his shoulders, on the ground, and told him to deny the cross on it and to spit on it and to trample on it in contempt of Him who was crucified there, and the witness said he denied the cross once with mouth not heart, and spat on the mantle near the cross, but not on it, and trampled on the mantle but not the cross, and he believed this mode of reception was commonly observed in the Order. Asked if the receptor used persuasion to move him to do these things or that any good spiritually or temporally was to follow, he replied no, but that he had to do them as points of the Order.

The next witness, Baldoynus, said he had been tortured and by it and the fear of it, had confessed many things in the preceding years, &c. He said at his reception he was taken into a chamber and told to deny God, and frightened, he refused. The preceptor told him he must do it or evil would happen to him, and he the witness was astonished, and his hair stood on end and he heard a noise outside the chamber and then he denied God at the command of the receptor, with mouth not heart, and only once. He was asked if there was any cross there and he replied no.

The next witness, Gilletus, who was 60 years and had been twice married, said at his reception he was shewn a missal and was asked if he believed in Him whose picture of the crucifix was there, and when he replied yes, he was ordered to spit on the book, but refused, but spat near it. This witness does not seem to have learned his lesson well, for he afterwards said the receptor told him to deny God but he replied he could not if he should have his head cut off. This witness spoke of the indecent kissing.

[1] p. 218.

Jacobis de Trecis said that at his reception he was taken to a room and told to deny Nostre Sire, who hung on the cross, and he refused to do so; but afterwards fearing they would kill him as he said, because they had a large sword drawn (*evaginatum*), he denied thrice with his mouth not heart, *je reni Nostre Sire.* Then the receptor told him to trample on a silver cross with a figure of the crucifix placed on the earth, and to spit on it, and three times the witness said he trampled the cross but about the feet of the figure and spat near the cross not on it.

The report says this witness was too easy and ready to talk and not consistent in his evidence, but varying and vacillating. He, however, denied the article about the crime, said he never heard of it nor did he believe it to be true.

The Enquiry had been proceeding apparently in the ordinary way. But it appeared that this was not so. The Archbishop of Sens, under whom Paris was, had been watching the proceedings and it will be seen what arbitrary and cruel steps he took.

[1]On May the 10th, though it was *Sunday*, the defenders asked to see the Commissioners, coming before them Peter, for himself and the others, said that the Commissioners and their colleagues appointed by the Pope to enquire about the articles, had cited the Brethren to appear and they had done so, and now they had heard that the Archbishop of Sens with his suffragan council convened at Paris, wished to take action against many of the Brethren who had offered to defend the Order, which was done that the Brethren might give up the defence, they therefore made an appeal to the Commissioners which they asked to read to them. But the Archbishop of Narbonne said it was not his or his colleagues business to hear appeals, &c. But if they wished to say anything in defence of the Order it would be freely heard and received. Peter then put in a document which he read, stating that he feared lest the Archbishop of Sens and the other prelates of France should proceed against them "which they ought not to do pending your enquiry, by process against them, and the Brethren who offered to defend; and an appeal was the only relief to prevent any execution against them or their persons, or any injury which should be inflicted by the Bishops or Prelates of the Kingdom which certainly, if done, would be against God and justice, and entirely upset your enquiry. Therefore, they call and appeal to my Lord Pope, and the Holy See, both *viva voce* and in writing, placing themselves and their persons and all their rights, and that of the whole Order of the Temple under the protection of the Apostolic See, and they demand, and again demand, with the greatest energy, the advice of wise men to correct this appeal, and necessary funds for expenses and with full security of going or being sent to the Pope, within the proper time for appeals, &c. And they asked the Commissioners to order the Bishops during your enquiry not to proceed on any new cry against the said Brethren, and they ask, with your renewed help, they may come to the presence of the Archbishop of Sens, so that they may appeal about these matters before him, and they ask you to send with them one or two of your notaries to make the appeal a public instrument as they cannot find a notary to go

[1] page 259. The Commissioners did not sit on Sunday. This was therefore a special and urgent application.

> with them, and they ask all the notaries present to make a public instrument of their appeal."

The document concluded by asking the Commissioners to notify this appeal to all the French Bishops, as they, being prisoners, could not, &c.

Having given in their appeal, Peter and the others left the Commissioners to consider it. The Archbishop of Narbonne said he could not stay as he had to celebrate a Low Mass, but those who remained sent for Peter and the others, and told them they would deliberate and let them have an answer in the evening.

This answer was accordingly given in the evening as follows. It will be seen that the Commissioners practically admit their inability to protect the individual Templars from the King's party.

> [1]On the same day in the evening all the Commissioners assembled in the Chapel of St. Ellequa, where the four defenders came and the Commissioners expressed their compassion for them and the other Brethren, and said the proceedings of the Archbishop of Sens and Bishops were in his own council and were separate and distinct, and the Commissioners knew nothing of what was done there. And as the Commissioners acted by the authority of the Holy See in the enquiry entrusted to them, so the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragan in the matters said to be done in their council, also acted with the apostolic authority. The Commissioners had no authority over them because it did not seem to the Commissioners that *primâ facia* they had to inhibit anything to the Archbishop of Sens or other prelates to stop a process taken by them against the individual Members of the Order. But, however, they would consider the matter further, to see what might be done by them; "requesting our notaries to insert the request and appeal of the Brethren in the proceedings."

Peter and the other defenders asked that the Brethren might be protected in giving their evidence, instead of this the Archbishop of Sens was arranging to send many of them to the stake. And we see that Peter's application to the Commissioners to stop the Bishops produced no effect. The Commissioners said they would consider the matter more fully. But the King's party did not give them many hours to do so.

On the following Monday, Humbertus was examined. He said he had been three times tortured by Jamville and Seu de Peyto because he would not confess what they wanted and then put in a tower near Nivortum, and kept there in chains on bread and water he said for thirty-six weeks and he was then taken before the official of Poictiers (Prepositor), and swore not to recede from the confessions he made to him.

The witness first, when asked about the denial and insult, said he knew nothing about them, except by hearsay (*per auditum dici*). Asked whether at his own reception they made him deny Christ and the other matters contained in the article, he said no. Asked about the spitting and trampling, he said he knew nothing, but after he was arrested he heard many secular persons say that the Brethren spat on the cross. He, however, did not believe the contents of the article to be true. He said he had never heard about the kiss before the arrest, nor did he believe it except the kiss on the mouth which he confessed. He did not believe about the crime, &c.

[1] p. 263.

Johannes Butaldi, who had been examined both by Jamville and the Official of Poictiers, and put to the question, said that at his reception, being ordered and threatened, he denied with mouth, not heart, once, and spat near the Cross, not on, and spoke of the kiss.

It was during the examination of this witness that, like a thunder-clap, information was brought to the Commissioners that fifty-four of the Brethren who had offered to defend the Order were to be burned that day, Tuesday, 12th May. Before resuming the statement of what took place, as given in the *Procès des Templiers,* some observations on this interference with the proceedings before the Pope's Commission may not be out of place. It must be remembered that the Pope, when he issued his Commission to enquire about the "order" of the Temple, withdrew his prohibition to the Bishops and restored to them their authority over the individual Brethren, except the chiefs, whom Clement reserved for himself. So as the Commissioners told Peter of Bononia, they and the Bishops both derived their authority from the Pope. This had evidently been arranged between Clement and Philip. But it is evident that these independent authorities might clash if the King and the French Bishops either prevented the individuals from attending before the Commissioners, as was the case at first, or punished them for the evidence they had given or proposed to give, as was the present case.

We have already referred to what led the Bishops to act as they did. One hundred and forty Templars had been tortured and examined by the Grand Inquisitor between October 19th and November 24th, 1307, and though many, it is stated, had died either under or from the effects of torture, we do not hear of any one being subsequently put to death, though they remained in prison. Now, however, in May, 1310, the Commission of the Pope was proceeding. Peter, the Advocate for the defence, had asked that the witnesses might be protected when giving their evidence. There is always a kind of wireless telegraphy amongst prisoners; friendly gaolers will talk, and the probability is that the brethren took heart, and, thinking that the Commissioners could and would protect them, informed the Bishops or their agents, when looking for witnesses to send before the Commission, that they intended to go from their confession, say it was made under torture, and tell the Commission what they said was the truth. That no "denial," no insult to the Cross took place at their reception. That these charges, as well as the others contained in the Pope's articles, were untrue. If this was so, to the Ecclesiastical Inquisitor their conduct amounted to heresy. As already stated, it was one of the gravest offences in the eyes of the Inquisition for a prisoner to dare to throw [1]doubt upon the justice of his examination. It seems to have amounted in his judge's eyes to ingratitude and heresy. And there was only one course to take, and that was to burn him alive as soon as possible. It was so here. The King no doubt ordered the Archbishop of Sens to show no hesitation, but to teach these rebellious Templars, and as Peter stated to the Commissioners, the Archbishop and his Council were to be engaged on [2]the morrow of the 10th May in holding an enquiry about them, Peter and his co-advocates put in an appeal to the Pope. But whilst the Commissioners were hesitating as to what they could or should do, the Bishops were acting. The enquiry on the 11th May did not take long. The individual Templars must have been very hurriedly examined, if at all, for, as we see, fifty-four were condemned to the stake, and were to be burned on the Tuesday, the 12th May.

It is no use at this period of time giving way to feelings of indignation at conduct so opposed to one's notions of what is right. Here was an enquiry being held by arrange-

[1] *Ante.* [2] *Ante.*

ment between the King and Pope, and the King causing the witnesses to be put to death for what they were going to say, on the ground that they were lapsed heretics. It has already been pointed out the want of logic in the idea that persons who said they had not committed the heresies they had confessed under torture, were *lapsed* heretics. They may have been liars, but it is hardly lapsing into heresy to say that they never were heretics, whether it be true or false. The Archbishop of Sens and his colleagues may not have been logical but they were backed up by the King's forces, and the fifty-four were duly burned. The effect on the Commission was to paralyze it and, as will be seen, the Members again had to adjourn.

There was, however, another result, and that was the weight of evidence to be found in the fact that fifty-four persons were willing to suffer death in support of what they alleged to be the truth. This effect was one which the Commissioners themselves pointed out, as we shall see, thereby forestalling Paley's famous argument in his "Evidences of Christianity," that when there are persons found to suffer death in support of the truth of matters within their own personal knowledge of which they were eye witnesses and in respect of which they were not deceived or misled, there was the strongest presumption that these matters had taken place.[1] In this case these Templars who were burned suffered death in support of what they alleged to be the truth, *i.e.*, that at their receptions none of the heresies as the "denial and insult" took place. That they did so suffer death is proved by contemporaneous evidence taken down officially on the day. All the circumstances that would have followed such an atrocious act, did follow, and were all noted down day by day by official notaries. There were no intervening centuries between the happening of the facts and their reduction into writing. If, therefore, there is any strength in Paley's argument this seems a case to which it may be fairly applied. Fifty-four Templars were willing to be burned rather than confess crimes which, if committed, were within their own knowledge, of which they must have been eye-witnesses, about which they could not be misled or deceived. Thus there was the strongest presumption that these Templars were Martyrs in the highest sense of the word, and died in support of the truth. From the following statement of what occurred, as given in the [2]*Procés des Templiers*, it will be seen that this was the opinion of the Commissioners:—

> It was during the intervals in the examination of Brother John Bocchand, before the hour of Primes, it was brought to the knowledge of the Commissioners, being in the said chapel, that 54 of the Templars who had been before them, saying they offered to defend the Order, were to be burned that day. The Commissioners ordered those venerable men, My Lord Philip, the Prepositor of the Church of Poictiers, given the custody of the Templars by the Papal authority, and Master Amisius, the Archdeacon of Orleans, to go on the part of the Commissioners to the Archbishop of Sens, his Suffragans and Council, and to ask and persuade them that it may please them to fully deliberate and act maturely about the premises, and if it seem to them advantageous (*utile*) to defer and cause to be deferred the same, because the said Prepositor and many others all assert that the brethren of the said Order, who died in extremity, stated in the peril of their souls that they and the said Order were falsely charged with the crimes imputed to them, and if this execution now takes place it seems likely to interfere

[1] Paley p. [2] p. 274.

> with the duty of My Lords the Commissioners. And because also some of the witnesses brought this and the preceding day before them in the said enquiry were so terrified by reason of the proceedings which My Lord the Archbishop of Sens, his Suffragans and Councils were said to have done, and be about to do, that they did not seem in their full senses, nor able to give evidence in the said enquiry, and some of the Commissioners told the Prepositor of Poictiers and the Archdeacon of Orleans that the Brother Peter of Bologna, and his co-advocates, had presented to the Commissioners on the previous Sunday, for themselves and their adherents, an appeal from the Archbishop of Sens, his Suffragans and Council.

Nothing came of this appeal, the fifty-four were duly burned, and the King's party not only got rid of them, but terrified the rest of their prisoners, as the following statement shows:—

> On the following Wednesday, May 13th, Amerius de Villardus, a Templar, came before the Commissioners, said he was 50 years of age, had been a Templar about 20, and before that a serving Brother in the Order for about eight, years. When the Commissioners wanted to explain to him the articles about which they were to interrogate him, the witness, pale and terribly frightened, said on his oath and under the peril of his soul, calling down upon himself, if he lied in this, sudden death, and that he might be absorbed body and soul in hell, tearing his breast with his fists, and raising his hands towards the altar to give weight to his statement (*ad marjorem ascercionem*), with bended knee (he said) that all the errors imputed to the Order were altogether false, though he had confessed some of them, in consequence of the many tortures inflicted on him by the Royal Knights de Marcilhiaco and Hugo de Cella who examined him; stating that when he saw 54 of his brethren taken in carts to be burned, because they would not confess the said errors, and he heard that they had been burned; that he, who feared he might not have sufficient fortitude (*pacienciam*) to be burned; for fear of death would confess and depose on his oath before My Lords the Commissioners, and before any others, if he should be examined, all the errors imputed to the Order, and even that he had killed God if they asked him. Asking and abjuring the Commissioners, and us the Notaries in attendance, that they would not reveal the things he had said to the King's people or his gaolers, because he feared that if they knew them they would send him to the same fate the 54 Templars were sent to. Upon this when the Commissioners saw the witness ready to fall and the others so terrified about these matters, and that one witness who was examined by them last Tuesday came back to them and implored that his deposition might be kept secret on account of the danger which he feared might threaten him: on account of these and other matters, which they feared might prejudice the enquiry entrusted to them, and the witnesses, if they examined any during the panic; and from other causes, determined that for the present to suspend the examination of this and the other witnesses, until they had more fully considered these things, and they wished and ordered this by their Notaries to be entered in the proceedings.

But the French Bishops had not finished, not content with terrifying the witnesses they determined to paralyse the defence. The Brethren chosen for this, it must be remembered, were Peter de Bononia, Raynald de Pruino and the two Knights. Philip and his Bishops in France were most hostile to the Templars, who were Priests. There was every reason for their being so if, as they believed or professed to believe, the Priests who were Templars assisted in ceremonies where the Second Person of the Trinity was denied and his Cross insulted. They were doubly heretics, as it was their duty to have at once revealed these enormities to the Pope or the Church. It is in fact one of the great improbabilities of the charges made that Priest after Priest could join an Order which required such acts to be done, without any of them exposing it.

As stated the Priests were treated with exceptional cruelty in France. In England no distinction seems to have been made between the Priest and the Knight Templar. Now Peter and Raynald were both Priests. It will be seen that Peter mysteriously disappears, but the French Bishops determined to renew the process against Raynald. When this came to the knowledge of the Commissioners, they were seriously disturbed. Before they allowed the two Priests and the two Knights to act as Advocates they had considered whether any peril would occur to the four Templars. And now one of them (the Commissioners did not then know of Peter's disappearance) was to be summoned before the Archbishop of Sens' Council, which meant confession or torture at least. They thereupon determined again to remonstrate, and they sent their former messengers, Philip of Poictiers and the Archdeacon of Orleans to inform the Archbishop and his Council.

> That in the enquiry committed to them by the Pope, Raynald had been at their request selected by very many of the brethren, and had been admitted with Peter and the two Knights to defend the Order, and he, with the others, had appeared before the Commissioners and stated what they intended to prove, and had been invited by the Commissioners to be present at the examination of the witnesses, and the Commissioners had ordered that Raynald and the others should come before them under safe and faithful custody, whenever they wished, for the defence of the Order, which the Commissioners wished the Archbishop of Sens and his Council to know, as they were told he had summoned the said Raynald before him to finish the enquiry against him as an individual Brother of the Order, which was said to be incomplete. The Commissioners said they did not intend to inhibit the said Archbishop and his Council, nor to impede him in his office, but for the exoneration of the Commissioners, and, that the truth might be known, they had signified these things to them, so that the said Archbishop, his Suffragans and Council, who were experienced, should consider with themselves how they ought to proceed in the enquiry against the said Raynald, &c.

On the same day the Archbishop of Sens sent three Canons of the Church of Orleans with his reply, to the effect that:—

> Two years had now elapsed since the unfinished enquiry against Raynald had commenced as an individual member of the Order, and that they were met together in Paris, in Council, in order that this inquisition and others made against individual members of the Order

> should be finished according to the tenor of the Papal mandate, and that the Archbishop was not able to call the Council together whenever he wished—requiring the three Canons to get from the Commissioners what they meant by the message they had sent that day by Philip and the Archdeacon of Orleans, stating that it was not the intention of the Archbishop and his Council to interfere with the duties of the Commissioners.

This in effect was a polite way, by the Archbishop and his Council, of saying that the Commissioners, having no jurisdiction over Raynald as an individual, were to mind their own business. To make the matter more complete the three Canons required the message to be made a public document by a cleric brought with them, *whom they said* was a Notary.

Relations were becoming strained between the Commissioners, headed by the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the Council of Sens, under its Archbishop, both being friends of Philip. The Commissioners having, as it is stated, fully gone into the question, answered the three Canons :—

> That with the wish and advice of the Archbishop of Narbonne they had made their communication, without either inhibition or command. And it should be clear and without any ambiguity. And, as their Archbishop was away in Paris, they could not make any other communication. But, on his return, he would consider with his Council whether anything further need be said. Adding that the Archbishop of Sens (with his Council) being well experienced knew how to ascertain, from the communication already made to them, what they ought to do.

But the Commissioners had more to learn, for, after the three Canons had gone back, Raynald and the two Knights came before them, and said that Peter of Bononia had been separated from them, and they knew not why, adding without prejudice that they were laymen and unlearned, and they were so astonished and disturbed that they did not know what to do for the defence of the Order without the help of the Brother Peter, and they supplicated the Commissioners to summon him to their presence, and to learn how and why he had retired, and whether he wished to continue the defence of the Order or not, and the Commissioners ordered the two gaolers, Philip of Poictiers and John of Jamville, to bring him before them on the morrow morning.

But Peter of Bononia did not make his appearance on the morrow, Tuesday, the 18th May, nor did he in fact appear again at any other time, but instead several brethren came, and on being individually asked why they had, replied each singly that though they had formerly offered to defend the Order, now they wished to desist, and did desist from defending, and abandoned the defence. They were the brethren Himbertus de Sancto Jorgio, &c., about forty. After this it appears that the Archbishop of Narbonne and the other Commissioners met on the Wednesday, and they all agreed, on account of many reasons, that as the General Council was to be prorogued the Commissioners should adjourn to the 3rd November.

The second sitting of the Papal Commission was thus brought to a close. What happened between this month of May and the 3rd November, 1311, we can only surmise from what is stated in the report of the proceedings of the third sitting.

THIRD SITTING.

The Commissioners, according to the adjournment, met on the 3rd November, 1310. The Archbishop of Narbonne and others did not appear, only the Bishop of Mende, Matthew of Naples and the Archdeacon of Trent. They directed enquiries to be made "whether anyone wished to say anything on behalf of the Temple," but no one appeared, and the three Commissioners agreeing that they could not proceed properly in the absence of the others, ordered the Notaries present to make a public instrument of the facts and adjourned.

Matters came to a standstill again, but, no doubt, negotiations between the Pope and King took place, for when the Commissioners met again on the 17th December, the Archbishop of Narbonne and several of the Commissioners were still absent. But those present determined to proceed, and had the letters of excuse read in the presence of the two Knights, William of Chambonnet and Bertrand of Sartiges, who, with the two Priests, Peter of Bononia and Radulph of Pruino had been the defenders of the Order.[1]

These Knights, however, were not prepared to act in the absence of the Priests. Law and religion were in those days intimately connected, and the learning and knowledge of the practice of the Courts, which in modern times is confined to the legal advocate, was then as much the property of the priest, who practised in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Peter of Bologna was, as we know, advocate of the Order in the Roman Curia, and he and Radulph had shewn themselves to be learned lawyers. They had entered an appeal to the Pope. The Knights, after the letters of excuse of the absent Commissioners had been read, said and protested that they persisted in the appeal they had already lodged with the Commissioners, and said that they were laymen and unlearned, and they asked that Peter and Radulph should be brought into communication with them, and they asked that assistance should be given them, saying that if their liberty and goods were restored they would willingly defend the Order. But the Commissioners told them that Peter and Radulph had solemnly and voluntarily renounced the defence of the Order and gone back to the confessions originally made by them,[2] and that after this renunciation Peter had escaped from prison and Radulph was not able to appear in defence of the Order because he had been degraded by the Council of Sens.[3] The Commissioners, however, offered the two Knights the right to be present at the enquiry if they wished and personally to hear what they should bring forward before them. But the two Knights said they wished not to interfere unless they had Peter and Radulph's assistance, fearing, as they said, they should prejudice the appeal,[4] and so they retired from the presence of the Commissioners, who made no attempt to induce them to remain. Notwithstanding the trouble and time taken in the early part of the year to find persons willing to defend the Order the Commissioners at once acquiesced in the withdrawal of the Knights and shewed no desire to reconstitute the defence.

The position of affairs, therefore, was that over three years had elapsed since the Templars were examined, under torture, by William of Paris, the Inquisitor of France. During the interval one witness said that eighty of the brethren had died, and when the King's party found that their prisoners were getting out of hand, owing to the fact that

[1] Vol. i., p. 285. *Ante.*

[2] Peter of Bononia had been examined by a deputy of the Grand Inquisitor, in March, 1307, vol. ii., p. 348. He confessed that he had spat *on* the cross three times and gave a qualified admission about the crime, &c. If Radulph of Pruino confessed, his confession has not come down to us.

[3] Notwithstanding the Protest of the Commissioners. *Ante.*

[4] This Appeal is still unheard.

the Commissioners said they might speak the truth with safety, fifty-four more were sent to the stake. The consequence was that the terrified witnesses, seeing the Commissioners could give them no protection, lost their courage. And as they came in turn before the Commissioners they commenced with a protest that they did not intend to depart from their confessions, and whatever they said or did they must be understood as saying nothing in opposition to what they had already confessed. The Commissioners, no doubt, fully realized what had taken place. They were, however, themselves powerless. On more than one occasion they had expressed their pity for the Templars, and had promised them protection and liberty of speech, which promises they were unable to carry out. They had appointed two Priests to undertake the defence, after due deliberation, with the idea that no harm could come to them. Yet the chief had been forced to retire from the defence, and had, it was said, escaped from prison, which may or may not have been true, whilst the other Priest, R. de Pruino, had been degraded, and was later doomed to perpetual imprisonment. The Commissioners must have felt very humiliated. They made an attempt to keep the evidence secret, but it leaked out, and the few witnesses who had any courage left to tell the truth, were generally brought back to deny everything. The following case is one of these:—

> John de Pollencourt said he was 30 years of age. In answer to the first four questions as to the alleged custom in the Order of making candidates at the receptions deny, &c., he said he had only been at one reception besides his own (where nothing disgraceful was done nor required). He had not been at their Chapters, so that he did not know whether the contents of these articles were true, but he believed not, as he had not seen anything wrong. Asked about his own reception, he said he had been received about ten years, by Garinüs, present, a Priest Egidius de Rotangi, and others. He then described the ordinary form of reception: to give up his own will, to go beyond the seas, &c., the oaths he took of chastity, poverty, and to preserve the goods of the Order. He then said he wished to stand by the confession made to the Bishop of Amiens and his predecessor, and that then he confessed to have denied God (Deum) in his reception. But when the witness appeared very frightened and pale the Commissioners persuaded him to think about speaking the truth and about his soul's salvation, and told him no danger could threaten him if he told them the truth, for they would in no way reveal it, nor the Notaries present. He said, after an interval, "*Upon the peril of his soul, and by the oath taken by him, that at his reception he had not denied God nor Jesus, nor the crucifix, nor kissed his Receptor nor those standing about, except on the mouth, nor was he requested to do so, nor had he spat upon the cross, nor was he requested to do anything about the said denial, spitting and disgraceful kiss, although he had confessed the contrary to the Inquisitors, through fear of death, as he said, and because the above-named Brother Egidius de Rotangi with tears, told him and many others, in the Prison de Monsterrolio, that they would lose their bodies unless they assisted in the destruction of the Order by confessing that they had denied God and spat upon the Cross*, and, he added, that after this confession to the Bishop of Amiens and the Inquisitors, he confessed his false confession, which he said he had made to a brother, a minor friar, sent to him by Lord Robert, now Bishop of Amiens. He

> had wished to confess to the Bishop himself, but he said he could not hear his confession being occupied with the other brethren, and the said minor Friar absolved him and enjoined him that he should not again confess falsely in the said matter."
>
> The witness was examined about the other articles, giving general denials, and to the final question if he knew of any errors in the Order, replied *in the peril and damnation of his soul,* '*No,*' *nor had he heard of any of the said errors before their arrest.*
>
> He was told, as the other witnesses were, not to reveal his deposition before they were made public. *In which deposition he said he wished to persevere, whatever happened, wishing in this to look rather to his soul than his body,* as he said.

If the witness was speaking the truth he gives a glimpse of what was going on behind the scenes, shewing the inducements made to witnesses to help the destruction of the Order by swearing to the denial, &c. That he was so speaking, seems likely from the steps taken by his jailers to make him retract what he had said, for we find that, notwithstanding that the witness had been told not to reveal his deposition, on the 12th January four days after, Pollencourt applied to the Commissioners to be brought before them again, and upon being given a hearing, he said he had lied in his deposition given on the previous Saturday and had perjured himself, asking with bended knees and clasped hands their forgiveness. But the Commissioners suspected that he had been suborned, and they swore him again, touching the holy gospels, to tell the truth. Asked by them if he had revealed his confession, or had been induced by anyone to revoke it, he replied, "No," but he thought he had done wrong in lying and perjuring himself before the Commissioners, and he had asked his jailers and John of Jamville (It was he who told the prisoners they would be burned in this world and damned in the next if they departed from these confessions)[1] to bring him before the Commissioners that he might be able to tell them the matters he had omitted in his deposition, and he said on his oath "that he had denied God in his reception and spat near the cross, a white silver one, at the order of his Receptor, who told him the denial and spitting on the cross were points of the Order," and the witness said "he did it with mouth, not heart." The witness then went on to admit all the other charges: the kiss, the crime, that he believed all the errors he had confessed were in the Order and commonly observed in the receptions, and he had seen them observed at the reception at which he was present. That brother Egidius, the Priest, had not been present at his reception (as he had stated), he thought he had been, but afterwards he thought it over and considered, and knew he was not. He had heard that the cat came to the congregations of the Templars, and he had heard these things said after the arrest, and if the religion of the Temple was not destroyed he could not remain in it, because it was bad.

The Priest Egidius himself was called on the 28th January.[2] He said he did not intend to depart from his deposition and confession made in the Council of Rheims, where he was absolved and reconciled from the sentence of excommunication but condemned to imprisonment, but the last sentence was, he said, with the consent of the Archbishop of Sens' Council to be moderated, at the discretion of Philip and de Jamville, for certain reasons (*Moderanda arbitrio præpositi Pictavensis et Johannis de Jamville propter aliquas causas*). What these reasons were we can guess, when we find Egidius

[1] *Ante.* [2] Vol. i., p. 463.

telling the brethren at Montserrolio they would lose their lives (*quod perderent corpora sua*) unless they assisted in destroying the Order by confessing they denied God, &c., and as we find Pollencourt coming back to the Commissioners and informing them he was wrong in saying Egidius was present at his reception, we may fairly assume that it was Egidius who gave him this information, and worked upon his fears and persuaded him to ask to be taken before the Commissioners again, on the pretence of stating matters that he had omitted; but really to contradict and withdraw every word he had said, and to confess and admit all the charges, including the Cat which was supposed to attend and preside at meetings of the Templars.

Pollencourt had evidently been terrified, and he went further than most, but he made one slip that de Jamville would have probably had corrected if known. He said he had heard of these things *after* the arrest, when of course they were admittedly notorious; instead of *before*.

Egidius' evidence was that of a trimmer. In answer to the first four questions, he said in some chapters they denied Jesus, in others not.

At his own reception he said he was told to deny Christ in the presence of all the others, as it seemed to him, but he said he could not because he was a good Christian and wished to be, and then Walter, who received him, replied, "so we think you and wish you to be, but you must deny because it is a point of our Order": then he denied with mouth not heart and spat a little near a crucifix painted in a missal. He was told about the kiss and the crime, but he said he had never committed them nor heard the brethren had. He was asked about a brother Michael, whom he said he had received, but from whom he required nothing unlawful. He was asked why, and he said he did this because of his special love, &c. He said beyond the XIII. Article he knew nothing. He was cross-examined at some length about the alleged absolution by lay receptors.

There were many other witnesses, some of whom had the courage not only to tell the truth to the Commissioners but to keep their own counsel, for they do not appear again nor retract what they said.

There was a batch of nine witnesses called on the 8th February, 1311, who, in answer to the first four questions, either said they did not believe them to be true or said they did not know; many of them said that at the receptions they had seen nothing wrong done. Several, it is true, said they denied, &c., at their own receptions, but the first, Robertus Vigerii, would not admit even this. He said nothing wrong was done at his own reception, nor at those at which he had been present, of which he gave particulars. He said that the whole Order would keep the rules which the Master with his council (*conventu*) ordered, but he did not believe if the errors imputed to the Order were true they would have been kept concealed for so long a time, though on account of them a great scandal had arisen and the Order was defamed by them *after* the arrest.

He was asked if he had confessed anything against his present deposition? He said "Yes," on account of the violence of his tortures which he suffered in Paris when the Bishop of Nivernensis examined him, and that three of his companions died under these tortures, as he had heard said. He was asked their names, which he gave, and said he believed that the Grand Master and others, who were said to have confessed some errors against the Order, had lied, and they were induced to do this by tortures and promises.

This witness does not appear again, so (as stated) it may be presumed his evidence was not known to the jailers.

But John de Cormele, one of the same batch, after trying to tell the truth like Pollencourt, came back and recanted. He first said that at all the receptions at which

he had been present nothing wrong took place. He was asked if anything wrong took place in his own reception, he declined to reply, but asked the Commissioners to speak to him privately, but they refused. And when he was seen to be greatly frightened by the tortures he suffered at Paris since the arrest, in which tortures he said he had lost four teeth, and he said he could not properly remember what took place at his reception, and he asked for time to deliberate; they granted his request, ordering him to return on the morrow to finish his deposition. And they instructed him in virtue of his oath not to reveal his deposition, and that he would not ask advice of anyone as to how he should give evidence or how reply to this question (as to what took place at his own reception) and the other matters they should enquire of him, and he said he would ask the advice of God alone.

On the morrow he returned and said, that after the mantle, the Receptor told him to deny God and to insult a cross, and he confessed all the other charges, kiss, crime, &c. Asked as he knew yesterday as much as now, why he did not confess these matters then, he said because of their wickedness and horror. Asked if he had taken any advice since yesterday as to what he was to reply, he said "No," but he had asked Robert, the priest, to say a mass of the Holy Spirit (*Missam de Sanctu Spiritu*) that God might direct him. Asked if his deposition of yesterday was true, he said "Yes." He said he had confessed these errors to a priest of the Order, who ordered a fast on seven feast days, and, after the arrest, he confessed to a canon.

It is clear, therefore, that the King and the Archbishop of Sens had not relaxed their grasp over the Templars, and that there was less chance of the Pope's Commissioners learning the truth than there was when Peter put in his spirited defence,[1] where he said

> "It was notorious that the brethren were forced and compelled, or corrupted by prayer, price or fear, and that all the brethren were struck with such fear and terror that it was not to be wondered that they lie about these things rather than any tell the truth, &c., &c., and that it is wonderful that greater belief is given to liars who testify falsely to help their bodies, rather than to those who like Christian martyrs suffer so much for the support of truth."

These words were reduced into writing before the burning of the fifty-four. How much more he would have said if he had had an opportunity of speaking we may guess. But he had no such opportunity, for the Commissioners adjourned and Peter was seen no more, and all that we are told about him is that he himself was forced or bribed to give up the defence and return to his confession made in 1307.

The reign of terror was, therefore, not at an end. In vain the Commissioners told the witnesses, what they said would not be known. The witnesses knew better, they had trusted once to the Commissioners' promises. They were not likely to do so again. Under these circumstances what value could their depositions have. What jury would convict upon evidence so obtained, or give a verdict for a prosecution that had burned so many of the witnesses for the defence, and had even terrified those chosen by common consent to defend the Order, so that they had given up the defence and left the Order undefended. There is a legal maxim, that everything is to be presumed against one who destroys (*omnia præsumuntur contra spoliatorem*), and here we find the prosecution destroying witnesses as well as defenders. Yet it is upon the evidence of these terrified, coerced or coaxed witnesses that those who condemn the Templars, for the

[1] *Ante.*

most part, form their opinion; though it is true that the question has not been allowed to rest entirely on the proceedings of the years 1307-1314. Modern enquirers have discovered, or thought they had, reasons for forming opinions, which were unknown either to Philip, or his Inquisitors and Bishops. It was left to writers of the nineteenth century to find proof of the Templars guilt, in the construction of their churches, in their medals and images.

These matters have been dealt with in a paper on the alleged Gnosticism of the Templars. It is only necessary to add here that the more the depositions of the Templars are studied the more it is apparent that they were, except perhaps the priests, simple ignorant catholics, so illiterate that they could only learn the *Pater Noster* and not the *Ave Maria*, for we find at the receptions they were told to say seventeen *Pater Nosters* in the honour of the B.V., and that they had no knowledge of the mysteries of Gnosticism, or of any other religion outside the faith in which they had been brought up, and in which they believed.

There, however, is another observation made by M. Michelet, the editor of the *Procès des Templiers*, in the preface of the second volume, which has already been referred to, viz., that his opinion about the guilt of the Templars had changed.

What M. Michelet in effect says is that there is internal evidence in the depositions themselves which tends to prove the truth of the charges, that is to say, admitting the wickedness, avarice and other motives which prompted King Philip, and the cruelty and injustice shown by his Bishops, their interference in the proceedings of a public enquiry and determination not to allow a witness who had once confessed to go from his confession, that they unjustly burned fifty-four brethren and thereby terrified the others; yet there is proof in the way the answers are given by the Templars that the charges are true.

Because, he says, "their denials are all identical whilst their avowals are all different, varied with special circumstances, which give them a particular character of truth,"[1] adding "it should have been the contrary if the admissions had been said or extracted (*arrachès*) by torture. They would have been more like one another, and the diversity rather found in the denials."

M. Michelet makes this statement with an air of authority, as if this abstract proposition were a well-known law, or was the opinion of some expert whom he had consulted. It is always dangerous to judge a particular and concrete case by the application of an abstract proposition which even if true, may not govern the particular example. But is there any rule, that denials and avowals must vary in opposite directions, according to the truth or falsehood of what they profess to state? Is it not the rule, rather, that in all cases, whether the truth or the reverse is being told by a number of witnesses, the tendency is for the denials to be in uniform, though the avowals vary? It is clearly so in the case before us, as, notwithstanding the weight to be attached to the opinion of M. Michelet, a little reflection will show.

In this enquiry there were, at least, 130 questions, which, if these were put one by one to 240 witnesses, would be over thirty thousand interrogations.

The matters particularly insisted upon by the Bishops—Denial, Insult, Kiss and Crime—were practically limited to the first four questions. The majority of the 130 questions were usually answered in the negative, still they had to be read, put and explained to each witness, and naturally a stereotyped form of interrogatory came to be used, as "Do you know anything about the contents of this article?" "Do you believe the

[1] Preface to vol. ii., *ante*.

contents to be true?" "Do you know or believe, or have you ever heard?" &c. The negative answer, written down, had to be incorporated with the question, and the form would also become stereotyped, as "He did not believe the contents of the article to be true" (*Non credebat contenta in articulâ esse vera*) or, "He knows nothing" (*Scit Nihil*), or "He does not know or believe," or "He has never heard," (*Non scit nec credit et nunquam audivit*), or sometimes a general denial was entered, for example, as to article 60 and all of those following, he replied "he knew nothing beyond what he had deposed above" (*Item super LX. et omnibus sequentibus respondit se nichil scit ultra illa que supra deposuit*). Perhaps the words "except this" (*hoc excepto*) were added, or "he did not before the arrest" (*ante capacionen*).

The result was, as M. Michelet stated, the denials are almost always identical, but what else could be expected. Question after question being met with the same answer, the Notaries could not invent fresh phrases in each case and would naturally adopt a common form. But no one can draw any safe conclusion as to the truth or falsehood of these answers, as M. Michelet seems to have done.

We have now to consider whether M. Michelet is right in drawing a conclusion against the Templars, because their admissions are all different, varied with special circumstances which, he says, give them a special character of truth.

The statement is not quite correct. The admissions are not all different. There is the common form found in all the depositions, viz., that the denial was done with the mouth only, and the spitting was not on, but near the Cross. Apart, however, from this similarity there are considerable variations in the stories told by the different witnesses. But the reason of this, which Michelet seems to have overlooked, is that the brethren had no opportunity after the meeting in the Bishops' garden of arranging what they had to say. Philip's instructions when he permitted the Templars to be brought to Paris were that the prisoners were to be

> under such safe and certain custody that they could not escape, and so carefully and separately that they should not suborn one another, nor fabricate any collusions, falsehoods, alienations, or subterfuges.

They were, therefore, unable to concoct a common story. Michelet adds that if their admissions were dictated or forced from them by torture they would in some way bear a resemblance to one another. But the prisoners were scattered all over France and beyond (it is difficult to ascertain what was France in those days.) We know they came from La Rochelle, Treves, Limousin, Limoges, Chartrès, Orleans, and many other places. They were therefore examined and probably tortured by different Bishops in different places.

It is not likely, therefore, that their confessions would resemble one another. It would have been a miracle if they did, unless the charges were true, and they confessed what had actually taken place. But if this was not so, and the unhappy prisoners were forced or persuaded into confessing matters which never took place by the Jailors in their respective prisons, we should expect to find that the prisoners confined in the same House would tell the story in the same way. So that amongst the members of a batch who came from the same prison there would be a resemblance in their depositions. But the variations would be between the different batches, who had no means of communicating with one another. This is what we do find, and there is hardly any special circumstance mentioned by any one witness that is not also mentioned by other members of the same batch. Sometimes the whole batch tell the same story, sometimes only two or three. It does not follow that all the members came from the same prisons,

These seem to be the special circumstances that Michelet says gave the confessions a special character of truth (*que leur donnent une caractère particulier de véracité*) but the author thinks and proves that these confessions were rehearsed behind the curtain, and were the result of conversations, if not with one another, with a common jailer.

It is not a great stretch of imagination to picture the pressure put on the witnesses to induce them to confess, as if they asked, "How could we confess such wickedness?" They were answered, "You can say you did it under coercion with mouth only, and that you spat near, not on the cross. The indecent kiss you were excused, or you gave it over the clothes (*supra vestes*). The crime you were told about, but you never committed it, nor believed it was done." But the unhappy prisoner might still object. "How could I, if I had done these things, have taken the sacrament?" "Well, you confessed to a Minor Friar, whose name you do not know, or who you believe to be dead, and he gave you a penance, &c.?"

At this time the Templars had been years in prison, and been tortured. One had his hands tied behind his back till his nails dropped off, and prisoners and gaolers must have wished that some compromise could be brought about. If so, we should expect to find the stories differ between the different batches.

When, however, prisoners were tortured by one person and at one period, we do find the uniformity Michelet speaks of. As so often stated, 140 Templars were examined by the Inquisitor, William of Paris, or his deputy, in 1307. Their depositions have come down to us, and are given in the second volume of the *Procés*. There we find the depositions given in a common form. Philip had to justify his arrest of the Templars, and he did so by charging them with at their reception, making the candidates deny the Second Person, insult his cross, kiss the Receptor indecently, &c. There was no beating about the bush in these depositions of 1307. They were almost brutal in their uniformity. Philip and his Inquisitors wanted it, and took care they got it, at what expense of life and limb will never be known. We have tales of 80 dying, of bones being twisted out of the feet. These are only glimpses of the cruelties that took place. But William of Paris, the Inquisitor for France, was able to send a complete set of depositions before the Pope, which would have been conclusive if the Pope had not refused to believe them, and insisted on appointing his own commission.

When we come to the depositions now being taken it will be seen greater laxity prevailed. Both jailers and the different Bishops seem occasionally to have forgotten what in theory the prisoners had to confess.

All the prisoners who confessed the denial said they did it with their mouth, &c. This means that all the candidates for the previous 40 or 50 years, when suddenly, as they said, ordered to commit the heresy of denying their Savour, had the presence of mind to make a mental reservation all in the same form. So much had the witnesses adopted this form that some of them said they spat with their mouth, not heart, and others said they knew that brethren whom they had seen received, denied with *their* mouth, not heart, &c.

A critical examination of the evidence would be the best proof of the resemblance between the stories told by the members of the same batch and the difference between the stories of the different batches. But the reader may, perhaps, learn sufficient from a few examples, to understand what was supposed to have taken place at the reception of a candidate.

Every witness was called upon to give an account of what took place at his own reception. All the accounts of the ceremony agree up to a certain point, *i.e.*, the invest-

ment of the candidate with the mantle of the Order. It is after this the depositions begin to vary. The best and fullest account was given in the depositions of De Causo, a Knight Templar, who was examined on the 12th January, 1311. From this, supplemented by the description of other witnesses, a paper was read by the author in "The Reception of a Templar," which is published in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., pp. 163-174. It is necessary here to state shortly the nature of the ceremony, so that what took place may be properly realised.

The reception took place at a Chapter which was held in one of the chapels of the Order, and was presided over by a Receptor, who was assisted by a Priest and two brethren who were to be chosen for their knowledge of the ritual. Besides these four officers there were the brethren, and so the Chapter was formed. From the depositions it appears that the candidates were often accompanied by relations and friends who were not Templars. Upon the candidates' arrival outside the Chapter the two assistants were sent out to know what was wanted. The candidates asked for bread and water, and to share the privileges of the Order. The Assistants returned to the Chapter and made their report to the Receptor, and the Chapter voted as to their reception. If favourable, the Receptor instructed the two Assistants to return to the candidates and inform them that they asked a great thing, that the Order was full of hardships, and to find out whether the candidates were free, of sound health, &c. For this purpose candidates were taken by the two Assistants into a room and separated from their friends, who remained outside, and did not see the candidates again until the ceremony was over. During this separation their curiosity was naturally excited as to what was happening to the candidate, and when they found upon his return that he refused to give them information their curiosity probably became suspicion. The candidates, having satisfied the Assistants that they were free, of the Catholic faith, &c., were introduced into the Chapter, where they were sworn as follows:—

> "You promise to God and the Blessed Mary obedience, chastity, and to preserve the good uses and customs of the Order, and to live without private property unless the same is allowed to you by your superiors, &c."

After they were sworn the Receptor said,

> "We receive you and your father and your mother whom you may choose to be elected to the participation of the spiritual goods, done and to be done in the Order from the beginning to the end."

These appear to be the operative words which made the candidate a Templar. The next step was to invest him with the Templar clothing, for which purpose it was necessary for the candidate to take off his secular clothing. It is not quite clear whether this was done in the open Chapter, or whether he was taken on one side for this purpose. De Causo's account implies that it was done in the Chapter. He says:—

> "And these (words) being said he put on their mantles and dressed them (*et hiis dictis, induit eos mantellos et affublavit eis*)."

The word *affublavit* is the Latin form of the French word *affubler*, which in those days meant to "dress," as a lady is dressed by her maid, and is to be distinguished from "putting on," which is represented by *induit*.

In modern times *affubler* is confined to dressing grotesquely, as children "dress-up." Whatever it was, it took some time, for the account says that during this dressing the Priest present, sang the psalm "how blessed it is to see the brethren," &c., followed

by certain versicles, concluding with the oration of the Holy Spirit. It appears that the candidates were on their knees when the mantle was given to them, for De Causo says:—

> "Then the Master, raising them by the hand again, kissed them on the mouth (or cheek) (*in ore*), and he thought that the Priest and Knights present also kissed them."

After this the Receptor and brethren seated themselves, and the candidate sat at the feet of the Receptor, and the charges were delivered at great length. Amongst other things forbidden was to reveal the secrets of the Chapter to anyone, whether a Templar or not, who had not been present. To fail to receive and entertain any travelling brother, &c. There were a great many other matters which they were called upon to do or not to do, amongst other things saying *Pater Nosters* for the honour of the Blessed Mary, but these are those material for the present purpose.

From this description we see that the investiture of the mantle took place at that part of the reception where we should expect it, viz., after the obligation and before the charges were delivered, and this is confirmed by nearly every witness, who all swear that the mantle was put on or delivered in open Chapter by the Receptor after the candidate was sworn, and that the Priest said the Psalms, &c., and most accounts add, sprinkled holy water. A very common form of the ceremony is as follows[1]:—

> They made him vow and swear upon an open missal, chastity, obedience, to live without property, and to keep the good uses and customs of the Order. Afterwards the Receptor put the mantle on, and he and the Priest kissed him (*in ore*) and the Priest said the Psalm, "Behold, how good," &c., and sprinkled holy water on him.

As stated, up to the putting on of the mantle by the Receptor in open chapter, all the accounts agree, but it is after this that the differences begin. Some witnesses say that the Receptor then ordered them to deny, &c., others that the Receptor retired, and the Assistants told them to do this. Other witnesses say that they were taken, some say by the Receptor, some say by the Assistants, to a secret part of the Chapel, and a very large number say that they were taken by the Receptor or the Assistants for the purpose of changing their secular clothing and putting on the Templar. One witness says[2], *e.g.* (*Fuit inductus ad dormitarium ad induendum vestes ordinis*), "He was taken to the dormitory to change into the clothing of the Order."[3]

Now all accounts agree that up to the investing of the mantle nothing wrong took place. The question naturally arises, "If, as must have been the case, the candidate had changed his secular for Templar clothing before the mantle, the crowning mark of a Templar, was put on, how it is that so many say that they were afterwards taken into a room or on one side to change the clothing?" The prosecution had to make their charges plausible. It was not likely that a candidate would be told to do these terrible things before he was sworn to obedience and secrecy, and made a full Templar by giving him the mantle. On the other hand, many must have felt that such sins and crimes would not be spoken of in open Chapter. It became, therefore, necessary to invent a reason for leaving the Chapter, and some of them, as we shall see, say these things occurred in a room, or part of the Chapel, where they had been taken to change their clothing, although they must have done so before they received the mantle, which is, to say the least, very improbable. In De Causo's elaborate statement of the cere-

[1] Vol i., p. 513. [2] Page 530.

[3] To avoid repetition the proceedings which took place after the mantle was placed on the candidate's shoulder are stated as occurring "after the mantle."

mony there is not a word suggesting any retirement of the candidates from the Chapter after their first introduction until the Receptor dismisses them by saying "Go, God make you worthy men."

It may be said that the mantle was put on over secular clothing. This seems very unlikely, and would give no meaning to the "dressing" (*affublavit*) by the Receptor, nor time for the Priest to say his Psalm and versicles. No one can say with certainty what the facts were, but the statement by so many witnesses that the change of clothing was subsequent to the putting on the mantle is hardly one of those varying circumstances which give their admissions a special character of truth. Yet the number of witnesses who said so form a very large proportion of the number examined. One witness, only apparently remembering that what he had to say as something to do with clothes, said he was taken to a tailor's shop, where there was another brother whose name he did not know, who held the Cross for him to spit upon, and told him as he was leaving that properly (or improperly) he ought to kiss him . . . which he says he took to be a jest.

[1] *Duxit ipsum testem ad quandam cameram in quă consueverunt scindi vestes, et in eădem camera erat quidam alius frater cujus nomen ignorat, &c.*

There is another matter which throws great doubt upon the veracity of these depositions. The whole theory of the original prosecution was that the candidate had to deny the Second Person, supposed to have arisen from a compact made by De Bello Joco with the Saracens in order to be allowed his liberty, or, as De Gonaville suggested alternatively, because Peter denied. This theory was steadily kept in sight during the examinations of 1307. But during the sitting of the Commission, 1310-11, this theory had been greatly lost sight of, and witness after witness came forward and swore he had ordered to deny God (*Abnegare Deum*). Occasionally the Commissioners asked the witness whom he meant. Often he replied he did not know; he denied one or the other. This is another variation, which hardly gives the depositions an air of truth. Contact with the Saracens might have made the Templars Deists, but not Atheists.

Besides the mistake about the denial between the First and Second Person, and the improbability that the brethren retired to change their clothing after the mantle had been put on, there are several accounts contradicting one another as to whether the order to deny was given by the Receptor or by the Assistants, whether in open Chapter, or after the candidates were taken apart. Then there are different kinds of Cross said to have been used. If it had been the case that at some time during the ceremony of reception the candidate was really induced to deny and to insult by spitting on a Cross, the proceeding was a very dangerous one. There must always have been a fear of the way the candidate would receive it. He might make an outcry, &c., and one would think nothing would be left to chance, and that there would be a Cross ready for the purpose. Yet no part of the alleged proceedings show so much variation as in the different descriptions of the Cross said to have been used, not by different individuals, but as between different groups or batches of witnesses, one batch, or the greater part of it speaking to one form of Cross, another to a different one. There were plain crosses made of wood or metal, of silver or brass, or a crucifix with the figure painted or carved, there were pictures of a Cross in a missal or a book. There was the Cross on the mantle either of the Receptor or the candidate, or of the Assistants, or of some of those standing near. There was a Cross, one batch said, made of red or red and white cloth, which was stretched upon the ground. Some witnesses

[1] Vol. i., p. 536.

spoke of a monument out of doors, and, most curious of all, one batch insulted the Cross without any Cross being there, so that they played "Hamlet" without the Prince, and solemnly spat on the ground.

Besides the different descriptions of the Cross, there are different accounts as to who produced the Cross, the Receptor or Assistants or other brethren? Whoever produced it, where did he get it from? Did he produce it from under his clothes, or take it from an altar, or point it out in a missal? And where did he use it? Behind the altar, in a dark corner, or in a separate room? We have already referred to many of the brethren saying it was in the room where they were taken to change their clothing, and that these different statements were generally divided amongst the different batches, each set of prisoners adopting the same story, both as to the descripion of the Cross and the other matters connected with it. It is not necessary to labour this point. Extracts from the depositions will be the best proof.

These are some of the varying circumstances which Michelet said give a particular character of veracity to the admissions, but which to the author show the so-called confessions were really compromises arranged between the prisoners and their jailors, generally Minor Friars, who acted for the Bishops. The probability is, as already suggested, that rehearsals of what the witnesses had to confess took place behind the curtain, when objections by the unhappy prisoners were answered, suggestions made, and what was to be said was agreed upon, and each witness was threatened or otherwise knew that if he departed from what was thus agreed he did so at the peril of being burned as a heretic, as the 54 had been in the previous May.

It is now proposed to return to the depositions themselves. The practice seems to have been that as soon as a batch were ready to swear what was wanted, they were sent before the Commissioners, a batch generally coming from the same Bishop, but not always, &c. There were about 180 witnesses examined after the defence was destroyed. The depositions fill several hundreds of pages. But for the most part they are only repetitions of one another. It is, therefore, only now proposed to give notes taken from them as will be sufficient to illustrate the points stated above.

In the first two batches examined by the Commissioners at their third sitting, after the Order had been left undefended, there were 20 witnesses, 12 in the first and 8 in the second. In the last 4 batches taken before the close of the proceedings there were 22 witnesses. A short account is given below of the statements made by each of these witnesses, confined, however, to their account of the circumstances under which the alleged order was given for them to "Deny" and Insult the Cross, and in the case of Priests, "to omit the canonical words in the celebration of the Mass."

There will be no difficulty in recognizing the family likeness in the accounts given by members or some of them of the same batch and the differences between the accounts of different batches. A few examples will be given of other batches which show the same thing.

Evidence of the first batch of twelve witnesses examined by the Papal Commissioners, beginning the 18th December, 1310.[1]

No. 1 had been received about 14 years. Present several brethren. This witness said he was certain the brethren denied God, and he believed by God they meant Jesus Christ. He said at his reception, after the Receptor had given him the mantle he ordered him to deny Christ and to spit on a small crucifix which he held in his hand.

[1] Vol. i., p. 291.

No. 2 was a priest. He said he was received, present 13 or 14 brethren, all of whom he believed to be dead, mentioning several who he said had died since the arrest. After the mantle, he was ordered by the Receptor to deny Christ and to spit on a cross brought by the priest from the altar, which the Receptor held between his two hands on the ground. He said the Receptor told him in the presence of the others he was to omit the four secret words of the Canon, which he did not specify, as he was a layman, but the Priest told him were *Hoc est enim corpus meum.* He said, however, he did not celebrate until he had confessed, which he did to the Bishop of Langres within 8 days, who absolved him. Afterwards he celebrated many times and did not omit these words.

No. 3, a Priest, was received about 18 years ago. Present many brethren, many dead. After the mantle, a brass crucifix was brought by one, he knew not which, of the brethren and put on the ground at the edge of the Receptor's mantle, and the Receptor told him to spit on it, and after he did so not on but near, to deny God. This witness said the Receptor told him when celebrating mass he was to omit the four words of the Canon, which one of the brethren who knew something about letters said were those which began with *Hoc est.* He confessed to a minor Friar. The witness was asked by the Commissioners if he had spoken with the last witness, with whose deposition his seemed to agree. He replied they were detained in the same House but he had never spoken to him about his deposition as, on account of his oath, that brother told him he could not reveal his deposition.

No. 4 was also a priest. He had been received about 20 years, four or five brethren (named) present. After the receipt of the mantle, and biretta, the Recepter told him to spit on the picture of a crucifix in a missal, on which he had been sworn, and he spat with much bitterness, not on but near, and he was told to deny Him crucified, &c., and the Receptor then told him to omit the four canonical words, but he did not name them. He said he made no reply to the Receptor as he did not intend to obey in this. He said within three days the Bishop of Treves visited the House and he confessed these things to him, who said it was evilly done and at first refused to absolve him, &c. He said before this confession he did not celebrate, but did so frequently afterwards, not omitting the canonical words.

No. 5 was received 15 years ago. Present five named brethren. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to spit on the picture of a crucifix, in a missal, on which he had been sworn, and to deny God.

No. 6, a Priest. Received 1 year and 20 days before the arrest. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to deny the Lord (*Dominum*) and to spit on the picture of the crucified in the book on which he had been sworn, was not told to omit the canonical words.

No. 7 was received 11 years ago. Present two brethren and a Priest. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to spit on the picture of the crucifix in the book on which he had sworn, and to deny God.

No. 8, received about 10 years, there were only present a priest and a serving brother. After the mantle, the two brothers present, by the order of the Receptor, drew on one side, but remained in the chapel, and the Receptor took him near the altar and showed him a cross on the altar with the figure of the crucifix and told him to deny Him who was represented by that figure, and when he asked " how can I deny my Creator," he said it was a point of the Order, and the Receptor told him to spit on the said cross, and he said he afterwards confessed these things to the Priest who was present, who said it was badly done, but it was a point of the Order, &c.

No. 9. Received 20 years. After the mantle, the two brethren, one a priest, who were present, retired, and he remained with the Receptor near the altar, on which stood a wooden crucifix, and the Receptor told him to deny this cross and to spit on it.

No. 10. Received 10 years. After the mantle, a wooden crucifix was brought by a Priest, and he was told by the Receptor that he should not believe in Him who was represented by the figure, but in God, and that he should deny the crucifix and spit on it.

No. 11. Received about 13 months before the arrest. After the mantle, the Receptor told him it was necessary for him to deny God, and afterwards the Receptor, as it seemed to him, took a brass crucifix from the altar and told him to spit on it.

No. 12. A very short time in the Order. After the mantle, the Receptor, having in his hands a wooden cross, told him to deny God and spit on the cross.

Second batch, eight witnesses.[1]

No. 1. A Priest, was received about 4 years before the arrest, several present. After the mantle, the Receptor asked him if he believed in God, &c., and the missal on which he was sworn was opened and the picture of the crucifix shewn to him, and the Receptor told him to deny God and to spit on the picture, and told him when he celebrated mass he was not to say the words by which the Sacrament is made and completed, but he did not declare what the words were, and the witness stupified refrained from celebrating for two days, after which he confessed these things to the reader of some Minor Friar in the Diocese of Auxerre, who absolved him, and he was very astonished at the confession, and wished it had been made to the Bishop of Auxerre.

No. 2. Received about 7 years. Present 4 brethren. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to deny God and spit on the picture of the crucifix in the book on which he had been sworn.

No. 3. Only 11 weeks in the Order before the arrest. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to spit on the crucifix in a book in which he had been sworn, and to deny God.

No. 4. Received about 18 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to spit on a wooden crucifix taken by him from the altar, but he was not asked to deny.

[1] Vol. i., p. 341.

No. 5. Received about 9 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him, as it seemed to him, to spit on an old little painted wooden cross placed upon a stool, he knew not by whom, and to deny God.

No. 6. No date of reception. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to spit on a wooden crucifix brought by a brother since dead, who put it on the ground, and afterwards told him to deny God.

No. 7. Received about 33 years. After the mantle, the brethren then present retired, closing the door of the chapel after them, and he and the Receptor remained, and the latter took an old wooden cross from the Altar, on which the picture appeared to be destroyed, and the Receptor told him to deny the figure, and, after the denial, the Receptor told him to spit on the cross.

No. 8. Received 19 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him in contempt of God to spit on a wooden cross, and told him to deny God.

The stories told by these twenty witnesses have a strong resemblance to one another, due probably to the fact that they may have all come from the Temple where the largest number of prisoners were confined. The accounts all say that the orders to deny and insult the cross were given by the different Receptors in open chapter. Some say that the brethren, other than the Receptor, retired, so as to leave the candidate alone with him, and more than one witness states that there were only two brothers present besides the Receptor, one being a priest. This is very unlikely. The reception of a new comer was an event in the Order, and the ritual required that besides the priest and receptor there were to be two assistants or deacons. It is possible that on occasions the Chapter for the receptions may have been reduced to three, but it must have been the exception, and it is impossible that if it had occurred more than once the candidates so received should have been found following one another in the same batch. In these two batches five priests were examined, four of them had evidently talked matters over. The 5th (No. 6) was not included in their arrangement, why we cannot tell, but the reason may be the short time he had been in the Order, only one year and twenty days before the arrest. When the confessions of the four friends are read we can trace the workings of their mind. They were to confess that the Receptor told them to omit the four canonical words. But the Receptor was a layman and would not know what they were. A priest, or learned Brother, must therefore be present to say what they were, then as they could not admit they celebrated mass without these words, they must not celebrate, until there was an opportunity of confessing, and, as this was a terrible heresy, only a Bishop would absolve, and, therefore, in the first two cases we find Bishops coming conveniently to hear the confessions, in one case a Bishop is only wished for. But if the command to omit these words were obligatory, owing to the vow of obedience, it is difficult to see why confession should get rid of the obligation.

There were twenty-two witnesses in the last four batches examined by the Commissioners before the proceedings were closed. There were six in the first of the four, ten in the second, and three each in the two last. The stories told by the members of the four batches are different for each batch, but bear a family likeness as between the individual witnesses of each batch.

No. 1. The first witness in the first batch had been received between 10 and 11 years. After the mantle, he was taken to a corner of the room and told by the Receptor to deny God, which he did. No insult.[1]

[1] Vol. ii., p. 218.

No. 2. Received 25 years, with three others, who were, after the mantle, called successively behind the altar. He was the last, and there he denied Jesus. No insult. This witness, Hugo de Furno told a disgusting legend of the birth of the head, which is dealt with hereafter.

No. 3. Received 20 years. After the mantle, was taken behind the projections of the altar, told to deny Jesus thrice, in a low voice, so that the rest could not hear, and spit three times on the ground. No cross.

No. 4. Received 5 years. Told in the presence of the others to deny Jesus there. No cross.

No. 5. Received 27 years. After the mantle, told in the presence of the others to deny Jesus, which he did. He was then taken to a corner of the chapel, between the altar and the choir, and told to spit in that place as there was a cross there, but he did not see it as the place was dark. This witness gives a long statement of enquiries he afterwards made why he was to deny him whom the hymn *Ihesu salvator seculi* said was the Saviour of the world and the Son of the Virgin Mary, and he was told not to be curious to enquire about this as he would incur the indignation of the brethren and Superior of the Order, and would come to grief (*quod iret ad comedendum*), and some story is suggested of a prophet who was called Joshua.

The latter part of this witness's evidence may be what Michelet had in his miud when he spoke of variations which gave an air of truth. It is no doubt difficult to see if the whole story is false why the witness should go to the trouble of inventing these superfluous details. A possible explanation is that the witness was telling something that did happen, but not in relation to the denial, &c. In any case such statements go a very little way in opposing the overwhelming evidence of the stories being arranged and agreed beforehand.

No. 6. Received 30 years. After the mantle, taken by himself in the chapel, under the *campanilla*, and ordered in a low voice to spit three times in a place on the ground pointed out to him, where he saw no cross nor the sign of one.

The peculiarity of the stories told by this batch of witnesses is the absence of any insult to the cross. The one who mentions he was told to spit on the ground where a cross was said to be; said he could not see it, and he does not suggest he was told to spit on the cross. Compare this with the deposition of the first 20 witnesses, when it is the cross that is to be both insulted and denied. The next 10 witnesses in the last batch but two, it will be seen, tell the story in their own way.

No. 1. Received 20 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him, in the presence of the others, to deny God, and then a metal cross was brought, he knew not by which of the brethren, and he was told to spit on it.

No. 2. Received 35 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him, in the presence of the others, to deny Jesus, when a small metal cross was brought up by the Priest (present), and he was told to spit on it.

No. 3. Received 25 years. After the mantle, told by the Receptor to deny God, and then a metal cross was brought, by he did not know which of the bystanders, with the figure of the crucifix, and he was told to spit on it.

No. 4. Received 8 years. After the mantle, he was told by the Receptor to deny Jesus, and then a wooden cross, with the figure of the crucifix, was brought by the Priest and placed on a stool, and the Receptor told him to spit on it.

No. 5. Received 25 years. After the mantle, was told by the Receptor to deny God and Jesus. Then a cross, he knew not of what description, was brought, he knew not by whom, &c.

No. 6. Received 19 years. Before the mantle was given him, he was told to pause, as afterwards he could not go back. After it was given, he was told by the Receptor to deny God, and then a metal cross with the image on it was brought by a brother, Peter, and he was ordered to spit on it.

No. 7. Received 7 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him, in the presence of the others, to deny God, and then a metal cross was brought by the Priest, on which was the figure, &c., and the Receptor told him to spit on it.

No. 8. Received 10 years. After the mantle, the Receptor ordered him to deny God, and then a wooden cross with the figure painted on it was brought by the Priest, and the Receptor ordered him, &c.

No. 9. Received 28 years. After the mantle, a metal cross, on which was the figure of the crucifix, was brought by the Priest, and the Receptor told him to deny the crucified and spit on him, &c.

No. 10. Received 21 years. After the mantle, a wooden cross was brought, he did not know by whom, on which was the figure, and the Receptor ordered him to spit on it and to deny Jesus.

There were 3 witnesses in the last batch but one.

No. 1. Received 35 years. After the mantle, was taken to a room to put on the clothing of the religion,[1] which being put on, an old wooden cross, was brought in, of which the figure did not well appear, and he was told to deny God, and he refused, and the brother, Dominicus, tore his clothes from his heart, and with a drawn sword he and two others said he must either do it or misfortune would ensue, and then he spat not on, but near, but would not deny God, and the Receptor hearing the altercation came into the room, and told them to let him go.

No. 2. Was received the year Acre was lost. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to rise that they, Brothers Rayneun and 3 serving brethren, might take him to put on the clothing of the religion, and they took him to the Sacristy near the Church and put on the clothing, and he was told to deny God, and on his refusing Raynerius took up a sword and shewed it, and told him to do it or he would die a bad death. But at this moment the Saracens made their attack on the city Sidonia; there was a call to arms, and the Chapter separated.

No. 3. Received 28 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to deny God and spit on a cross standing on the altar.

[1] The improbability of this has already been dealt with.

In the last batch there were three witnesses.

No. 1. Received 10 years. After the mantle, a metal cross having been brought, with the figure of the crucified, the Receptor told him to deny God and the cross, &c.

No. 2. Received 8 years. A metal cross, with the figure, was brought by the Priest from the altar and placed on a stool. The Receptor asked him if he believed Him who was represented by the figure, and, on his replying yes, he said he should not, and upon the witness refusing, the Receptor said he might safely do it as the Chaplain would absolve him.

No. 3. Received 13 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to deny the cross, shewn in a book, which he did at the request of a Priest, who said by the authority of the Pope he could absolve him.

Altogether about 180 witnesses were examined by the Commissioner during their third sitting. These as stated were divided into batches, which were sent up by the different bishops. The depositions of the first two and the last four batches have already been summarised, it is proposed to give examples of a few others that the reader may see how impossible it is to believe that the witnesses were describing what actually had taken place, and not repeating stories made up amongst themselves.

In the examination by the Inquisitor in 1307 there was no doubt what was supposed to be proved. Witness after witness swore that a crucifix was shewn them and they had to deny the figure thereon and insult the cross. In the present examination, some of the witnesses describe an actual cross, wooden or of metal, silver, or brass. Some speak of the picture of a cross or crucifix in a missal, this may be perhaps because they considered it less sinful, some said they were asked to insult the cross on the mantle, and some go so far as to speak of these crosses as separated from the mantle being made of red cloth, &c.

On the 20th January, 1311, a batch of eight witnesses were examined. Several of these describe the cross they were called upon to insult as being the cross on the mantle.

No. 1. Received over 20 years. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to deny God and spit on the cross of the mantle.

No. 2. Received about 9 years. After the mantle, the Receptor retired, and a relative of his told him to do what the two brothers (the deacons) ordered, and one of them Garinus shewing him the cross on the mantle, said that he who was crucified on the cross was a false prophet, and that he should not believe in him, nor have hope nor faith in him, and that in contempt of him the witness was to spit on the cross on his mantle, and when the witness replied he would not and began to weep, Garinus put his hand on the little knife, one of the arms he carried, and the other hand on the shoulder of the witness, and threatened to cut his throat unless he did what he was told, and to throw him into a latrine which was near the room.

No. 3. Received 30 years. After the mantle, the Receptor led him to a room where he put on the clothing of the Order, the Receptor told him, another brother being present, to deny God, but nothing was said about the spitting or other unlawful matters.

No. 4. Received about 20 years. After the mantle, two brethren (? deacons,) took him aside to a room near the chapel where he took off his secular clothing and put on that of the religion, and they told him to deny God and to spit on the cross on the mantle of one of them.

No. 5. Received 20 years. This witness said he was told in the first room by the two deacons that he would have to deny God and spit on a cross, and that he was to do this with mouth and not heart, and he said he did so before entering the chapter, spitting near a wooden cross brought he knew not by whom.

No. 6. Received 25 years. This witness said before the Receptor gave him the mantle, as it seemed to him he told him to deny God and to spit upon a wooden cross brought he knew not by whom.

No. 7. A very short time in the Order before the arrest. After the mantle the Receptor told him to deny God or Jesus, he could not remember which, but he was certain it was one of them, and to spit on a wooden cross, brought he knew not by whom (*Nescit a quo allatum*).

No. 8. Received 15 years. This witness said *that before the mantle*, the deacons took him to a dormitory to take off his secular clothing and put on that of the Order, and afterwards brought him back to the chapel and to the Receptor, and he was sworn on a book in which was the picture of the crucifix, and then had the mantle delivered to him, and the Receptor told him to deny God and spit on the crucifix in the book.

On Saturday,[1] 30th January, 1311, and following days, five witnesses were examined, one after the other. All these had been received into the Order at different periods and in different Dioceses. These stories are told by no one else, but differ from all the other depositions in two particulars. First, that the cross they were asked to insult was made of red cloth, one witness says red and white, and three of them say that when they were told to deny, they said aloud, they did so with mouth, not heart. Every other witness speaks of a mental reservation, but these say they spoke openly.

The improbability of the Receptor having to send for a cloth cross, such, one witness says, as were worn on the mantle, is very great. There might have been a dearth of crosses in the chapel and no pictures of one in the missals, and it might have been necessary on one occasion to send to the tailor's shop for a cross of cloth, though there must have been the cross on the mantle of received or receptor, or of those standing by. But if we grant a neccessity in one case why should it be neccessary for four other receptors to do the same; but this is not the greatest improbability, for supposing it were true that for five witnesses, in different places and at different times, a cross of cloth had been used, it is impossible that these five witnesses should come together in one batch and be examined one after another. There were 180 Templars examined at this time, the chances therefore against this happening are the same as there would be against a person putting his hand into a bag containing 180 coloured balls of which five only were red, and taking out all the five red. The improbability of their stories is increased when we find these witnesses making the exceptional statement, that they said aloud "they denied with mouth, not heart."

No. 1. Brother Fulco, received 7 years ago, at Beaune (Belna). After the Receptor had given him the mantle, he told him it was necessary for

[1] Vol. iv., 477.

him to spit on a cross of red cloth placed on a stand, it was like those crosses which they wear on the mantles (*et erat talis quales sunt cruces quas portabant in mantellis*), and afterwards he was told to deny God.

No. 2. Brother Alelinus, received 18 years ago, at Oysemont, in the diocese of Amiens. After the mantle was given, he was told by the Receptor it was necessary for him to deny God, and he said, as it is necessary for me to deny God, "I deny Him, however, I do it with mouth, not heart," and he was then told to spit on a cross of cloth, partly red and partly white, placed on the ground.

No. 3. Brother Nicolaus, received 11 years at Ruseria, in the diocese of Amiens. After the mantle, the Receptor told him it was necessary for him to spit on a cross of red cloth brought by the Receptor, placed in the ground, and secondly he was ordered to deny God, and the witness was distressed (*turbatus*), and said, "if I do this, I do it with mouth, not heart."

No. 4. Brother Thomas, received 33 years, at Sours, in the diocese of Chartres. After the mantle, the Receptor told him it was necessary for him to deny God, and upon his saying this would not please God, the Receptor told him, whatever he did in his mind, it was necessary for him to deny with his mouth, upon which the witness said, if it is necessary for me to deny, "I will deny with mouth, not heart." The Receptor then ordered him to spit on a small cross of red cloth, smaller than the crosses they wear on their mantles.

No. 5. Brother Johannes, received 30 years at Moffierus, in the diocese of Amiens. After the mantle, the Receptor told him to spit on a cross of red cloth, placed by the Receptor on a stool, and afterwards to deny God, and he was much distressed, and, grieving, denied with mouth, not heart.

On Friday, the 26th February, 1311, and following days, 6 witnesses were examined. They all were received in the diocese of Limoges, but at different places and times. There is great resemblance in their stories.

No. 1. Gerard, a priest, received 25 years at Bela Chassaula in the diocese of Limoges. After the mantle, was delivered by the receptor, the two assistant brothers took him into a dark corner of the chapel near the Font, to take off his secular and put on his templar clothing, the Receptor and priest remaining near the altar where they were. The two brothers told him to deny the Lord Jesus, which he did with mouth, &c., &c., and then told him to spit on the ground. He was asked if they said he was to do this in contempt of Jesus. He said no. No mention of any cross. He had heard the Grand Master and others had confessed errors, he did not know what, against the Order.

No. 2. Stephanus received about 26 years at Paulhac, in the diocese of Limoges. After the mantle, was delivered by the Receptor, the two assistants took him near the Font of the Chapel and told him to deny Jesus, and he denied with mouth, &c., afterwards they told him to spit on the ground. Asked if there was a cross there and if they told him to spit in contempt, he said no. He had heard from some secular

persons that the Grand Master and others had confessed errors, he did not know what, against the Order.

No. 3. Aymericus received about 20 years at Fort Lezentort, in the diocese of Limoges. After the Receptor had placed the mantle on him, the Receptor, in the presence of the other brethren, told him to deny Jesus. After remonstrance he denied Jesus thrice, not intending by that to deny Jesus Christ his Creator as he said, &c., and to spit three times on the ground, which he did once or twice. Asked if there was any cross or if he told him to spit in contempt, he answered no. The Grand Master and others are said to have confessed something he knew not what against the Order.

No. 4. Poncius. He and a brother, Helias, were received together about 30 years at Lobertz, in the diocese of Limoges. Present, amongst others, his Father's brother. The Receptor first gave him the mantle, and then Helias and their two brethren led him towards the horn of the altar in an obscure place, and told him to deny Jesus, &c. He was then 10 or 12 years old, and he denied Jesus, but he did not understand by that, Jesus Christ, not that he did anything there to the prejudice of his soul. Afterwards they told him to spit three times on the ground. Asked if there was any cross there or if the spitting was in contempt, he said no. He had heard said that the Grand Master and others had confessed errors, he knew not what, against the Order.

No. 5. Johannes received about 9 years at Cambarello (? Chamberry). After the mantle, two brethren took him near the fonts, and one of them told him to deny Jesus thrice, and he denied with mouth, and he understood them to mean Jesus Christ, and he so believed it and still believes it. He was then told to spit three times on the ground which he did, but there was no cross there nor was he told expressly to spit in contempt, &c. And he had heard the Grand Master and others had confessed errors, he knew not what, but he rather believed what they confessed to have been against the Order.

No. 6. Hugo received about 8 years with another brother, Helias, at Buxeria, in the diocese of Limoges. After the mantle had been given them, two brethren led him to an obscure corner of the Chapel, where one of them told him to deny, &c., and to spit three times on the ground, which he did, and two other brethren took Helias also to another part of the Chapel, and, he believed, made him deny and spit. He heard the Grand Master had confessed, he knew not what, against the Order.

To the honour of the Bishop of Limoges, it does not appear that any of these witnesses had been put to torture.

On the 5th March, 1311, Raynardus de Pruino, one of the four defenders, was brought before the commissioners with two other priests, a knight and two serving brethren, who had all been condemned by the Council of Sens to perpetual imprisonment (*ad murum perpetuum*). The three priests, in addition, had been degraded from all the lesser and greater orders, deprived also of privilege of clergy and of the Templar habit. These five witnesses appear to have been sent by mistake, for though they were sworn they were not examined. It must have been a painful scene for the Commis-

sioners, the last time they had seen Raynardus he was acting as defender, a duty he had undertaken, relying on their protection, they now saw him degraded and apparently prepared to unsay everything he had urged before ; but this they were spared.

[1] On Monday, 8th May, six witnesses were sworn, who tell their story in a new way.

No. 1. Guillelmus de Liege, 80 years of age, said he did not intend to depart from his deposition made to the Archbishop of Santerre (Xantinensis), by whom he was reconciled. Said nothing wrong occurred at his reception, which took place about 62 years ago, but he said he had heard from others that at their receptions they had been ordered to spit on a cross, but nothing else, neither the denial, nor kiss, nor crime. He heard this fifty years ago. He had received 20 or 25 brethren in the proper way. This witness was cross-examined at some length about what he had heard, he said it gave him a bad suspicion of the Order. Said he did not believe it was done as a point of the Order, nor by a rule of theirs, but had been introduced by some perverse superior of the Order. He knew of no other error except many of them were proud, oppressing others and making extortion by abuse of apostolic letters, etc., and in other ways.

No. 2. William de Torrage, 60 or about, reconciled by the Archbishop of Xantinensis, received 25 years ago. At his reception nothing wrong was told him, neither denial, insult, kiss or crime. Had seen others received, but never saw, nor knew, nor heard, anything wrong done. A knight of the Order, whose name he did not recollect, said he did not believe the Order could last, because of their pride, and because they acquired for the Order in every way they could, and were too greedy and ambitious, nor did they attend to the war against the Infidels as they should, and this the Knight told him in his first year.

No. 3. Guillelmus d'Erree, 60 or about, reconciled by the Archbishop of Xantinensis, received about 52 years ago. Nothing was said to him at his reception about the denial, insult, kiss or crime, although he had confessed to the Archbishop, through fear of torture, as to the denial and spitting, but before he was put on bread and water he denied these to him, as he denies now. He had seen 10 or 15 received and nothing wrong, and he gave names.

No. 4. Thomas de Paupalona,[2] 60 about, reconciled by the same Archbishop, said he had never seen nor knew, nor had heard said, until after the arrest, about the denial at the receptions of the brethren or afterwards, or the insult, or kiss or crime, and he deposed this with imprecation of malediction and damnation of his soul and body, and by his oath ; or that he knew these errors to exist in the Order. But he said on account of the many tortures inflicted on him about the Feast of St. John of England, he confessed after the tortures to those who tortured him that he believed the confession of the Grand Master to be true, and some time after when in a close prison, on bread and water, he said he confessed to the Archbishop that at his reception he spat near a cross with mouth not heart, and gave an indecent kiss, which confession

[1] Vol. ii., p. 3. [2] Vol. ii., p. 15.

was false, as he said. He was received thirty years ago, nothing wrong took place, had received a brother and seen many others received, and neither saw, nor knew, nor believed nor had heard that anything wrong took place at their receptions or afterwards.

No. 5. Petries Theobaldi gave similar evidence. He had been reconciled by the said Archbishop, and, under torture lasting half a year, had confessed to him. But nothing wrong had taken place at his reception, neither denial, insult, kiss or crime, nor afterward, nor at those where he had been present.

No. 6. [1]Helias Raynandi, 50 years, repeated the same evidence, he had also confessed, from torture inflicted on him, to the denial and spitting. He was asked if he had conferred with the other five preceding witnesses, who had been brought at the same time from Rupella La Rochelle, what they shouid depose, he said "*No.*"

A number of witnesses appeared before the Commissioners after those from La Rochelle were heard. Their depositions are not of much interest. They gave the account we have had so often that at their reception, after the mantle was put on, they were ordered to deny and insult the cross, &c., which they did with mouth not heart, &c. Their stories vary a little as to whether this took place in the chapter or behind the altar and so on, whether in the presence of the Brethren or whether these had retired or were walking about. But in these depositions we find the same confusion as to which person of the Trinity they were ordered to deny. They nearly all insisted that they were told to deny God, and when the Commissioners asked them 'are you quite certain, was it not the 2nd person,' many refused to adopt this suggestion, but said I do not recollect whether it was God or Jesus, but it seems to me it was God not Jesus, but I was told to deny one of them, and though I do not recollect the words I did it with mouth not heart.

After these we come to a number of witnesses who nearly all give their evidence in an entirely new way. "They had never seen nor knew nor heard before the arrest that denial, insults of the cross, the kiss or crime, adoration of the cat and idols, absolution by the laity, &c., occurred at reception, nor was anything wrong done at their own or at any at which they had been present. But they believed these things took place at the reception of others, because the Pope said in his letters that the Grand Master had confessed these errors." These witnesses seem to have come from Turno (Tours), and to have been under the especial care of the official of Poictiers, Philip, one of the guardians of the Templars. These witnesses could not know what was in the Papal letters, though Philip no doubt did, and he seems to have let these witnesses off with a confession that they had spat near the cross, &c., and that they believed the other matters were done at other receptions because of the Pope's statement about the Grand Master. Before the Commissioners, however, only two witnesses kept to this arrangement. The rest gave the evidence as above, though three of them afterwards recanted.

These depositions are one of the many examples that show, whilst they differ entirely from the depositions of other groups, they closely resemble one another as members of the same group, as will be seen from the following:—

[2]Saturday, the 20th March, Geraldus, 50 years, had been reconciled by Philip of Poictiers, he did not wish to depart from his deposition.

[1] Vol. ii., p. 18. [2] Vol. ii., p. 82.

> But he said immediately he did not know or hear before the arrest that at the reception of the brethren, or after, they denied, insulted the cross, or gave the kiss, or that the crime was permitted or committed in the Order, &c. But he believed that there were different ways of reception in the Order, because in his reception and those of others which he had seen, nothing wrong took place which he knew of or had heard stated. But he believed in other receptions the unlawful things did take place because the Grand Master and others are said to have confessed it.
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> The next witness Himbaudus said he had been examined by the preaching Friars, but not absolved nor reconciled. He said that at his reception he spat three times on the image of the crucifix in a book.[1] The third witness, however, repeats the evidence of the first almost word for word. Before the arrest he neither saw nor heard stated that at the reception of the brethren they had the denial, insult to the cross, kiss, crime, adoration of cat or idols, &c. He said, in answer to a question whether he believed they did these things in other places, which the Pope in his Letter Patent said the Master and others had confessed; that he had confessed he so believed to the official of Tours, and so had been absolved and reconciled.
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> John Dinand, the next witness, also said he had been reconciled, &c., by Philip of Poictiers, and that he neither saw nor knew nor believed that in his and other receptions anything wrong was done or required, as "denial," &c., &c. He said that before the arrest he believed all were received in the same way and properly, as he was and saw others received, but after the arrest he believed and believes that they are received in different ways, on account of the confessions of the Master and others that unlawful things occurred at the receptions and after. John de Rivaus said the same, he was reconciled by Philip of Poictiers. At his own and other receptions which he had seen, none of the unlawful contents of the articles nor anything else disgraceful had taken place, nor had he known nor heard stated they did before the arrest. But after it, he had heard the Grand Master and others had confessed the contrary, and on this account he said he did not know what to believe whether these unlawful things occurred or not.

We shall see this witness could not keep his own counsel and was brought back, with others, to qualify this evidence.

The next witness's evidence was the same :—

> 23rd March, Peter de Sancto Benedicto said that neither at his reception nor after did anything wrong occur. But in other receptions, though he did not know, he believed these unlawful things did which the Grand Master and others were said to have confessed.

[2] This evidence was given in the same way by four other brethren, two of whom, however, said that at their reception they were ordered to deny the Second Person thrice, which they did, but they all speak of their belief that the denial, &c., occurred at other receptions, because the Grand Master and others had confessed so.

[1] Vol. ii., p. 88. [2] Vol. ii., pp. 99-101.

It would appear as stated that the arrangement with Philip was, that they were to confess the denial and spitting at their own receptions and that they believed these occurred at other receptions because of the Grand Master's confession. But most of the witnesses thought they would omit the statement that the denial and insult took place at their receptions. Those, however, who allowed it to be known what they had said, had to amend their depositions. For the depositions say Martin, John Dinaud and John de Rivaus, three of the witnesses (examined yesterday), were brought back and Martin said he had made a mistake in his deposition and had lied. In his reception he had denied Jesus, at the order of the Receptor, and had spat near the cross, and had so confessed to Philip.

> Asked on his oath why he had not told the Commissioners so in his first deposition, he answered because of his folly and want of knowledge. Asked if he had spoken to anyone about this, he said "No." Asked if he had been induced by anyone to say these things, he said "No, nor had anyone threatened him."
>
> John de Rivans said he had lied to them in his deposition. In his reception he had denied Jesus with mouth not heart, at the order of his Receptor, and spat near a wooden cross. Asked if he had revealed his deposition to any one he said "No." Asked if the denial and spitting were done at the other receptions at which he had been present, he said "Yes, and believed they commonly took place." Asked if he had been induced to say these things, he said "No." Asked why he had not said these things originally, he replied that he thought it sufficient that he had confessed them to Philip and he concealed them because of his stupidity.
>
> John de Dinaud said he had confessed to Philip that he had spat on the cross and denied God and that this was done in the Order, and that he believed the confession of the Master and others mentioned in the the Apostolic letters to be true, upon which confession he wished to stand, and that he had lied in his deposition except that he had stated he believed these things occurred commonly in the Order because the Grand Master and others had so confessed. Asked why he had concealed these matters in his deposition, said because of his folly. Asked if he had revealed his deposition to any one, he answered "No," nor had he been induced by anyone, nor threatened, but on his own accord he said these things because he saw he had erred.

As already stated this reference to the confession mentioned in the Apostolic letters, seems to shew that Philip inspired the witnesses.

Out of the 180 witnesses, an epitome of the evidence of a very considerable number has been given, sufficient, it seems to prove, that so far from the varied stories showing, as M. Michelet puts it, "a particular character of truth," they, on the contrary, prove that the stories told by each batch were the result of a compromise between the witnesses, who through fear or policy had to swear to what they had not done, and the Bishops or their familiars, the Minor Friars, who had to see that the so-called confessions supported Philip's views. Many other examples might be given, but space is limited, and those who wish to pursue the subject further must read the two volumes of the "Procès" for themselves.

There is, however, one matter that the Commissioners cleared up; viz., the Head which was said to be worshipped as an idol, and about whose head the girdle given to the candidates was said to have been first put round. This was one of the charges of idolatry. Another one was that the Templars worshipped a cat, which presided over their meetings and presumably addressed them. Whether in Latin or in the tongue they spoke, Gallic or English, as the case might be, we knew not. The cat may be safely dismissed, but the Head plays a more important part, because a silver gilt head of a beautiful young woman was found after the arrest of the Templars, and was during the enquiry before the Pope's Commissioners, in the custody of the Administrator of the Templars, &c.

This head was what is known as a reliquary—that is a casket for relics; it was possibly the gift of some benefactor of the Order, but, like everything else that could be used against the Order, was so used by its enemies and made the foundation of the charges of idolatry; many of the witnesses mentioned this head generally, saying it had a silver beard. Amongst others,[1] Guillelmus of Aremblayo, the King's almoner. He said that he had frequently seen on the altar a silver head, which was adored by the majority in the Chapter, and he had heard it was one of the eleven nuns and virgins, and this he believed before the arrest, but now from what he had heard about idols and their worship as mentioned in the articles he thought it was an idol. It seemed to him to have two faces and was of terrible appearance, and had a beard of silver.

This is a very good example of how these stories grew. The witness said he had frequently seen this reliquary, and saw nothing to disturb his belief that it was a head of one of the virgins of Cologne. But after his arrest either he lied or his imagination painted it with a double face, of terrible aspect, with a beard, none of which existed. He was asked if the head he had seen was shewn to the outer world in ceremonies. He said he rather believed this would be so, than the contrary: when they showed the other relics. The Commissioners therefrom consulted and determined to send to the Temple in Paris to see if there was a head there.

In the meantime two witnesses, one Anthony de Vercellis,[2] a Minor Friar, the other, Hugo de Turno, a Templar, appeared as witnesses, and spoke of a head. They, evidently, were speaking of the same legend. The first said that the head was born of a dead woman, and the second that the head was that of the woman herself, cut off. The details of these stories are unpleasant, and cannot be repeated. Both say that the head was to be carefully kept. Anthony said because of the good it would produce. Hugo, because whoever saw it would be totally destroyed and disappear (evidently thinking of the Gorgon's head). A nobleman, the possessor, kept it wrapped up in a case, but when he wanted to injure his enemies he uncovered it and shewed it to them and they were struck down, but the nobleman was "hoist by his own petard," for he set out, with this head, to Constantinople to destroy it. But, unfortunately, his own nurse got possession of the key of the case, wishing to know what the nobleman had so carefully placed there, and she opened it and removed the head. A sudden storm arose, the ship, with all on board, went down with the head, except certain sailors who were able to swim, and 20 lived to tell the tale.

So far the witnesses. Unfortunately before the enquiry was finished, William, the Administrator of the goods of the Templars, appeared, and produced the silver head in question, instead of its being as Guillelmus of Aremblayo had described, it was the head of a beautiful woman of silver, gilt, and it contained the bones of a single skull, like that of

[1] Vol. i., p. 502. [2] Vol. i., p. 645.

a small woman, said to be one of the eleven thousand virgins; the bones were wrapped in linen, and there was a paper attached with this written—Capud (head) LVIII. Guillelmus of Aremblayo was sent for and shewn the head, but he had committed himself to the two faces, terrible aspect and beard, and asked if it were the one he had seen, he said "No," and was not certain he had ever seen this one in the Temple in Paris. No other head, at all events, appears to have been found.

The last witness was examined on the 26th May, 1311. An epitome of his deposition has already been given. After his evidence no more witnesses were forthcoming and the Commissioners wished to bring the proceedings to a close, accordingly they wrote to the Bishop of Bayeux, who was then with the Pope, to ask the latter's permission. The Bishop wrote that the Pope and those of his Cardinals who were consulted were satisfied, and Philip's consent being obtained, a letter was written to the Pope on the 5th June accompanying a signed copy of the proceedings. In this letter the Commissioners stated that they had deposited another copy in the treasury of Notre Dame, in Paris, "to be shewn to no one without the special letters of your Beatitude." This is the copy which M. Michelet published and upon which the present article has been founded. The copy sent to the Pope has disappeared, and if the Commissioners sent any report of their findings upon the evidence, as we have seen the English Bishops did,[1] this also is not to be found. As already stated Michelet considered that they were to be found under the triple key of the Vatican. But the treasures of the Vatican have recently been thrown open to the world, and enquiries have been made there at the request of the author, and the answer is that neither of these documents is in the library.

We can, therefore, only draw our conclusions as to what view the Commissioners were likely to have taken as to the charges against the Templars being proved, by their treatment of the witnesses, their indignant adjournment after the massacre of the fifty-four Templars, the indifference shewn by the Archbishop of Narbonne and other Commissioners during the third sitting, and from the questions they put occasionally, which shewed their suspicions that the witnesses were not telling the truth. But perhaps the best proof we have that the Templars were not found guilty either by the Papal Commissioners or by the Bishops generally, is the course events took at the General Council, which had been summoned by Clement partly to consider the charges brought against Boniface, a predecessor in the papal chair, and partly to deal with those brought against the Templars. The arrangement between Philip and Clement, according to Michelet, was that Boniface's memory was to be cleared and the Templars condemned, and therefore the Order was to be abolished, and a Bull has, it is said, been recently discovered in Spain which may have been intended to be used. But the Bishops refused to condemn the Order unheard. In vain Philip attended with his sons and brothers, and a large following of nobles and Cardinals, &c. The matter was protracted, and at last the Pope determined to deal with the Templars on his own responsibility, as a judge sometimes withdraws a case from the jury and decides the point as a question of law.

[2] Michelet gives the following account:—

> "The Council of Vienne opened on the 16th October, 1312. Three hundred Bishops were present. One of the objects of the Council was to determine the question about the Templars. During the month of November nine Knights presented themselves as defenders of the Order,

[1] *Ante*, part 2, p. [2] *Hist. de France*, vol. iii., p. 198.

saying that there were fifteen hundred or two thousand at Lyons or in the mountains ready to assist them. The Pope's answer was to have them arrested. The case of the Templars was not taken until the following spring, when many of the Bishops shewed themselves unconvinced. They wished to hear the defence of the Templars. Those of Italy, Spain, Germany and Denmark, of England, Scotland and Ireland, even of France (except the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens and Rouen) said they would not condemn them unheard. But Philip came there with his sons and brothers, and a large following of nobles and Cardinals, and sat on the right hand of Clement."

It was then that the Pope determined to act on his own responsibility, and so cut the Gordian knot, as was done in the case of "Papal infallibility."

The authority for what then took place is the account given by the Monk who continued the history by Nangis,[1] as follows.

"He first addressed the assembly on Psalm i., 4-5.

(Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous).

and then, as he said, not by way of definite sentence, *as the Order as an Order had not been convicted*, but by way of provision and ordinance because their mode of reception which they had not before wished to make public (*detegere*) was suspected for a long time (*ab antiquo*) by many, and by the leaders of the Order this was admitted (*prolatum*). With the Apostolic authority and approval of the Holy Council he abolished and removed the Order, and wholly annulled even its name and habit, because it was useless as an Order, with no good purpose, and he forbade any future receptions, on pain of excommunication both of receptor and received, reserving the disposal of the ordination of the persons remaining, and of the disposition of their property."

It seems not unfair to suppose that if a report unfavourable to the Templars had been received by Clement from the Commissioners, men so well known as the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Mende, Limoges and Bayonne, &c., it would have been produced in answer to the opposition of the Bishops. Clement would have had only to say: This matter has been enquired into for more than a year by these well-known men and this is their report. Nothing of the kind took place, and we must therefore, as stated, draw our own conclusions upon the facts as known. It is to be noticed that Clement does not go beyond saying that the mode of reception was suspected. He does not say it was bad.

It is also to be noticed that the Pope distinctly says that the "Order as an Order had not been convicted." This means that the charges against the Order had not been proved.

This then was the end of the celebrated Order of the Templars, not convicted or proved guilty of any offence, but because Clement, as a judge sometimes does, withdrew the case from the jury and dealt with it himself, not as a matter of law, but as one of policy and expediency justified by the common suspicion and the inutility of an Order whose object, namely, the recovery and protection of the Holy Land, no longer existed. No doubt this was a proper ground for its suppression, but it might have been carried

[1] Nan. Con., vol. i., p. 390.

out years before without torture and cruelty, and without compelling witnesses to perjure themselves by confessing they were guilty of sins they had never committed.

There was, however, one more act of cruelty and injustice to be performed before the tragedy was complete.

It is to be remembered that an account has already been given of the fact that the Grand Master De Molay, the Visitor of France, Hugo de Payraudo, and Gaufredus de Gonavilla, the Preceptor of Acquitaine and Poictiers refused to defend the Order, on the ground that their cases had been reserved by the Pope for himself. De Molay had at first said he would defend the Order to the best of his ability, &c., but he was spoken to privately by De Plaisans, a friend of the King's, who said he loved De Molay, and it was his duty to see he did not destroy himself without cause, and then De Molay asked for time to deliberate, and finally, when asked if he would defend, said the Pope had reserved his case, and asked the Commissioners to send him before him, and when in the Pope's presence[1] he would say what he considered right, and he asked the Commissioners to write to the Pope and remove him and the others reserved by His Holiness to his presence. This the Commissioners promised to do as quickly as possible. This was on the 2nd March, 1311. Hugo de Peraudo, the visitor of France, and Gaufredus de Gonavilla, the Preceptor of Acquitaine, &c., both reserved what they had to say until they were in the presence of the Pope.[2]

There the enquiry rested, as far as these three were concerned, for the Commissioners at the commencement of their third sittings determined not to call before them any who were reserved by the Pope for himself. The Grand Master and the two others, to whom is to be added the Preceptor of Normandy, had therefore the right to expect that the Pope would hear what they had to say and would not condemn them unheard. But Philip and the Pope seem to have arranged otherwise, as the following account, which speaks for itself, shows.

> "The Grand Master of the late Order of the Temple and three others, the Visitor of France, the Masters (*Preceptors*) of Normandy and Acquitaine, on whom the Pope had reserved the right of final judgment, appeared before the Archbishop of Sens and an assembly of other Prelates and Doctors of divine and canon law, especially convoked for the purpose by the order of the Pope by the Bishop of Albano and two other Cardinal legates. As these four had avowed the crimes of which they had been charged publicly and solemnly, and as they persevered in the same, and appeared to wish to persevere, after a full deliberation of the Council at the place of the Court (*parvis*) of Notre Dame, of Paris, the Monday after the festival of St. Gregory, they were condemned to be perpetually imprisoned and confined within walls. But as these Cardinals thought they had brought the matter to an end, behold all at once, without anyone expecting it, two of the condemned, viz., the Grand Master and the Preceptor of Normandy, obstinately defending themselves against the Cardinal who had spoken and the Bishop of Sens, denied their confession and all their preceding avowals, without any regard for the consequences, to the astonishment of many.
>
> The Cardinals delivered them to the Provost of Paris, who was present, to keep them in custody until they could more fully consider the matter on the following day. But when the report came to the ears of the

[1] Vol. i., p. 87. [2] *Ante.*

King, who was then in his palace, he communicated with his advisers without summoning the prelates. By prudent advice he ordered them to be burned the same day about evening, at one stake, on a little island of the Seine, between the Royal garden and the Church of the Hermit brothers of Saint Augustine. They appeared to support the flames with such firmness and resolution that the constancy of their death, and their final denials, struck the multitude with admiration and wonder. The other two were shut up in the prison as their sentence had it."[1]

The effect of this barbarous murder of the Grand Master was to turn popular opinion in his favour. The common report was that De Molay had called upon God to avenge him, and some said that the Pope and King were summoned to meet him before the judgment seat within a year. But this probably took its origin from the fact that they both died within that time.

APPENDIX.

The Articles upon which enquiry was to be made about the Order of the Temple.

Articles 1-4 Allege at the reception, or afterwards, the denial, etc., took place.

5-8 The Receptors are said to have taught Christ was not God, was a false prophet, and did not suffer for the redemption of the human race, and there was no hope of salvation through Him.

9-13 Allege the insult to the cross, as spitting, trampling, etc., and that this was particularly done on Good Friday.

14-15 Allege the worship of a cat in contempt of Christ.

16-23 That they did not believe the Sacraments, and the Priests did not say in the canon of the Mass the words by which the body of Christ is made present.[2]

24-28 That the Grand Master, or Visitor, or Preceptors, though laymen, can absolve from sins.

29 That the Grand Master had confessed this in the presence of distinguished persons (*Magnarum personarum*).

30-33 Refer to the kiss.

34-39 Refer to mode of reception, the received being made to swear not to leave the Order, etc., that the receptions were clandestine, and that suspicion had arisen in consequence.

40-45 Refer to the crime.

46-57 That the brethren worship an idol with three faces, and believe it to be God, and that it is able to save them, to give them redress, make flowers grow and the earth bring forth, etc.

58-64 Deal with the cord, given as a girdle, said to have been put round the idol's head.

[1] Nangis Contin., vol. i., p. 402.

[2] It appears that the charge of omitting the sacramental words was not confined to the Templars, it is said that there is a reference to this omission being made by Priests, in the Dialogues of S. Catherine of Siena.

65-67 That the Templars kill or imprison those who will not do these things at their receptions.

68-73 The brethren are sworn not to reveal these things under pain of death or prison, nor to talk about them, etc.

74-76 The brethren, knowing these errors, neglected to correct them, or inform the Church, and had not given them up.

77-85 These things are done beyond the seas, in Cyprus and other places where the brethren are received, and generally in the Order, and have been for a long time and by statute of the Order these customs are observed here and beyond the seas.

86-96 These errors are points of the Order introduced since it was approved by the Apostolic See, and are commonly done, are ordered by the Grand Master, etc. And in the memory of no living member of the Order has any other way been used, and any one not using them has been severely punished.

97-100 Allege that the Templars do not practice charity nor hospitality, and think it no sin to acquire other persons' property by right or wrong, etc.

101-106 Deal with the secret holding of chapters, closing the doors to keep away intruders, putting a sentry on the roof to see no one approaches, etc.

107-108 The error of believing the Grand Master can absolve has grown in the Order for a long time.

109-111 That the Grand Master has confessed these errors before the arrest, spontaneously before clerics and laity, worthy of belief, present, the Preceptor of the Order. And these errors are also held by the Preceptors and Visitors.

112-113 That whatever the Grand Master and his council order, the whole Order obeys, that this power belongs to him from of old.

114-117 Allege these errors have existed so long that the Order had been renewed once or twice, and yet they had neglected to correct them or to inform the Church, nor had the brethren given up the practice, though they had the opportunity of doing so.

118-123 That owing to these errors many had left the Order and gone into other religions, and a great scandal had arisen in the hearts of great people, even kings and princes and nearly of all Christian people. And these things were known to the brethren and council and public voice and common favour, as much within the Order as without.

124-127 The Grand Master, Visitors and Preceptors of Cyprus, Normandy, of Poictiers, and many others had confessed these things, as well judicially as otherwise, to dignitaries in many places and before public persons (notaries), and some of the brethren, knights and priests, in the presence of the Pope and Cardinals had confessed these things, or the greater part of them, upon oath and in full consistory.

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

FRIDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1907.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Hamon le Strange, Pr.G.M., Norfolk, W.M.; F. H. Goldney, P.G.D., J.W.; W. John Songhurst, A.G.D.C., Secretary; J. T. Thorp, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.G.O., J.D.; Henry Sadler, G.Ty., I.G.; W. Watson, S.Stew.; J. P. Simpson, J.Stew.; G. Greiner, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, P.M.; E. H. Dring; and E. L. Hawkins.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. Robson, J. Gray, Dis G.J.W., E. Arch.; R. Colsell, C. L. Edwards, A. Y. Mayell, H. H. Montague Smith, D. L. Hewitt, Harry Guy, W. Howard Flanders, F. Isherwood, W. I. Hodge, C. A. Harwood, W. J. Harvey, J. Leach Barrett, P.G.St.B.; J. O. Martin, Edward Phillips, W. B. Hextall, W. R. A. Smith, F. G. Mordaunt, A. D. Cox, W. Wonnacott, W. G. Aspland, W. H. Humphries, W. C. Barnes, Chas. Aubert, David Flather, Chas. H. Watson, B. F. Meadows, George Norman, D. Bock, H. Passmore Edwards, S.G.D.; Horace Nelson, I. Solomons, E. H. Jones, G. A. Rutherford, W. J. Evans, M. Thomson, H. G. Rosedale, G. W. Maunsell, Frank C. Hett, E. Guy Dru-Drury, F. A. Powell, P.G.St.B.; P. Wriede, W. H. Cheesman, P. N. Hasluck, G. Elkington, A. G. Boswell, U. L. Hooke, John Hooke, J. D. Stevenson, C. Isler, E. Glaeser, W. H. Mills, F. Mella, A. V. Davies, W. Briggs, A. E. Hitchen, J. T. Johnstone, W. W. Mansfield, V. W. F. Dickens, Herbert Burrows, W. R. Poole, W. F. Keddell, B. V. Darbishire, G. A. Harris, W. C. P. Tapper, J. P. Robinson, D. Gunton, A. H. Laird, T. H. Dey, S. Walshe Owen, Harry Tipper, P.A.G.P.; J. H. Taylor, S. C. Birdseye, Reginald C. Watson, Sydney Meymott, R. J. Harrison, F. W. Mitchell, O. C. Cramphorn, John I. Moar, Thos. Shields, H. Hall, R. J. Hatfield, G. Vogeler, W. Busbridge, J. Hands, C. H. Denny, J. Albert Richards, J. F. H. Gilbard, H. A. Caslon, H. M. Baker, John Church, G. Fullbrook, A. Turner, Thomas Rust, and W. J. Hawkins.

Also the following visitors:—Bros. G. Thompson, P.M. Zetland in the East Lodge No. 508; Lewis H. Maynard, P.M. Athole Lodge No. 752 (S.C.); Alfred Lole, P.M. St. John's Lodge No. 2811; A. Havelock Case, Barry Lodge No. 2357; J. B. Lowell, P.M. Eton Lodge No. 2458; G. H. Bateman, Whittington Lodge No. 862; Fredk. Reeves, P.M. Bisley Lodge No. 2317; H. Watson, Golden Square Lodge No. 2857; G. W. Radley, Geo. Beech Lodge No. 2897; A. C. McCallum, P.G.B.B., G.L. West Aust.; F. R. Perrott, P.G.T., G.L. West Aust.; F. P. Wightwick, P.M. Middlesex Hospital Lodge No. 2483; A. Marchand, P.M. Carnarvon Lodge No. 1572; and M. L. Evans, Surrey Lodge No. 416.

One Lodge, one Masonic Literary Society, and fifty-seven brethren were admitted to the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Apologies for non-attendance were received from Bros. E. Condor, jun., P.M.; J. P. Rylands; Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, G.Tr., Ireland; W. J. Hughan, P.G.D.; Sir Charles Warren, P.Dis.G.M., E. Arch., P.M.; E. Armitage, P.D.G.D.C., S.W.; E. Macbean, P.M.; Admiral Sir A. H. Markham, P.Dis.G.M. Malta, P.M.; Col. S. C. Pratt, P.M.; L. A. de Malczovich; W. M. Bywater, P.G.S.B., D.C.; W. H. Rylands, P.A.G.D.C. Treas.; R. F. Gould, P.G.D., P.M.; and E. J. Castle, P.D.G.Reg., P.M.

The W.M. called attention to a handsome medal which had been struck in honour of Bro. W. J. Hughan, a founder of the Lodge, in recognition of his eminent services for many years as one of the leading Masonic Historians. It was proposed, seconded and carried unanimously, "That the following Address be presented to Bro. William James Hughan, P.G.D., etc., 'We, the Worshipful Master, Past 'Masters, Officers and Brethren of this Lodge beg your acceptance of the accompanying medal, which 'has been struck to commemorate your splendid services to Masonic literature and to the Craft in 'general. We trust T.G.A.O.T.U. will long spare you to be an ornament of this Lodge of which you 'are a founder, and to continue that Masonic research which has been your life's work for so many 'years, and will be your lasting monument as long as our Order endures.'"





The Secretary read the following letter which he had received from Bro. Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley :—

> A concurrence of contrary events, Masonic, Academic, and domestic, puts it out of my power to attend the forthcoming Communication of our Lodge. I had hoped and intended to take a personal share in offering our tribute of esteem to Bro. W. J. Hughan. Such an expression of regard is due from me more than from most others, for it is now more than thirty years since an inquiry of my Bro. Hughan's with regard to an Irish Lodge first drew my attention to the real story of the Craft in the British Isles. And from that day to this, Bro. Hughan has continued my master in the Archæology of Freemasonry, my model in investigation of our History, and my true and trusty Brother in the Craft.
>
> Surely, if I have received no other boon from Freemasonry than this, yet I am a debtor beyond repayment for the life-long friendship of Bro. Hughan. The words of the old Charge, whose force and origin our Bro. Hughan has done so much to intensify and elucidate, express it exactly :—
>
> > "Masonry becomes the Centre of Union and the means of Conciliating true "Friendship among Persons that must otherwise have remained at a "perpetual Distance."
>
> I esteem it the highest honour to be permitted to associate myself with an attempt, however inadequate, to render to Bro. Hughan the homage that is his due.

W. Bro. Frederick Hastings Goldney, P.G.D., the Master Elect, was then regularly installed as Worshipful Master of the Lodge, by Bro. Hamon le Strange, assisted by Bro. Henry Sadler.

The W.M. appointed his officers as follows:—

S.W.	Bro. J. T. Thorp, P.A.G.D.C.
J.W.	,, F. J. W. Crowe, P.G.O.
Chaplain	,, Canon J. W. Horsley, P.G.Ch.
Treasurer	,, Hamon le Strange, Pr.G.M. Norfolk.
Secretary	,, W. John Songhurst, A.G.D.C.
S.D.	,, H. Sadler, G. Ty.
J.D.	,, W. Watson.
D.C.	,, W. M. Bywater, P.G.S.B.
I.G.	,, J. P. Simpson.
S.Stew.	,, E. H. Dring.
J.Stew.	,, E. L. Hawkins.
Tyler	,, J. W. Freeman.

The W.M. proposed and the S.W. seconded "That Bro. Hamon le Strange, Pr.G.M., Norfolk, having completed his year of office as W.M. of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Lodge be and hereby are tendered to him for his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him," which was carried by acclamation.

The Secretary called attention to the following:—

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. Dr. Royal A. Gove, Tacoma. Wash., U.S.A.

Medal. struck to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the foundation of Rochester Lodge No. 21. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. H. O. de la Montanya, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.

Chapter Penny, issued by the Oakland Chapter, Oakland, Cal. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. Harry Guy, London.

Papier-mache Snuff-Box, with emblems painted on lid, including two pillars, porch of a temple (?), a ladder with four steps with the letters P.T.J.F., a crown, a left hand, an open book, sun, moon, and seven stars. In the rays of the sun are letters, which, so far as they can be deciphered, read:—
* M.B.H.T.E.V. * P.M.D.N.

By Bro. John Church, London.

Model, in brass, about four inches high, of a Doric column. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. Alfred Molony, London.

Certificate, issued 27th April, 1881. by Lodge 'La Razon,' of Madrid, to José Luis Cosart. The Lodge was apparently formed as No. 138 under the Grand Orient of Spain, but in the certificate it is stated to be "*bajo los auspicios de la Masoneria Universal.*" In accordance with the custom adopted in some continental countries, the members were registered under "symbolical" names. Thus, the Master, Alberto Ramos, signs also *Monneret*; the Senior Warden, T. Ysturiz, signs as *Zoroastro*; the Junior Warden, Juan Carro, signs as *Pelayo*; the Orator, Valentin Baguero, signs as *Galileo*; and the Secretary, Cesar Giorgeta, signs *Alejandro*. The candidate's symbolical name is *Brown*.

By the Lodge.

R.A. Jewel, worn by John Evans Hadden, in 1840, as a member of Lodge No. 935, Wexford.

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to those brethren who had lent objects for exhibition, and to those who had made presentations to the Museum.

The W.M. read the following Installation Address:—

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

IT is customary in this Lodge for the newly-installed Master to address a few remarks to the Brethren, which may take the form of antiquarian research—dissection of a Masonic problem, review of the past year's workings—or other matter of interest applicable to the occasion.

This evening let us briefly consider, and in outline only, the present condition of English Freemasonry, and ask ourselves whether it continues to fulfil its proper object and purpose.

This we may safely do, for, happily, there is but little fear that the verdict of us all will be other than in the affirmative.

There are several standpoints from which its position may be gauged, such as it numerical strength, its exercise of benevolence, influence over its members and the outside world, its social importance, antiquarian value and many others, from all or any of which side lights may be obtained as to the power for good or evil which Freemasonry, under the rule of our Grand Lodges, now wields.

To touch lightly upon the fringe of the matter, and by way of provoking thought only and not controversy, let us take the question of numbers; whilst remembering that mere numbers of men are seldom sufficient to give adequate strength, unless composed of the right stamp of individuals, and controlled by rules and discipline.

Well, in numbers we are magnificent; we keep on increasing day by day, as the rippling waves of Masonry constantly lap new shores, and draw fresh recruits into the ocean of our Brotherhood.

Here there is no cry for conscription, no necessity for compulsory service, no wish for temptations to be held out to induce people to join our forces, no attractive changes wanted to persuade the outer world of the beneficial effects of Freemasonry, and the desirability of its membership.

The reverse, indeed, is the case. The constant accretion of members to our Craft proves the whole-hearted esteem in which it is held, the appreciation of its objects and the satisfactory manner in which it affairs are conducted.

But may there not be danger in too great an accession of numbers?

Does it not multiply, nay, even create risks of restiveness under restraint, insubordination to rules, want of due regard for those in authority, quarrels, disintegration, separation?

To avoid any such sad contingencies should be the earnest wish and action of every member of the Craft.

One most important power for good, each individual Mason possesses, and can and ought to exercise, namely, to prevent the admission into Freemasonry of anyone not fully qualified for membership, as tested by his religious, moral and social qualities.

Laxity in this respect, whilst it might add to our numbers, would certainly weaken the efficacy of resistence to any internal disaffection, and assist to bring about that cleavage in our body which would be disastrous to our welfare, and which must be prevented by proper safeguards, by anticipation of danger, by avoidance of any approach to remissness.

Now, let us turn to our Charities, a subject which never fails at once to expand the heart of a Mason, and fill his mind with thoughts of what more he can do in so good a cause.

Here, at any rate, we have reason for thankfulness and satisfaction.

With no stinting hand is money poured year by year, in an ever-increasing volume, into the treasuries of our three great Institutions.

Noble buildings have been erected for the youthful offspring of unfortunate Masons. They are replete with furnishings, decorations, scientific appliances, means for recreations and accessories of all kinds, which more than successfully vie with those to be found in the older and more aristocratic public schools of England.

"We rejoice that it is so, long may it continue," is the generous sentiment which finds an echo in every Mason's heart.

In addition to the upkeep of the Institutions, useful outlets are found for disposing of our great and increasing donations, and for carrying our pupils one stage farther on their life's journey by granting them scholarships, apprenticeship fees, pupils' premiums and such-like helps and starts, so that the deserving boy or girl who has been brought up by us amidst educational surroundings of a costly, luxurious, and in every way superior character, and is given such an extra helping hand, is the better enabled to establish himself in a career of usefulness, and to justify the care and teaching which has been so abundantly lavished upon him.

Our grateful thanks are due to those worthy and distinguished Brethren who have so admirably administered the affairs of our schools, and brought them to their present high standard of excellence and prosperity.

The poor and distressed Mason, too, in his age and infirmity, and the widows of those Brethren who have ascended to the Grand Lodge above, have been, and are, as they rightly should be, the continuous objects of Masonic solicitude and benevolence, and they may rest well assured that at all times their interests and comforts will be well looked after.

The large sums annually dispensed by the Board of Benevolence, after most searching investigations, together with the donations of Lodges and individual Masons, make up an aggregate amount of considerable dimensions, which is disposed of for the relief of the poor and suffering members of the Craft, and their immediate relatives.

Thus, we may take it that with regard to Masonic benevolence and charity, no fault should be found with the present practice of Freemasonry, for on this score our best traditions are being followed, our generosity remains unimpaired, and year by year our contributions swell larger and larger, and this, too, without vain boasting, advertising or self-glorification.

Occasions may sometimes arise when funds are urgently needed, or called for, on behalf of some great disaster, some extensive enterprise, the building, repairing or enlarging a cathedral or a hospital, or some other object which, for the moment, has excited the feelings and roused the enthusiasm of the public.

The natural tendency would be to ask the Masonic bodies for large grants and subscriptions, in aid, under the impression that their funds are applicable to all cases of distress, and open to all objects of general interest.

As our funds are carefully guarded, and applied only to those strictly Masonic purposes for which they are contributed, Masons should not be carried away by their feelings of sympathy for any outside cause (of however great merit or importance)

which may be fervently advocated, with a view to induce them to divert Masonic funds from their proper channel, but rather let them open their private purse strings, as well as their hearts, and content their souls by making a liberal offering out of their own abundance.

The world at large would see the propriety of this course, and could not justly charge us, as Masons, with disregard to the sacred call of Charity.

How about the present social position of Freemasonry and its influence upon its members and the outer world?

Would it not be safe to assert that the status of Freemasonry now is superior to what it was some few years ago, and that it is held by all in a more excellent degree of estimation than ever, and is put into a separate class, and a higher one, than contains other most honourable, most useful and most powerful organisations of a charitable nature?

Though being a Freemason does not, in itself, confer any social distinction upon the individual, and though the signs and emblems of the various differences of degree and rank in the Craft are not visible outside the door of the Lodge, still a kind of halo of uprightness and respectability is, no doubt, considered as due to the Mason who is known to be an active member of his Lodge, and attentive to his duties.

Does he not sometimes feel himself to be esteemed by others as being "*primus inter pares*"—"better than his fellows who are not Masons"—as more deserving of confidence and respect?

Such a feeling helps a Mason to keep up tone, character, and probity of thought and action; it induces in him the desire to prove himself to be a worthy member of the Lodge in which he was first shewn the light, to be of good report, and held in high estimation by all with whom he comes into contact.

He is imbued with Hamlet's charge:

"This above all, to thine own self be true;
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Such are the sentiments which obtain in our Lodges. It is recognised, and acted upon, that we must, one and all, live up to the rules of propriety and good conduct which were instilled into us at our initiation, and therein Freemasonry still exercises its felicitous influence over its members to the advantage of themselves and of those outside the pale.

Then, long may Freemasonry flourish in our hearts and lives, goodwill and brotherly love one to another be found in every Lodge, and loyalty to our Grand Masters, our Grand Lodges and to the Rulers in the Craft be the prevailing magnet for us all.

May our own Lodge, the Quatuor Coronati, continue to be pre-eminent in the sphere to which its labours are more particularly directed.

May the members of both its Circles do their utmost to forward its objects and promote its lasting prosperity, to facilitate interchange of Masonic knowledge and thought, and to cherish amongst themselves a feeling of mutual interest and common association.

Brethren, I greet you well.

At the subsequent banquet Bro. Hamon le Strange, I.P.M., proposed the "Toast of the Worshipful Master."

Brethren,

In rising to propose the toast of our new W.M., you know well that in this Lodge it is expected that the outgoing Master should do so in somewhat fuller detail than is customary in other Lodges. It is not that we who have elected him to the Chair do not already know him well and appreciate his worth; it is not even to bring this home to you of the Correspondence Circle who are here present to welcome him, but my words are mainly addressed to the much larger number of that Circle who cannot be here to-night, as they are scattered over the four quarters of the globe, and whom I can only reach through our printed *Transactions*. In order that they may learn what sort of man it is on whom the Lodge has just bestowed the highest honour that it has in its power to give, in order that they who have not had our opportunities of personal intercourse with our W.M. may know how we regard him, and why we have placed him in that chair, I must endeavour to sketch his career, masonic and otherwise, and must ask his patient forbearance while I attempt this somewhat delicate task.

First, however, may I say a word as to how it comes about that we have placed the J.W., and not the S.W., in the Master's Chair. We had all hoped to see it occupied by our S.W. of last year and of the year before, Bro. Edward Armitage. In the natural course of events, Bro. Armitage would have gone up into the chair at this time last year, as he had successively filled the Chair of J.W. and S.W. in the two preceding years. It was, however, the wish of the Lodge that I should preside over them during the year just passed, and Bro. Armitage, with characteristic and truly Masonic abnegation of self, stood aside and allowed me to pass over his head into the Chair, and further shewed his kindly feeling by accepting the position of my S.W. It was, however, thoroughly understood that his acceptance of the Chair was only an honour deferred, and that the Lodge would be delighted to see him succeed to it at the festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs to-day. It was, therefore, with feelings of very great regret that I received a letter from him a month ago informing me that circumstances entirely unconnected with the Lodge would render it impossible for him to be here to-day, and that it was more than probable that he would be absent from England and unable to attend our meetings during the coming year. Under these circumstances, Bro. Armitage wished the Members of the Lodge to be informed that it would be impossible for him to accept election to the Chair. We endeavoured to persuade him to accept the post, as the reward due to his past services, even if it should unfortunately be necessary to get someone else to take his place for the work; but Bro. Armitage—I must admit very properly—replied that nothing would induce him to accept an office when he knew that he should not be able to carry out the duties appertaining to it. We were, therefore, obliged to acquiesce in his decision, but we conveyed to him an expression of our earnest hope that at some future time he would be able to accept at our hands the honour which he now felt himself compelled to forego. All this left us but scanty time in which to make arrangements for filling the chair this year, and it was a great satisfaction and a considerable relief to us that, on being duly approached, my J.W. saw his way at this very short notice to accept the Mastership of the Lodge.

After this digression, I return to the real object of my addressing you, viz., to tell you something about our W.M.

Bro. Frederick Hastings Goldney, of Beechfield, Corsham, Wiltshire, and Prior Place, Camberley, Surrey, comes of a family the members of which, Sir Bernard Burke

tells us, were merchants of wealth and importance at Bristol for many generations, as appears by the archives of that city for the last six centuries. A branch of the family settled at Chippenham, in Wiltshire, in the fifteenth century, and has been instrumental in the development of the important cloth manufactories of the west of England. From the time of Henry Goldney, who was appointed First Bayliff of Chippenham by Queen Mary I. in 1553, to our W.M. himself, a member of the family has frequently in many successive generations held the highest municipal office of that Borough—as Bailiffs in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or as Mayors in the nineteenth—a record of which any family may well be proud.

Our W.M. was born on the 26th May, 1845, the second son of the late Sir Gabriel Goldney, who represented Chippenham in Parliament for twenty years, and received the honour of a Baronetcy on the 11th May, 1880, to which title our W.M. is heir presumptive. Sir Gabriel was also Grand Warden of England, so Masonic as well as other honours seem to be hereditary in the family. Bro. F. H. Goldney was educated at Harrow, and is a J.P. for the counties of Wilts and Surrey; he has taken a leading part in county administration, particularly in the days before the establishment of County Councils, and is on the rota of High Sheriffs for Wiltshire for next year. He is a considerable landowner in that county, and also in Herefordshire and Somersetshire. He has twice served the office of Mayor of Chippenham, viz., in the years 1875 and 1888. I have said enough, I trust, to shew you that in the outside world our W.M. has led a useful and active life, and that he has done and is still doing his share of that local work, which it is the pride and pleasure of English country gentlemen to perform without remuneration, for the benefit and advantage of those among whom they live.

Turning now to his Masonic life, I find that our W.M. was initiated in 1868, nearly forty years ago, in the Prince of Wales's Lodge No. 259, and subsequently became its Deputy Master. He is also P.M. of the Lodge of Rectitude No. 335, meeting at Corsham, Wilts, and is Senior Past Master of Lansdowne Lodge No. 626, at Chippenham, the chair of which he occupied as long ago as 1874. After filling some minor offices in the Provincial Grand Lodge of Wiltshire, he was, in 1879, appointed Senior Grand Warden of that Province, while for the past 24 years he has held, and still holds, the office of its Provincial Grand Treasurer. In the year 1876 he was appointed Grand Steward of England, on the nomination of his Mother Lodge, and in 1888 he received from our present King the honour of appointment as Grand Deacon of the Grand Lodge of England.

In Royal Arch Masonry Bro. Goldney has been no less active; he was exalted in the Royal Cumberland Chapter No. 41, in 1870; he has filled the first Chair in Chapters in Wiltshire and Somersetshire, and was appointed Provincial Grand H. for the latter County; in 1889 he received the Collar of Grand Standard Bearer of the Grand Chapter of England.

In the Order of the Temple he joined the Antiquity Preceptory No. 1, meeting at Bath, and served as its Preceptor in 1870. He was appointed Great Herald of Great Priory in 1882. He is an old member of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, having taken the Rose Croix degree in the Grand Metropolitan Chapter No. 1, and he is also a veteran member of the Mark degree. He has further served Stewardships for all three of the Great Masonic Charities.

I have reserved to the last our W.M's services to our own Lodge and his qualifications for membership to the Inner Circle. As to the latter he is the Author of the "History of Freemasonry in Wiltshire," published in 1880, when Provincial Masonic

Histories were not undertaken so commonly as they are now. For many years he was sole Editor of the Wiltshire Masonic Calendar, and still continues the useful task of acting as its Joint Editor. He was elected a member of the Inner Circle of our Lodge on the 4th May, 1888; it was however twelve years before Bro. Goldney was able to take office in the Lodge, probably because the distance of his residence from London prevented him from being as frequent an attendant at our meetings as he would, no doubt, have himself wished. In 1900 he accepted the Collar of Steward from our then Master, Bro. Conder, and since that date he has gone up regularly, year by year, through all the subordinate offices, to the Junior Warden's Chair, which, owing I regret to say to my own preferment, he occupied for two years instead of one. It turns out, however, that he has not really lost a year, since, owing to the circumstances which I have already mentioned, our J.W. has become our W.M. The only wonder, brethren, is that in view of his seniority in the Lodge and his services to the Craft he did not reach that Chair sooner.

From the details which I have given you I am sure that you will all concur with me in feeling certain that in Bro. Goldney we have got a ruler whose Mastership will add honour and dignity to the Lodge, that he will strive to keep up the high literary standard of its earlier years: and I am sure that I may add that all we here present, as well as our numerous members who cannot be with us, earnestly hope that he may be vouchsafed health and strength to carry out the duties of his high office with credit to us and satisfaction to himself. Brethren, the family motto of our W.M. appositely expresses what we feel about his attaining to his present position.—HONOR VIRTUTIS PREMIUM.

DOCTOR DODD, GRAND CHAPLAIN.

BY BRO. W. WONNACOTT.

IN the Rev. Bro. Horsley's paper on the "Grand Chaplains of England" (*A.Q.C.*, xix., 185), it is stated (and the statement has been generally accepted) that the Rev. William Dodd, LL.D., was buried, after his execution at Tyburn for forgery, at Cowley, in Bucks, and it has been supposed that, the law having taken its course, he was effectually disposed of.

Never having heard anything to contradict or disprove this, I was surprised to notice, in the *Daily Chronicle* of October 5th, 1907, a letter signed by "Irene Osgood" (Mrs. Henry Harvey), giving a brief account of Dr. Dodds' life *after his supposed execution.* I append a copy of this letter.

"**Dr. Dodd of Tyburn.**

"In a newspaper published in 1784, I came across an account of "the life of Dr. Dodd after his supposed execution at Tyburn.

"The author of the 'Beauties of Shakespeare' was, as you "remember, cut down and conveyed to a house in Goodge Street, "Tottenham Court Road. It was reported that various attempts to "revive the executed forger—including his immersion in a hot bath— "had failed of effect, that Dodd was dead, a circumstance which caused "the benevolent Dr. Johnson to miss a fine opportunity of holding his "tongue.

"From the account to which I refer, it appears Dodd was not "dead; Dodd was revived, and managed to get safely away to France. "Particulars of his life are given. He appears to have suffered "physically not a little when consciousness was returning—and greatly "to have suffered morally by the obligation of obscurity under which "his post-mortem life in France was laid. Have you or any of your "readers any further information on this subject, which appears to me "of literary interest?—Yours, &c.,

"IRENE OSGOOD."

This appeared of sufficient interest to demand further information: I therefore wrote Mrs. Harvey to ascertain what newspaper was referred to in her letter. She has been good enough to lend me the original copy of the *Northampton Mercury* of October 18th, 1794, in which the following extract appeared. The heading of the paper is:—

No. 32. THE NORTHAMPTON MERCURY. Vol. LXXV.

Ready Money with Advertisements. Price Fourpence.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1794.

Commencement of quotation:—

DR. DODD.

The following account of the resuscitation of the Rev. Dr. Dodd, is contained in the copy of a letter, found in the repositories of a gentleman of Glasgow, lately deceased.

" Provence, France, July 12, 1777.

" Now Dr. Dodd is beyond the reach of his enemies, you may acquaint " them that he is here, in sound health, though in melancholy spirits, " depressed in his mind at the idea of quitting for ever his native " country, and being necessarily compelled to hide his head from public " conversation, which was, in England, his chief enjoyment. Gifted by " nature with the most shining talents of speech, it must be a great " mortification to him, that all the courtship of popular applause is at an " end, and that he must sink in obscurity, after raising himself to the " pinnacle of admiration. He is at the house of Monsieur de Pu, who, " being my relative and particular friend, I have an opportunity of " seeing the Doctor. The account he gives of his deliverance, he " gathered partly from the information of those to whom he is indebted " for his life, and partly from his own recollection.

" He says, he had always conceived that those warm advocates, " as he often calls them, who had given him such unparalleled proofs of " generous friendship, Mr. H—, and Dr. C—, would attempt to restore " him to life, after the apparent execution of the law. He had no other " reason for the supposition, than a surmise that arose naturally when " he considered that, in many instances, they had shown to the world " the possibility of reviving the functions of life. Not the most distant " intimation had ever been given him of their design, though he " confesses that, till the night before he went to Tyburn, he relied with " implicit security on the clemency of his Sovereign, and that he even " entertained some hopes the next morning, notwithstanding that the " King was at Kew, and no respite heard of at the Secretary's office. " He says, he never could summon resolution enough to reflect on the " day he was to be exhibited as a public spectacle, without horror, " which seized him at intervals in the coach, and caused his imagination " to swim into absolute insensibility. When he was turned off, he felt " a sudden impulse of pain at first, but, by his body swirling swiftly " round, he was soon deprived of all sensation, and afterwards remained " totally insensible, until he found himself in bed, surrounded by " Dr. C—, Mr. H—, Mr. D—, and Mr. W—, whom he perceived to be " in tears, which may be considered an effusion of joy at his recovery, " of which they had at one time despaired. From them he learned, " that they had conveyed him from the crowd with difficulty, to where he " was, where they had previously ordered matters for the experiment " they had determined on, to try to bring him to life. Mr. H— and " Mr. D— stripped, and exercised friction on his body for two hours, " without the least sympton of success. At last they perceived a " motion of his breath, which convinced them of the practicability of " the design: and this omen was followed by a sweat that spread " itself over his body, attended with frequent panting and groaning. " The return of the circulation of the blood, the Doctor says, gave him " so much pain, that life was hardly worth the purchasing at so dear a " rate."

N.B. The above account of Dr. Dodd was copied from the Aberdeen Journal.

[End of quotation.]

Several points in this deserve notice. A short interval only elapsed between his execution, June 27th, 1777, and the date of this letter, July 12th, 1777, so his recovery was rapid, and the journey to the south of France must have occupied several days of this period. The locality of his convalescence, too, is somewhat vague—"Provence." There is a considerable amount of circumlocution, the writer of the letter having sent it to the "gentleman of Glasgow," in whose repositories it remained till 1794, then it appeared in an Aberdeen paper, and from there was copied into the *Northampton Mercury*. It also appeared in the *Newcastle Chronicle*. Dr. Dodd's friends evidently had formed a careful plan to resuscitate him; a similar method had been tried previously on the bodies of animals, with such frequent success as to induce the careful arrangements on this occasion. The description of his agony, and of the sensations he experienced "after he was turned off" is vivid.

It would be interesting to ascertain who were the friends who saved him and accompanied him to France, mentioned under the initials of Dr. C—, Mr. H—, Mr. D— and Mr. C—. A clue to the second of these may be found in the letter produced by Bro. Dring (*A.Q.C.*, xix, 200), wherein the convict prays his patron, Lord Chesterfield, to use his influence on his behalf. "There is a young Man, a Town's-man of mine, who "with the most friendly assiduity has served me, like a Brother in all this trouble, "Mr. Hardwick of the Custom House, &c."

If it is not Mr. Hardwick that is referred to, probably it may be Mr. Hawes, one of the active petitioners on his behalf. It probably was *not* Mr. John Hunter, the famous surgeon, who is alleged to have performed the resuscitation, for it is scarcely likely he would have accompanied his patient to "Provence."

In Percy Fitzgerald's "A Famous Forgery,"—a copy is in the IV. C.C. Library—there are many interesting particulars of the closing scene of this famous criminal's life, and the following extract may prove of interest:—p. 180. "Everything had been "arranged (by the indefatigable friends). At Mr. Davies's, an undertaker in Goodge "Street, a warm bath was kept ready, and there was waiting John Hunter, the famous "surgeon, who had just been attracting notice for some remarkable experiments for "restoring the drowned to life. Mr. Hawes, the founder of the Humane Society, who "had before exerted himself for Dodd, seems to have originated this idea. Long after "wild stories went about as to the means that had been employed to give success to "the attempt. It was said that a heavy weight had been sewn up in his clothes, to "which a small cord was attached, so as by some means to keep the pressure off the "neck. . . . . After hanging the usual time, the body was cut down, and given "over to his friends, who had a mourning-coach waiting. But the crowd was so "enormous and so excited, and their curiosity so vehement, that it was found "impossible almost to get to the coach. Even then the passage was blocked. Thus "precious minutes, and even precious hours, were lost. The undertaker's house was "far away: and when, at last, John Hunter was reached, it seemed quite hopeless. "He worked long and perseveringly, but fruitlessly. In the unhappy Doctor's case "everything was to fail.

"But the story of the attempt at restoration got abroad, even on the next day; "and a firm persuasion seized on many minds, which was kept alive long after, that the "Doctor had been seen in foreign countries. By one account he had been at Dunkirk. " . . . . That night his faithful friend Weedon Butler had him carried away "down to Cowley, in Middlesex, where he was buried with quick lime in the coffin, at "the north side of the church.

" (p. 245). In the curious Dodd miscellany belonging to Mr. Foster, are some " characteristic engravings relating to the execution. One is of the Doctor 'taken from " 'life in Newgate, the morning of the execution,' and represents him in a decent suit " of black, and the full-bottomed wig: but in an affected and dramatic attitude. " Another is far more characteristic, showing Dodd and Harris on the fatal cart, each " attended by his clergyman, with the rows of spectators, constables, sheriffs, hangman, " and other actors. It is excellently drawn, and, curiously enough, the artist's name " was Dodd. A third illustration is in the rude style peculiar to cheap books, and " shows the Doctor swinging in the air, with the 'eye of Providence' looking down, " and Mrs. Dodd weeping at one side."

If the whereabouts of this miscellaneous collection of prints, pamphlets and cuttings can be traced, or any further information of this unfortunate Grand Chaplain can be gleaned, the members of the Correspondence Circle will perhaps enable me to pass on their notes to Mrs. Harvey.

REVIEWS.

"TRANSACTIONS OF THE LODGE OF RESEARCH No. 2429, LEICESTER, FOR THE YEAR 1906-7."

THESE very interesting Proceedings are edited by Bro. John T. Thorp, F.R.Hist.S., etc., who has been the "life and soul" of this literary Masonic centre for the Midlands, from the start until now. There are now fifteen volumes. There are also several issues of the "Masonic Papers" presented to the members of both branches, by the Secretary. Considering the value of these publications. and the very small annual subscription (a crown) which secures all the Proceedings and Reprints in each year, I think that more members of the "Quatuor Coronati," of both the Inner and Outer Circles, might well join this real live Masonic organization.

The fifteenth volume includes the *Transactions* for 1906-7 (*over 150 pages*), most of the Papers being of an attractive character, which will well repay careful study.

The several contributions by the Secretary add much to the interest of the volume, as they are always full of details, which satisfy those who favour the bibliographical, medallic, or archæological departments of the work; and, as with the one relating to the "Virgin" Lodge No. 2, Halifax, N. S., give facts but little known. The "Iron-worker and King Solomon," introduced by Bro. C. A. Brockaway, Brooklyn, U.S.A., is a racy account of the picture familiar by that time. painted by Christian Schussele, and engraved by my lamented friend, John Sartain, of Philadelphia, U.S.A. There is a charming reduced reproduction of the engraving, which cannot fail to be appreciated, and the Poem by the late Mr. Joseph Harrison is also given, which fully describes the chief points of the picture.

A Paper by Bro. Sydney Taylor, of Buxton, devoted to "Village Freemasonry a Century ago," must have interested the brethren, as also another by Bro. F. W. Billson, the Treasurer, on "Freemasonry and Bacon's 'New Atlantis,'" who puts more questions of a suggestive character, than can well be answered as to the *pre* Grand Lodge Fraternity. John Boswell, Esq., however, was not "chosen as Warden of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1600," though he was present at the meeting as a member. His sketch of the book in question is well done, and cannot fail to be helpful.

Bro. W. B. Hextall's address on "Some Fugitive Masonic Verse" was something out of the usual, and abounded in samples of the poetic abilities of our forbears, as well as appreciative references to the circumstances which led to their composition. I should like to draw attention also to my Paper concerning "Additional Masonic Degrees worked in England," as it deals with ceremonies beyond the Royal Arch.

The exhibitions, always carefully noted by the Editor, are important features at each meeting (such as a *complete set* of the Book of Constitutions, 1723-1784 (*Moderns*). from Bro. Thorp's own Masonic Library), and the numerous illustrations are of much value.

The start of a series of "Masonic Reprints" will be a welcome and most useful departure: the first being now issued with the Transactions, *freely to the members.* There are two this time, viz., Prichard's "Masonry Dissected," 1730, and Martin Clare's "Defence of Masonry" of the same year. The former is reproduced by photolithograpy, from portions of a copy of the second edition in the Leicester Masonic

Library. The pamphlet had an extraordinary sale, four editions being called for in 1730, and considerably over a score were published during the remainder of the eighteenth century. The other is a complete facsimile, both being most creditably done.

There is, I think, no doubt that the "Defence" was to discredit Prichard and other "catch-pennies," and was the work of a scholar, whose identity was only recently established through the researches of Bro. W. Dixon, of Lincoln. Bro. Thorp has wisely devoted some pages to a description of the author and his treatise. Of the work, the 1730 issue has long been unknown, so we have only the reissues in the "Book of Constitutions," 1738, and "Smith's Pocket Companion"; the latter being selected for reproduction, because of valuable features not met with in what may be termed the official edition. The "Masonic Reprints No. 1" are all that can be desired, and we are now impatient for the second volume of the series.

W. J. Hughan.

THE HISTORIANS OF PERTH.

By D. Crawford Smith, F.S.A. Scot. (Perth, John Christie, 1906).

This is a handsomely got up quarto volume, and includes not only the chief historians of Perth, but also other local and topographical writers to the end of the nineteenth century.

Bro. D. Crawford Smith is a P.M. of the celebrated "Scoon and Perth" Lodge No. 3, and has written a complete History of that ancient Craft organization (Cowan & Co., Perth, 1898), the volume being one of the finest of the kind ever published, both as respects the text and the typography.

Bro. Smith is a most accurate and painstaking Historian, and well known for his archæological researches, so that he is quite at home in writing on any subject that affects "dear old Perth." Assuredly the latest work from his prolific pen will add to his laurels as a Historian, and cannot fail to have earned the approval of his fellow citizens, for whom he has laboured so assiduously for many years.

There are nineteen chapters, but as there are six of the Morrison family noted in No. iv., the total local Historians number twenty-four. The first is *Henry Adamson*, the Poet-Historian, author of "The Muses' Threnodie" of A.D. 1638, who it is considered had completed the work in 1620. Much interest centres in this publication, from a Masonic standpoint, because of the remarkable lines therein.

"For we be brethren of the Rossie Crosse,
We have the Mason word and second sight."

I hope to have something to say about this couplet farther on, as Bro. W. B. Hextall has kindly looked up all references for me. Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley lent me his copy of the rare volume for examination, and Bro. A. E. Waite has referred to it most appreciatively in his "Studies on Mysticism." We cannot tell if Adamson was a member of the Craft, or not, but most likely he was.

The next author selected is *James Cant* (not *Gant*), Editor of the second edition of the "Muses' Threnodie" 1774; followed by the Rev. James Scott, the Morrisons' 1722-1853, and others, some of whom were members of the "Mystic tie," and several ably did their part as Journalists, Novelists, Editors and Archæologists, all of whom are most interestingly described by Bro. D. Crawford Smith. There are several capital illustrations, and yet with all its attractiveness the Book is published for the modest sum of seven shillings and sixpence.

W. J. Hughan.

A CHRONICLE OF ST. JOHN'S LODGE No. 828.

By Bro. E. G. Dru-Drury, Grahamstown, C.C.

The Chronicle of St. John's Lodge No. 828, by Bro. Dru-Drury, which was read to the members of the United Lodge of Instruction No. 389, at Grahamstown, is a paper of great interest, more especially to Colonial Masons, not only as a record of the doings of St. John's but in part of the Albany Lodge No. 389 as well—the latter being the mother Lodge of Freemasonry in the Eastern Province. Many of the names of brethren mentioned were known all over the Colony, not only as members of the Craft, but in other spheres of labour also.

The references here and there to other Lodges working in the Division of the Eastern District go to show how intimate are the relations between Lodges, even though so far removed from one another. Hundreds of miles separate some of the Lodges, and yet fraternal visits and courtesies are frequently exchanged. The paper purports to be a Chronicle of St. John's, but it is really much more than that, inasmuch as it gives a partial record of some of the doings of the Albany Lodge, and an outline of her troubles in days gone by.

Bro. Drury was very fortunate in finding the minute and other books intact. This has enabled him to weave a correct, consecutive record of events, of which he has taken full advantage. Other Lodges have not been so fortunate in retaining all their books, notably, the Albany, which is mentioned. There are others also which, by accident or neglect, have lost portions of their records. It will be noted that at the Constitution of the Lodge—page 9—the J.W. was invested by proxy. This sort of thing often happened in years gone by, but is not permitted now. (See Clauses 130, 130A, Book of Constitutions.)

The writer of the paper alludes on page 12 to the difficulty he found in getting a correct list of joining members. Since the formation of the District Grand Lodge of the Eastern Division of S.A. a new form of register has been devised and issued to all the Lodges, which simplifies the registration of all members, and considerably diminishes the labour of an inspecting officer.

The claim that replies were received more expeditiously from England than from Cape Town is quite correct. This was evidenced also in the experience of Good Will No. 711, Port Elizabeth, Meridian No. 1469, Cradock, and possibly others as well. Good Will and Meridian were, at their own request, placed in direct communication with Grand Lodge, sent their returns direct, and held a form of general dispensation from the M.W. the Grand Master. A copy of one of these dispensations will be found in the history of "The Meridian Lodge No. 1469," working at Cradock.

St. John's, like many other Lodges, appears to have had a good deal of trouble with its By-laws. Time was when these were thought of greater importance than the Book of Constitutions, but that is altered now. The account of the troubles of the Grahamstown brethren with the various buildings they have occupied shows that they had their full share of trials in this respect. The result is evidence of what can be done by persistence and pluck. May the time not be far distant when the debt will be entirely removed from their Lodge.

On page 20 it is stated, "Owing to the paucity of Past Masters at the foundation of the Lodge, Bro. Holland was invested with the degree in June, 1862, and temporarily placed in the chair to receive the salute of the brethren." This would lead one to suppose that Bro. Holland had not been duly elected. He was at any rate invested as a Warden—by proxy—at the consecration of the Lodge two years previously.

Bro. Drury comments on the members "being herded together in the anteroom." The Installation ceremony distinctly points to the fact that the Board should be in possession of the Lodge room.

Page 24. It is stated the second annual communication of District Grand Lodge was held at Grahamstown. I think this was a special meeting for the purpose of passing the By-Laws only. It is pleasing to note on page 29 the assistance given by the Lodge to the War fund, especially in view of the trouble existing at the time with the building arrangements.

Page 37. It is stated "that the W.Master resigned the gavel." Brethren acquainted with the ceremony of Installation will know that a W.M. has not the power to resign.

The appendices, pages 43 to 65, show perhaps more clearly than the record of minutes the nature of the work Bro. Drury has had to perform in order to place a reliable outline of the Lodge history and work of its members before the Lodge of Instruction. He is to be heartily congratulated upon the result of his labours, which are most creditable, and I hope will be an incentive to members of other Lodges to follow his good example.

It is only by this means that the brethren can possibly get to know of the good deeds of those who have gone before them.

St. John's Lodge is fortunate in having a concise history. This should be followed up from time to time with a record of later events.

A. E. Austen.

SOME NOTES ON SOUTH AFRICAN MASONIC HISTORY.

By Bro. O. H. Bate, P.M. 828 and St. Jan.

Bro. O. H. Bate, who holds past rank in the District Grand Lodge of the Eastern Division of South Africa, read an address to the members of the United Lodge of Instruction, at Grahamstown, which is incorporated in the volume containing Bro. Dru-Drury's "Chronicle of St. John's."

The address is entitled "Some Notes on South African Masonic History," and deals with matters relating to the Craft from the establishment of the Goede Hoop Lodge under the Netherlands Constitution in 1772, the first Masonic Lodge to be warranted in South Africa, and traces the gradual development of the Order under various Constitutions to the present time. We are told of a number of Lodges, both under the English and Netherlands Constitutions, which at various times surrendered their Charters, but only in one instance—that of the Fordyce—is the reason given.

A little more information as to the causes for the failure of the Lodges that succumbed would have added greatly to the value of the address as a history of Masonic facts. A more extended narrative of the circumstances under which the Lodges were established would also have been instructive, not only to the hearers, but to all who have the privilege of reading the address.

Bro. Bate has had a wide experience of Masonic work, both in the Eastern and Western Divisions of South Africa, and personal reminiscences would have been instructive to his hearers, valuable as Masonic history, and have relieved a certain baldness in what is otherwise an excellent address.

On page 75 it is stated that the Dutch Lodges have died out at Somerset East, Graaff Reinet, Richmond, Adelaide, Burghersdorp, and Colesberg, and their places have not been filled. With the exception of Richmond, an English Lodge is at work in each of the towns named, and as they are all small places, there is hardly room for more than one Lodge in any of them. Two English Lodges also came to grief at Colesberg, but the Acacia, 3128, is now well established there.

Eighteen months ago some Brethren contemplated again reviving Netherlands Masonry at Graaff Reinet, but I do not know whether the idea has taken shape.

The place of the Unie, at Bloemfontein, was taken by the Rising Star No. 1022, the Brethren of which Lodge acted the part of good Samaritans to many prisoners during the late war. It was also at this Lodge that the resolution of congratulation was carried and cabled to His Majesty the King, on the occasion of his escape from assassination, the resolution being proposed by Lord Kitchener, P.G.W., now District Grand Master of the Punjab.

The division of the East from the West was brought about mainly by the good offices of the Earl of Carnarvon, then Pro-Grand Master.

The Lodges in the Eastern Division were permitted to nominate, as is stated in the address, the nomination was approved by the M.W. the Grand Master, Dr. Egan went to England, received his patent of appointment, and, on his return, landed at Port Elizabeth, where he offered the position of Deputy District Grand Master to Bro. Pearson. Bro. Pearson, however, declined the honour, and it was then tendered to Bro. Bain, who accepted it. Bro. Bain held the position for some years, but on moving to Beaufort West resigned. Bro. G. P. Perks was then appointed, and, on his death, about 1892, Bro. A. E. Austen was appointed. At the expiration of the term suggested in the original nomination Dr. Egan was unanimously re-elected at a meeting of the District Grand Lodge, held at King William's Town.

The appointment of a District Grand Master for the East was really a fresh starting point in the progress of English Freemasonry in the Division, for not only have a considerable number of Lodges been added to the roll, but the status of the Lodges is better and matters of Constitutional Law maintained as they should be.

At the beginning of 1907 there were 231 Lodges under the English, Scotch and Irish Constitutions working in South Africa, including one at St. Helena, made up as follows:—English Constitution, Eastern Division, 42; Western Division, 24; Natal, 27; Transvaal, 43; Central Division, 9; Various, communicating with Grand Lodge direct, 7; Scotch Lodges, 64; Irish ditto, 15; total, 231.

There are also a considerable number of Lodges working under the Netherlands Constitution, of which De Goede Hoop and Goede Trouw, at Capetown, mentioned by Bro. Bate, are the chief. Some Lodges have also been constituted during the current year.

Bro. Bate appears to lean in favour of a Grand Lodge of South Africa. It must be some time before anything like unity can be obtained among Lodges working under such diverse conditions of constitutions and ritual as exist at the Cape. For this I do not think there is any country to compare to it.

The Brethren under the Netherlands, Scottish and other Constitutions are as wedded to their ceremonial and customs as we English Masons are to ours, and to attempt to force anything of the sort will only mean disaster. I think matters are much better as they are. As they stand now, every Installed Master under our own Constitution is a member of the Mother Grand Lodge—the Grand Lodge of England—and every Brother who is dissatisfied with a verdict of his District Grand Master or District

Grand Lodge can secure the attention of Grand Registrar, one of the highest legal authorities in the land, to his case. We have all the traditions of Grand Lodge behind us. What can a Grand Lodge of South Africa have to offer in exchange for such and other privileges?

A. E. AUSTEN.

HISTORY AND RECORDS OF THE LODGE OF EMULATION, No. 21 (1723 to 1906).

By Henry Sadler, P.M., P.Z. Warrington & Co., London, 1906.

One more extremely valuable Lodge History, which we heartily recommend to the members of 2076 and its circle, has now been added to our Library, this being the most recent, and, perhaps, the most welcome, from the pen of Bro. Henry Sadler, Grand Tyler. He has produced a volume which will become a work to be constantly referred to by students of Masonic lore, for it is concise and at the same time, precise. Its illustrations are abundant, well printed, and many of them notable for their rarity.

Lodge No. 21 (of the original Grand Lodge, later known as the "Modern" G.L.) is the descendant of two others, united in 1780: the first, and oldest, being "the Mourning Bush Lodge," as it was afterwards known, which can be traced as far back as 1723; and the second, the "Constitution Lodge" (1767) of Bedford Street (originally No. 390), which in 1771 took the name of "the Lodge of Emulation," preserved at the time of the amalgamation, in 1780, and handed down to the present day, for the Lodge still enjoys a most prosperous existence, and will at no far-distant day attain its *second* centenary. It boasts, moreover, authentic records of over 150 years, and this fact should induce us to look somewhat closely into its venerable history.

The Introductory Chapter is a general sketch of Speculative Masonry immediately after the Revival of 1717, and the birth of the "Mother Grand Lodge." The existence of numerous unattached Lodges at this period, working by inherent right and acknowledging no central governing authority, is rightly accepted by the author, and he considers this Lodge in its early days to have been one of them. The exact date of its constitution is unknown, nor is it possible to trace it, but the records of the Grand Lodge have been carefully examined, and the earliest reference to its meeting place (for Lodge numbering was not adopted until Pine's Engraved List of Lodges appeared in 1729) is in the year 1723. From the Grand Lodge records a few facts have been gleaned, and duly set forth: and we may, therefore, agree with Bro. Sadler in his conclusion, that though it was not officially recognised before 1723, "its real origin may be ascribed "to a somewhat earlier period which it is now impossible to define." Perhaps the only item in the Grand Lodge records we may touch on is the mention of an interesting present from a member of the Lodge:—"(1733). Capt. Ralph Far Winter, Provincial "Grand Master of East India, &c., had sent over a Chest of Arack for the use of the "Grand Lodge. . . . . The Healths of Br. Winter & the Brethren in East India "were drank with thanks for their handsome present."

In 1742 a fire at the Mourning Bush Tavern destroyed all its written records prior to that date; and apparently the volume that was commenced immediately after this deplorable accident has been irretrievably lost, for no minutes exist from 1742 down to 24th December, 1756. But the Treasurer's Cash Book, commencing on 9th April, 1742, is still in possession of the Lodge, and from it we are able to gather the names of its principal officers, in the fourteen years prior to the first preserved minute.

The name of "Mourning Bush" may be explained by the strange freak of the landlord of the tavern, the "Bush," (formerly and better known as the "Fountain," in Aldersgate), who painted his sign black[1] or covered it with crape[2] when King Charles II. unfortunately lost his head. The name stuck, and the Lodge took as its distinguishing title the name of its meeting place, and retained it long after the method of numbering the Lodges was adopted.

From the Treasurer's Cash Book we may gather also the fees enforced at the time, Initiation or "Making" cost two guineas, which covered the Second Degree as well: the latter being conferred usually the same evening. Raising cost 5s. extra. The joining fee was half-a-guinea; and the visitors' fee was 1s. Many entries in these accounts are of great interest, and throw a curious sidelight on the quaint customs of the time. Fines were numerous, and the offences various; such as "for drinking uncloathed, 6d." (a very common entry); "for not sending the jewel of his office" the Master had to pay 2s.; "to Feese of Hon^r^ from ye Wardens," 2s. each (the Master usually paying 4s.)

The Lodge now works under a warrant granted by the Earl of Moira, Acting Grand Master, and dated 15th March, 1810, which is itself a warrant of Confirmation. This is reproduced as a frontispiece to the work, but is unfortunately scarcely legible. We would recommend the addition of a transcript of this document in type in any future edition. Bro. Sadler points out some errors in the preamble of this warrant, notably the statement that the original Warrant of Constitution "was issued under the seal of Masonry, 15th May, 1723," (old style)—no such Warrants being granted to London Lodges prior to 1750. Also that the first meeting was held at the "Mourning Bush Tavern" in the year first named, whereas it was not until 1735 it met there, having in the interval patronised successively the Griffin, Newgate Street; The Green Dragon and The Crown, both in Snow Hill; and the Queen's Arms, Newgate Street. Such critical analysis of so-called facts, in this document and elsewhere in the book, adds immensely to the value of this Lodge History.

Glancing through the volume we may note its excellent type and paper, its index to the numerous illustrations,—alphabetically arranged—its ample index of the contents, and, lastly, the handsome binding of the work, all of which features point to careful editing, and deserve our sincere congratulations.

We fail to trace, however, in the Index, any reference, under his name, to Joseph Taylor's exceedingly valuable presentation of his classified Index of the Lodge events (p. 116): neither is there any reference to the initiation in 1773 of Stephen Clark, Grand Steward 1784, and City Marshal. Montgomery, the Grand Tyler, is not credited with his Christian name, Andrew, except in the Index.

One or two other features call for criticism. Several long passages have been copied verbatim from Bro. Sadler's two former works (the "History of the Emulation Lodge of Improvement," and "Memorials of the Globe Lodge, No. 23.") without any indication of their source, as on pp. 101, 102 and 103; and others are from Brackstone Baker's pamphlet of 1872, as on pp. 63, 65-66, 104 and 129, though one passage is marked (on p. 110) as having been so extracted.

A complete list of members, so far as the records serve, would be an extremely valuable addition to the work, on the plan adopted by Bro. Ebblewhite in his "History of the Shakespear Lodge, No. 99"—or by Bro. Gooding, in his "Westminster and

[1] "Clubs and Club Life," J. Timbs, F.S.A.
[2] According to Jos. Taylor, a late Treasurer of No. 21.

Keystone Lodge, No. 10." It would also be desirable to give an inventory of Lodge effects wherever it is possible to do so.

The illustrations of the Chairs are curiously labelled. "The Master's Chair . . . . and Box of Working Tools. Presented by Sir Polydore de Keyser, P.M." "The Senior Warden's Chair and Box of Ivory Mallets. Presented by Charles Willis, P.M." In each case the name of the donor should be linked only with the latter part of each item.

We notice (p. 61), "The Records of the Lodge are very neatly written:" and (p. 63), "The minutes are meagre, and kept in a very slovenly manner." The former statement must refer to the written records after the name "Emulation" had been assumed, and a new minute book had been commenced in 1770 under another and less painstaking Secretary.

There were other previous attempts at recording the history of this venerable Lodge. Firstly, Brackstone Baker wrote an extremely interesting pamphlet in 1872, shortly before the Lodge attained its centenary, "The Lodge of Emulation, No. 21; "Some Notices of its Early History, its Distinguished Members, and the Events con-"nected with its Career," which Bro. Sadler acknowledges contains much of historic interest in a small compass, but finding it contains a few errors, "of no great importance certainly," he disregards it almost entirely in the preparation of his own work. But this pamphlet supplies deficiences in the present work. For instance, the "Extraordinary Lodge," of August 11th, 1766, was held at 10 o'clock in the morning, "for some unexplained, but probably good, reason" says Bro. Sadler. He has probably overlooked the entry in Brackstone Baker's pamphlet, p. 17:—"A motion was "made by Bro. R. Alsager and seconded by Bro. Maddocks, That as the Lodge appear'd "in so prosperous a state, That there might be a Venison Feast at Canonbury House, "near Islington, on Monday, the 11th August next, the motion being put was carried "in the affirmative." There are other similar cases, which it is unnecessary to set forth in detail. The pamphlet referred to is worthy of preservation.

Secondly, it appears that the late Bro. Berridge was engaged at the time of his death, in 1903, on a History of the Lodge. The Audit Committee took up the question of the cost of publishing it, but nothing appears to have been done, and we would like to know if his papers have been preserved.

Then we may also refer to Bro. Joseph Taylor's analytical index to the records of the Lodge, a most laborious work. "It affords a compendious reference to every "event in the Lodge History, of every individual whose name in mentioned in the "minutes, of every subject brought before the Lodge." (B. Baker.) Why should not this valuable work of reference be made available for Masonic students, either as one of the "Quatuor Coronati" Reprints, or a private venture of the Lodge of Emulation?

We may now conveniently turn our attention to the Records of the Constitution Lodge (which afterwards became the Emulation Lodge) before commencing a review of the Mourning Bush Lodge minutes, as the former cover only a short period prior to the fusion of the two Lodges in 1780; and it will render the latter task easier and entail no digression.

The Constitution Lodge, No. 390.

This owes its name to the place of its birth, the Constitution Coffee House, in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, the house where Dr. Desaguliers lodged, and in 1744, on the 1st March, died. It was inaugurated on 11th April, 1767, and lasted till 28th August, 1770; then there was an interregnum of a few months, and in December

of the same year, at the Guildhall Coffee House, a new set of brethren took possession of the Warrant and Regalia, and the name of "Lodge of Emulation" was adopted in 1783.

This warrant has now disappeared, but is known (from an inventory) to have been in existence for some time after the union of the two lodges: it cost $5\frac{1}{2}$ guineas, and of the six Founders, the Master and Wardens paid £2 2s. each and the remainder £1 1s. each. The Master was elected half-yearly, at Lady Day and Michaelmas, and was allowed the privilege of nominating his successor, subject to the approval of the Lodge. The Master Elect then at once took the chair and appointed and invested his officers, *after which* the Lodge elected its Treasurer.

One of the Past Masters, a Bro. Aubin, was evidently somewhat a cross-grained character. He moved (3rd July, 1767) "that the Treasurer be fined for smiling," but was outvoted. He then made a similar motion against the Secretary, "which was rejected by a great majority." The practice of having supper in common was adopted this year, the charge being 9d. per head: but signs of decrepitude appeared and the numbers dwindled, till at the meeting above referred to, in December, 1770, it was revived by a new set of brethren in its new home, and was christened with a new name, the "Emulation," in 1783.

The Emulation Lodge.

Among the brethren who took up the warrant of the Constitution Lodge in 1770, now numbered No. 324, first and foremost was William White, who was initiated earlier in the year at the old Horn Lodge, at Westminster, became Master of this Lodge on four occasions, and later Grand Secretary, and proved to be an active and zealous Mason. William Preston, of the Caledonian Lodge No. 111 of the Antients, and of the Harodim Lodge, absorbed into the Lodge of Antiquity in 1794, was elected an Hon.-Member in 1772, being at the time an assistant to Heseltine, the Grand Secretary, who also became an Hon.-Member soon after.

The meeting place was changed from the Guildhall Coffee Tavern to the Paul's Head, in Cateaton Street, in 1772, and to the London Tavern in 1775.

The Master in 1774, John Weldon, was deposed "as not qualified for such station," and for various stated reasons, although we find he frequently attended afterwards as a visitor (and always described as P.M.) up to the period of his resignation. Elections were made annual in 1776, and all the fees were raised. Initiation was £3 3s. 0d., inclusive of raising, visiting brethren (registered, 2s. 6d.: unregistered, 3s. 6d.), Grand Officers and Grand Stewards "free of expence."

The Tyler was now troublesome, having pawned the Lodge Jewels, "with a Mrs. Hart, pawnbroker, in Grub Street," for the sum of 12s. 4d.; he was later censured for neglect in delivering the Lodge summonses and dismissed. It was ordered then that the summonses be in future "sent by the Generall Penny Post."

In 1780 came the union of the two Lodges, and we must now retrace our steps to consider the origin of the senior branch, the

Mourning Bush Lodge, No. 19.

This, as previously stated, is of unknown date, and its early records are lost. The Cash Book exists from 1742 down to 1780, and from this we obtain a list of Masters and Wardens from 1742 until the first (existing) minute book begins the record in 1756, Rowland Berkeley being secretary at that time, and Andrew Montgomery (Guarder of Grand Lodge) its Tyler.

Lodge was always closed with one or two lectures, or the reading of a portion of the Book of Constitutions, sometimes with the "Songs of the Craft," and always with (? in) harmony. A common entry is, "After an excellent lecture, with the songs of "the Craft, the Lodge was regularly closed." Another scribe puts it thus:—"The after-"noon was spent in much innocent mirth and the most perfect harmony, and the "Brethren in the evening in due time departed, displaying reciprocally the most distin-"guishing marks of friendship and love."

Stewards were appointed half-yearly to assist the Wardens, although at that period (1767) there were no Deacons. A Provincial Grand Master for a London District is not a modern suggestion, for "General Inspectors or Provincial Grand Masters for Lodges within the bills of mortality" were actually appointed under the Duke of Beaufort, but owing to the opposition of very many London Lodges, the appointments were cancelled and the office lapsed.

"Visits in form" were frequently interchanged, and seem to have been a general custom among the old Lodges. So we read, the Castle Lodge of Harmony, "agreeable "to their notice, paid a public visit in due form, and were received with the utmost friendship and cordiality."

Several entries relating to the Tracing Boards may be of interest. From the Cash Book:—1751, "By the Tyler, for drawing a Lodge, 2s. 6d." 1761, "Bro. Williams "presented his bill for making a Trassel Board with Hieouglyficks of Masonry." 1763, "A motion was made that a proper Board be made for the Tyler to draw his Lodge "on." In the Inventory we see mentioned "a Forming Board."

Fines for various offences, masonic and otherwise, are frequently entered, such as, "1754, Bro. Garden's fine for drinking uncloathed, 6^d^. 1757, Bro. Andrews, for sitting "at ye Table uncloath'd and drinking a health, was, according to the Rules of this "Lodge, fin'd 6^d^, both wch fines were chearfully paid to ye Treasurer. 1759, it being "observed by the Senior Warden that Bro^r^ Smith having drank in Lodge hours un-"cloath'd it was disputed whether he should be fined according to the custom of this "Honb^le^ Lodge, when, *after many debates*, it was resolved that he should be fined as the "Rules direct. 1764, resolved Nem. Con. that Brother Whealy, for his unseemly "behaviour this night, be fined one shilling, which was chearfully paid."

In 1777 we find the Treasurer enters, "1s. 6d. for Herb Tobacco for the Lodge of "Instruction."

The Lodge of Emulation (United), No. 12.

The Mourning Bush Lodge, No. 12, and the Emulation Lodge, No. 324, held their union meeting on 9th October, 1780, at The London Tavern, and from this time the Lodge met monthly. Many distinguished men joined its ranks, Sir Watkin Lewes, the Lord Mayor was initiated in 1781 and several Aldermen. About 1793 a period of decline set in, and continued till 1799, when William White introduced his son, William Henry White, and from that time down to the present the Lodge has prospered. At no time has it neglected the claims of charity, and since the year 1876 no less a sum than £4,577 has been taken up by the Stewards of the Lodge to the Masonic Charities.

The concluding Chapter of the work deals with some notable features in the History of the Lodge, but we refrain from quoting further from Bro. Sadler's admirable work.

W. Wonnacott.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE Baldwyn Encampment.—Having been given the custody of the "Archives" of the Province of Bristol, we are, at the request of the Provincial Grand Lodge, compiling a History of Freemasonry in this City, including the Royal Orders of Masonic Knighthood. Unfortunately the early records of these degrees are somewhat scanty, and we therefore ask those members of the Inner and Outer Circles who have in their possession any memoranda bearing on the early history of the Baldwyn Encampment to kindly communicate with us at "Freemasons' Hall, Park Street, Bristol."

Bro. John Yarker in his notes on "The High Grades in Bristol and Bath," *A.Q.C.* xvii., 88-90, quotes a statement made by Dr. Leeson in 1862:—"That the "Baldwin Encampment at Bristol was founded by French Masons, who had brought it "from Canada towards the close of the last century, a fact of which he was certain, as "the original books were in his own possession." Bro. Hughan has also referred to this statement (*A.Q.C.* xviii., 93), and expressed regret that the evidence had never been made public as it should have been.

We have, we think, ample proof that Dr. Leeson was wrong in this assertion as to the origin of the Baldwyn Encampment, but we should be very glad if it were possible to trace "the original books" which he stated were then in his possession.

CECIL POWELL, } Keepers of the Archives,
J. LITTLETON, } Province of Bristol.

Slade's Freemason Examin'd.—In "Ahiman Rezon" for 1807 (7th edition) is an Ode describing the vain efforts of the "curious world with prying eye" to discover the "Mason's Mystery," which ends with the lines:—

"And after all their wise conceits are weigh'd,
Spite of the tales of Pritchard, Plot, and Slade,
They ne'er can know how a Freemason's made."

I thought that as Bro. Thorp's interesting paper on Slade's pamphlet has just appeared in our *Transactions* this reference to it might also be quoted.

E. L. HAWKINS.

A Curious Certificate and Seal.—In *A.Q.C.*, vol. xix., p. 241, there is an interesting plate of a curious certificate and seal, to which Dr. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D.Eng., has appended some valuable notes. The learned Doctor has not met with a second example of the pseudo-Egyptian Seal, of which, however, another impression is now before me, affixed to a masonic document appertaining to the Province of North and East Yorkshire, and dated 21st October, 1830. The handwriting in Dr. Westcott's Certificate is undoubtedly that of Robert Mackenzie Beverley, Esq., who was D.P.G.M. of that Province from the date of his patent (15th July, 1822) to that of his resignation (6th Sept., 1831), and from the fact of the document, to which I refer, being contained in R.W. Bro. Beverley's letter-book there can be no doubt that both Certificate and Seal belonged to him, and that he was most likely the author of both. I may add that R.W. Bro. Beverley was a man of considerable literary ability and attainments.

M. C. PECK, P.G.St.B. Eng.

Astleys.—In "A Selection of Masonic Songs . . . . Dublin, Printed by S. Holden at his Music Ware-House Parliament Str^{t}." (1802), the third verse of No. xxvii., "Song and Chorus, written by B^{r}. Connel, on behalf of the Masonic Orphan School," runs thus:—

"Strait, the news was made public, the Brotherhood ran,
To announce, to all Masons, old Hiram's direction,
They bow'd to the summons, and all to a man,
Clubb'd together their mites, for the Orphan's protection.
Wives, Widows, and Maids,
And, Men of all trades,
To **Astleys** came running to offer their aids,
And all who contribute donations to join,
For the Orphans of Masons, are surely divine!"

What is the allusion to "Astleys" in the seventh line? The word is printed in noticeably larger type than the rest of the song.

W. B. Hextall.

The Noble Order of Bucks.—Bro. W. H. Rylands, in his paper on the above in *A.Q.C.* iii., 140, mentions a communication to Notes and Queries, 6 S. viii., 361 (1883), by my old friend and fellow P.M. in Lodge 1085, Bro. Alfred Wallis, partly founded on the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxi., 315 (1791), referring to "A New Bucks' Song, published 1756," and to Bucks' Lodges at the Bell, the Platter, the Vine, the Ship, and the Rose. The song itself was not given, but the greater portion of it is contained in an old printed song-book, of which all I know is that it was given to me about twenty years since, wanting both title page and ending, as well as several leaves here and there. It came from the West Country, but was probably London-printed about 1800 or earlier, and contained some 350 songs. The song named—No. 277 in the book—runs as follows for five verses, followed by the catch-word "Here's," indicating that there were one or two more verses, but the next leaf is missing.

A BUCK'S SONG.—Tune, "Tantara, rara masks all."

Brother Bucks, all attend to the theme I shall sing;
And chorus so loud make the cieling (*sic*) to ring,
From thence to the skies let your voices resound,
While each heart glows with mirth, and the bumpers go round.
Sing tantara, rara bucks all.

But first to our grand let us due homage pay,
And may each grateful buck his lov'd edict obey;
May his breast, fraught with candour, be open and free,
And may all in his high station be as honest as he.
Sing, &c.

From sacred records our sanction we trace,
Of old Nimrod the buck, who was fond of the chace.
But since that our order's so general become,
Bucks are ev'rywhere made both abroad and at home.
Sing, &c.

Now to bucks of all sects in a health let us join,
Here's the bucks of the Bell, and the Bucks of the Vine,
Here's the Lodge at the Platter, and likewise to those
Of our order so true, at the Sun and the Rose.
Sing, &c.

Let him, therefore, who rails at our high appellation,
Whate'er be his worth, or whatever his station,
Weigh maturely the point, and pray hard for good luck,
Or 'tis twenty to one but incog. he's a buck.
Sing, &c.

Here's

[The remainder is missing from the book].

The following are in the list of subscribers contained in "Social Harmony, con-"sisting of a Collection of Songs and Catches, in two, three, four and five parts, from "the Works of the most Eminent Masters; To which are added several Choice Songs "on Masonry. By Thomas Hale, of Darnhall, Cheshire, 1763."

"The Grand Lodge of the most ancient and noble Order of Bucks, at the "Rose, Monkwell Street, London."

. . . . .

"The Right Worshipful the Lodge at the Swan, Whitecross Street, "London."

. . . . .

"The Right Worshipful the Lodge at Jack of Newbury, in Chiswell "Street, London."

. . . . .

Five individual subscribers, each described as "Antigallican, Manchester."

The two Lodges at the Swan, Whitecross Street, and the Jack of Newbury, Chiswell Street, were Masonic, and are now represented by the Globe Lodge, No. 23, and St. John's Lodge, No. 90. (See Lane's "Masonic Records.") It seems a little curious to see the names of Craft Lodges and of the Bucks' Grand Lodge thus figuring side by side.

The "Choice Songs on Masonry" occupy something like one-fifth of a portly quarto volume, and appear to be original compositions by writers, probably local, whose names are given. They do not seem to be found elsewhere, and their value as Masonic verse is of the smallest.

As a curiosity of literature, the following verse from "Satan in search of a wife," published anonymously by Moxon, London, in 1831, but now known to have been written by Charles Lamb, may be noted in the above connexion:—

"I am Prince of Hell, and Lord Paramount
Over Monarchs there abiding.
My Groom of the Stables is Nimrod old,
And Nebuchadnezzar my stirrups must hold
When I go out a-riding."

W. B. Hextall.

The Antient and Honorable Order of Bucks.—Among the various papers and notes upon this Body which have appeared in *A.Q.C.*, I do not recall any notice of the following reference. In "The Royal Kalendar or Complete and Correct Annual Register for England, Scotland, Ireland and America, for the year 1812" (London. Printed for J. Stockdale, Piccadilly), upon page 345, may be found this entry:—"Antient and Honourable Order of Bucks. Assyrian Lodge instituted in 1703, holden at the Freemasons' Tavern in Queen Street.

Most Noble Grand	P. Green, Esq.
Senior Vice Grand	J. Peachey, Esq.
Junior Vice Grand and Treasurer	N. Morrison, Esq.
Secretary	J. Rees, Esq.
Sword Bearer	R. Mott, Esq.
Mace Bearer	— Waddilove, Esq.

COUNCIL.

S. Thodey, Esq., N.B., M.D. & F.R.S., — Marshall, Esq., N.B., R. Ellis, Esq., N.B. & F.L.S., H. Staples, — Soward, T. Vollerton, — Tapster, — Hall, — Henderson and G. Freeman, Esqs."

The next year's issue of the same Kalendar contains an identical entry, but no other year seems, although I have made considerable search, to notice the Society.

I had intended to obtain some particulars of these persons, if possible, with the idea of making a short article; but the results of my enquiries have been few, though in two cases interesting. Let me begin by saying that in the cases of — Marshall, — Hall and — Henderson, it would be obviously impossible to identify a Buck owning so common a name in the absence of any initials.

The first search was made in the Post Office Directory for 1813: here we find one Soward, G., "Statuary," Tottenham Court Road, and one Tapster, Stephen, Brandy Merchant of the Ship, Charing Cross. There is no trace of any of the other members.

Boyle's Court Guide, 1812 and 1813, was next gone through; it shews an Edward Waddilove, of 27, Edgware Road, and an R. Ellis, 43, Chancery Lane, Attorney. Ellis's initial tallies, and he may be our man—but more of Ellis later.

The Law Lists of 1812 and 1813 also were glanced through—so many lawyers are Masons that it seemed worth while—and in addition to Ellis we discover a Robert Henderson, 22, Leman Street, Attorney, but we cannot identify him, as we do not know the Buck's initial.

The chase did not seem to be productive of results, so, abandoning for a time the general membership, I determined to at least discover who those brethren were who are described as M.D. & F.R.S., and F.L.S., respectively. Here, I said, we are on firm ground. Accordingly, I wrote to The Royal Society, The College of Physicians, The College of Surgeons and The Society of Apothecaries, *re* S. Thodey, Esq., and to The Linnean Society as to R. Ellis; in the former case, medical registration was not in force at the time and the Societies and Colleges kept, I believe, a better record than did the Universities; to find a University graduate, enquiries may have to be made at every College of the University, and it is exceedingly likely that a medical practitioner would possess a College or Society qualification in addition to his degree.

The Royal Society replied: "Dr. S. Thodey was never a Fellow of the Royal Society."

The College of Physicians gave answer: "I regret that I am unable, after a prolonged search, to find out any particulars concerning S. Thodey, M.D., F.R.S. So far as I can find out, he did not contribute any paper to the Transactions of the Royal Society. There is no reference to his name in the British Museum Catalogue. His name does not appear in Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis*, nor in Venn's *Graduates of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.* He is not among the graduates of Glasgow University, nor was he connected with this College." Pretty conclusive, that.

Apothecaries Hall said, "I have caused a search to be made through the records of the Society but the name of S. Thodey does not appear there.

The College of Surgeons said nothing.

The Linnean Society was equally in the dark about Ellis. The Secretary wrote, "I find that the only R. Ellis in our lists was elected in 1850, so he could not be the man sought. In 1812-13, we had *Henry* Ellis, afterwards knighted, of the British Museum, and *John* Ellis, who died 1848 (?) Our records, therefore, cannot help you in the quest."

After all this, what do M.D., F.R.S. and F.L.S. stand for (N.B., I take it, is Noble Buck and denotes a Past Noble Grand); presumably some office or grade in the Order. But what? For my own part I am continuing to try to trace the members but thought it best to at once publish the find and the results of my preliminary enquiries.

J. C. Brookhouse.

Since writing the above I have made enquiry of every University then in existence in Great Britain and Ireland as to Thodey, and he was a graduate of none, except possibly Dublin, before 1800. The Royal Society of Edinburgh do not know him, and a search at the College of Surgeons reveals nothing.

May I suggest, however, as an interpretation for M.D., *Magister damarum* (*dama*, despite its form, is masculine *buck*, as well as feminine *doe*) Master of the Bucks. Thodey's name stands first in the list of the Council and that suggests some seniority or superior importance in him. The Order was, I believe, almost extinct at this time, and Thodey, though he does not seem a person of great importance, may have been the last of the Grand Masters of the Society.

As to F.R.S. and F.L.S., the only explanation which occurs to me is one which I hesitate to put forward—it seems almost absurd—but it may have the effect of drawing other suggestions and, if disproved, will at least prevent a similar mistake in other enquirers. And it must be remembered that the letters appended to the Buck's names (N.B., M.D., F.R.S. and F.L.S.) are in every case common abbreviations bearing in this Order meanings other than those in common use; in other words, the Bucks apparently took pains to seize upon common abbreviations and adopted them with altered meanings—the letters F.R.S. and F.L.S. are and were so well known that it may well be that they were among the first to be taken to, and that some ingenuity was used in devising a form of words which they would fit and which would designate an office in Buckdom. They were applicable to members of the Council, and there were only one of each; can they stand for *First on the Right Side* and *First on the Left Side*, and mark the post or position of the bearer in the Lodge. The brethren in some Masonic degrees are ranged in columns, and, if this took place in these ceremonies also, it may be that we have here an interpretation; or the Lodge may have been divided into two sections for other ceremonial purposes; or, again, the Council may have had two Committees

sitting upon opposite sides of the Council table, or of the Lodge—at any rate I do not think F stands for Fellow, as that word, save in the expression Fellow Craft or Fellow of Craft, is almost unknown to me in connection with Secret Societies.

The search for the other members remains as yet fruitless.

J. C. Brookhouse.

ERRATA.

Page	85	line	9—	for	*Littleton*	read	*Littelton.*
,,	85	,,	22—	,,	*Bartomolo*	,,	*Bartolomo.*
,,	108	,,	10—	,,	*repecting*	,,	*respecting.*
,,	108	,,	23—	,,	*Diety*	,,	*Deity.*

OBITUARY.

It is with regret that we have to record the deaths of Brothers:—

C. A. Turner, P.Dis.G.Sup.Wks., Dis.G.S., of Moulmein, Burma, in August. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1896.

Josiah Francis Pepper, Past Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies (England), of Shirle Hill, Handsworth, Staffordshire, on the 18th October. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1898.

Fred Weiss, of 46, Culmington Road, Ealing, London, W., on the 13th October. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1902.

Arthur Girard Browning, F.S.A., of Spencer Lodge, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W., on the 19th October. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1891.

Frederick England, of Baxter Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, on the 13th October. He joined the Correspondence Circle in June, 1901.

William Henry Sterling Wright, of St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A., on the 28th November. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1892, and acted for some years as our Local Secretary for Minnesota.

William Baker, of the Bank House, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, on the 11th December. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1905.

Charles R. Wilcox, of Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., in April. He joined the Correspondence Circle in November, 1894.

Charles Trevor Mold, District Grand Master and Grand Superintendent, Argentine Republic, of 760, Calle Cuyo, Buenos Aires, on the 10th December. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1900, and acted for thirteen years as our Local Secretary for the Argentine Republic.

Francis Lazenby, of Fairholme, Basingstoke, on the 16th December. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1901.

Walter W. Robertson, Past Grand Architect, Past Grand Recorder (Scotland), of Wardie Bank, Trinity, Edinburgh. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1900.

George Millward Buckham, of Hill View, North Berwick, N.B., on the 19th December. He joined the Correspondence Circle in January, 1899.

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Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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Volume I. (*out of print* contains :—

Facsimile and Transcript of the "Masonic Poem" MS., Bib. Reg. 17 A. 1. (*British Museum*). This MS. is the earliest document (circa 1390) in existence, in any tongue, relating to Freemasonry. It was first published in 1840 by J. Orchard Halliwell with a facsimile of four lines, and again in 1844 with a fac-simile of the first page. This was at once translated into several languages, causing great interest throughout the Craft.

Facsimile and Transcript of "Urbanitatis" Cott. MS., Caligula A. II., fol. 88. (*British Museum*).

Facsimile and Transcript from **"Instructions for a Parish Priest,"** Cott. MS., Claudius A. II., fol. 127. (*British Museum*). These two old MSS. contain passages identical with some of those which appear in the "Poem."

"The Plain Dealer," No. 51, Monday, September 14th, 1724. An article on the Freemasons, concluding with the celebrated letters on the **"Gormogons."** This is reproduced from the copy presented to the Lodge by Bro. Ramsden Riley, and only one other copy is known to exist. Portions of the article were printed in "The Grand Mystery," 2nd edition, 1725.

"An Ode to the Grand Khaibar," 1726. This reproduction is also made from the copy in the Lodge Library, presented by Bro. T. B. Whytehead, no other copy being known to exist. The Khaibarites were apparently a somewhat similar Society to the Gormogons, and were equally the rivals of the Freemasons.

"A Defence of Masonry." The Free Mason's Pocket Companion, 2nd edition, 1738. (*Grand Lodge of England Library*).

"Brother Euclid's Letter to the Author." The New Book of Constitutions, . . . by James Anderson, D.D., London, . . . 1738. (*Grand Lodge of England Library*).

A Commentary on the "Masonic Poem," "Urbanitatis," and "Instructions for a Parish Priest," by Bro. R. F. Gould.

Maps and Glossary.

In Vols. II. to VI. is reproduced a series of the MS. Constitutions or "Old Charges," which fully represents the various "families" into which all known copies of these interesting documents have been classified by Dr. Begemann.

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Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Landsdowne MS."** No. 98, art 48, f. 276 b. (*British Museum*). The late Mr. Bond estimated the date of this MS. at about 1600, but as it is believed to have formed part of the collection of Lord Burghley, who died A.D. 1598, its age is probably greater.

Facsimile and Transcript of the **"Harleian MS."** No. 1942. (*British Museum*). The question of the date of this MS. is all-important and has given rise to much discussion. Mr. Bond and others ascribe it to the beginning of the 17th century, though other commentators such as Bro. Gould believe that the contents are scarcely compatible with this theory.

Volume III. (*out of print*) contains :—

Facsimile of the "Harleian MS." No. 2054, fo. 22. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript. This MS. is of the 17th century and contains, besides the usual legends and laws, a curious list of payments made "to be a mason," also the Freemasons' oath in the handwriting of Randle Holme, the herald and antiquary.

Facsimile of the "Sloane MS." No. 3848. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript.

Facsimile of the "Sloane MS." No. 3323. (*British Museum*). With Introduction and Transcript. The dates of these two MSS. are 1646 and 1649 respectively.

Facsimile of the "William Watson MS." Roll. (*Masonic Library, Province of West Yorkshire, Wakefield*). With Transcript, and Commentary by Bro. C. C. Howard. For many reasons this is one of the most interesting and important in the series of "Old Charges" which has yet been discovered. It is dated 1687, and is the only one shewing signs of derivation from the celebrated "Matthew Cooke MS."

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Facsimile (two pages) **of the "Harris No. 2 MS."** (*Bound up with a copy of the "Freemasons' Calendar for 1781," in the British Museum, Ephemerides, pp. 2493, gaa.*) With Introduction and Transcript. Although of so late a date the additions to the ordinary text presented by this version are of great interest and curiosity.

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December 1907.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

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